

A COMPANION TO
**JOB IN THE
MIDDLE AGES**



Edited by

FRANKLIN T. HARKINS & AARON CANTY

A Companion to Job in the Middle Ages

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Cover illustration: Job with his wife and his friends, Book of Job with Commentary, 11th-12th century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17959, fol. 3v (photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France).

Names: Harkins, Franklin T., editor.

Title: A companion to Job in the Middle Ages / edited by Franklin T. Harkins, Aaron Canty.

Description: Leiden : Boston : Brill, 2016. | Series: Brill's companions to the Christian tradition, ISSN 1871-6377 ; VOLUME 73 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016036870 (print) | LCCN 2016038400 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004324435 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN 9789004329645 (E-book)

Subjects: LCSH: Bible. Job--Criticism, interpretation, etc.--History--Middle Ages, 600-1500. | Job (Biblical figure)--In literature.

Classification: LCC BS1415.52 .C67 2016 (print) | LCC BS1415.52 (ebook) | DDC 223/.1060902--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016036870>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1871-6377

ISBN 978-90-04-32443-5 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-32964-5 (e-book)

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Abbreviations

ACW	<i>Ancient Christian Writers</i> (Westminster. MD/New York, NY: Newman/Paulist, 1946–).
AFH	<i>Archivum Franciscanum Historicum</i>
AHDLMA	<i>Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge</i> (Paris, 1926–).
ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> (Edinburgh, 1864ff; New York: Scribners, 1925).
AKG	<i>Archiv für Kulturgeschichte</i>
BGPTM	<i>Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters</i> (Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1891–).
CBQ	<i>The Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967–).
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954–).
CCT	<i>Corpus Christianorum in Translation</i> (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009–).
CF	<i>Cistercian Fathers</i> (Kalamazoo, etc.: Cistercian Publications, 1970–).
CH	<i>Church History</i>
CHR	<i>The Catholic Historical Review</i>
CS	<i>Cistercian Studies</i> (Kalamazoo, etc.: Cistercian Publications, 1970–)
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (Vienna: Tempusky, 1866–).
Denz.-Schön.	H. Denzinger, <i>Enchiridion Symbolorum, Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum</i> . 36th ed., ed. A. Schönmetzer (Freiburg: Herder, 1976).
Denz.-Hün.	<i>Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen. Latteinish- Deutsch: Enchiridion Symbolorum, Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum</i> . 3rd ed., ed. and trans. Peter Hünemann (Freiburg: Herder, 2009).
DMA	<i>Dictionary of the Middle Ages</i>
DS	<i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité</i> (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1937–).
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie Catholique</i>
EETS	<i>Early English Text Society</i>
FOC	<i>The Fathers of the Church</i> (Washington, D.C: CUA Press, 1947–).
FS	<i>Franciscan Studies</i>
FZThPh	<i>Freiburger Zeitschrift für Theologie und Philosophie</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i> (Berlin and Leipzig, 1897–).
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>

- IPQ *International Philosophical Quarterly*
- JES *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
- JHI *Journal of the History of Ideas*
- JTS *Journal of Theological Studies* (London/Oxford: 1900–).
- MPT *Medieval Philosophy and Theology*
- MS *Mediaeval Studies* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1939–).
- MSR *Mélanges de science religieuse*
- NPNF *Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (New York, 1887–1892; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978).
- NRT *Nouvelle revue théologique*
- PG *Patrologia Graeca*
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus sive bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium ss. Patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum qui ab aevo apostolico ad Innocentii III tempora floruerunt...series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64).
- PLS *Patrologiae cursus completus*, a J.P. Migne editus, Parisiis, 1844. *Series latina. Supplementum*. Ed. A. Hamman. 5 vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1958–).
- RB *Revue Bénédictine* (Maredsous, 1885–).
- RHE *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
- RHPR *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse*
- RSE *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques*
- RSPT *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
- RSR *Revue des sciences religieuses*
- RT *Revue Thomiste*
- RTAM *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* (Louvain, 1929–), now RTPM.
- RTPM *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* (Louvain: Peeters, 1997).
- SB *Spicilegium Bonaventurianum* (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1963–).
- SC *Sources Chrétiennes* (Paris: Cerf, 1942–).
- ST *Summa theologiae*
- TPMA *Textes philosophiques du moyen age* (Paris: J.Vrin, 1958–).

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Introduction

Franklin T. Harkins and Aaron Canty

The scriptural book of Job is a timeless text that discloses to its readers or hearers—whatever their historical, intellectual, and religious location—a story of profound theological, philosophical, and existential significance. One modern scholar has described Job as “the crown of the Hebrew Wisdom-writings and one of the most wonderful products of the human spirit, ... striving to explain the deepest secrets of existence, to solve the ultimate mysteries of life.”¹ Indeed, Job is, in the words of C.L. Seow, “surely one of the most captivating but unsettling stories ever told.”² From its ancient beginnings down to the present day, the sacred narrative of Job has captivated and unsettled auditors, exegetes, theologians, philosophers, preachers, poets, religious leaders, writers, visual artists, musicians, and other interpreters in myriad different ways. In view of the seemingly infinite variety of Joban interpretations throughout history, the present volume has as its rather modest aim to introduce scholars and advanced students to some of the most important and influential ways in which medieval Christian theologians, churchmen, mendicants, masters, reformers, writers, and artists read, interpreted, represented, and otherwise engaged Job, both the scriptural book and its righteous protagonist.

The essays in the first part of the volume treat exegetical and theological perspectives on Job in the Middle Ages, with the first two essays serving to establish the ancient and patristic foundations on which medieval thinking about Job was built. From antiquity, a great variety of interpretative traditions became attached to the book and the person of Job. Indeed, as Angela Kim Harkins aims to show, the most basic question arising from the biblical book, “Who is Job?”—to which that selfsame book fails to provide a definitive and detailed answer—gave rise to interpretive traditions in the ancient versions and pseudepigrapha that sought to clarify this question. Toward this end, Greek and Aramaic interpreters not only introduced into their translations and texts particular details about Job himself, but they also developed the characters in the story that would have known Job best, namely his wife, daughters, and friends. Compared to the Masoretic Text, for example, the Septuagint version of the epilogue elevates Job’s social status by identifying him as the ancient Edomite king Jobab (cf. Gen. 10:29 and Gen. 36:33), while also

¹ C.H. Cornill, quoted in John Gray, *The Book of Job*, (ed.) David J.A. Clines (Sheffield, 2010), 3.

² C.L. Seow, *Job 1–21: Interpretation and Commentary* (Grand Rapids, 2013), 2.

presenting each of Job's three friends as a king (LXX Job 42:17b, e). Various Aramaic traditions that are preserved in rabbinic authorities, including the *Targum of Job* and Pseudo-Philo, identify Job's wife as Dinah, the daughter of the great patriarch Jacob (Gen. 34). The *Testament of Job*, dated to the Second Temple period, both relates that Job's first wife was the Egyptian Sitidos and, after her dramatic death, identifies Dinah as his second wife. Additionally, Job's daughters, who remain silent in the biblical versions of the book, engage their father as interlocutors in the *Testament of Job* (Chs. 46–53). The cumulative effect of such ancient interpretive reworkings that aim at a more complete knowledge of Job, Harkins argues, is the development of Job's saintly status in the religious communities that produced, heard, read, and transmitted these texts.

As a second foundation, as it were, on which medieval engagements with Job were built stand patristic commentaries and theological works from the Latin West. Kenneth Steinhauser provides an historical and theological overview of four Latin patristic commentaries on the book of Job, all dated to the period 380–420—namely, the anonymous Arian commentary, the commentary of Philipp the Presbyter, Augustine's unfinished *Adnotationes*, and the exposition of Julian of Eclanum—in addition to various sermons and tractates produced by Latin patristic authors that treat Job in a less sustained way. Steinhauser notes, fascinatingly, that, in contrast to the fundamental perspective of modern interpreters, no Latin patristic author reads the book of Job as an expression of the problem of theodicy. Rather than taking up what Steinhauser identifies as the anthropological problem of theodicy or the mythological problem of God, Latin patristic authors focus on more strictly *theological* issues, making use of Job to advance their own theological agendas. The anonymous Arian commentary (likely penned during the “homoian revival” of 384–87, perhaps by Auxentius of Durostorum), for example, presents Job as a worshipper of the one true God, in contrast to Nicene Christians who worship three gods. And, whereas Julian of Eclanum and Pelagius (in his *Letter to Demetrias*) understand Job—who lived before and without the assistance of either the Law or grace—as having been sinless by his human nature alone, Augustine and Jerome (among others) read passages such as Job 14:4–5a (*For who is clean from filth? Not even someone whose life was one day upon the earth.*) as evidence for the universal—and naturally inescapable—sinfulness of humankind. On account of the condemnation of Pelagian ways of thinking in the West, it was this latter view of Job—and of humanity generally—that was received into the Middle Ages via Gregory's *Moralia*.

Written and revised c. 579–596, the *Moralia in Job* of Gregory the Great is the first line-by-line commentary on the book of Job in Christian history. As a number of essays in this volume evince, Gregory's magnum opus was, to invoke

Lesley Smith's description, "an inescapable landmark of interpretation that was impossible to ignore" and, as such, definitively determined the courses—numerous though they were—taken by subsequent medieval exegetes, theologians, scholars, poets, preachers, and artists through the deep and potentially unsettling waters of the book of Job. The ostensibly ubiquitous influence of the *Moralia* throughout the Middle Ages is surely attributable, at least in part, to its being so much more than a straightforward, line-by-line commentary. It is, as Carole Straw shows, a wide-ranging, seemingly all-inclusive manual for the Christian life—indeed, in her words, "something of a loose, baggy monster." Throughout the thirty-five books of the *Moralia*, Gregory's pedagogical purpose means that isolated lessons, particularly moral ones, drawn from especially remarkable images in select verses tend to overshadow the continuity of plot in the biblical narrative itself. Whereas Gregory understands Job most often as a type or figure of the righteous individual, the soul, human nature, the preacher, Christ, and the Church, he reads Job literally as teaching the Christian the utter necessity of penitence. Though he was righteous, Job's sin, according to Gregory, was imagining that he was not guilty and failing to recognize the obligation to repent.

Certainly by the first half of the 12th century Gregory had become the preeminent *auctoritas* on Job, guiding generations of monastic and secular students alike in learning how to read and understand the sacred book. One of the most significant and far-reaching avenues of Gregory's influence on students of the sacred page in the schools of Paris and beyond in the High and Late Middle Ages was the *Glossa ordinaria*. Indeed, as Lesley Smith shows, the content of the Job Gloss is drawn exclusively from the *Moralia*, and the evidence suggests that the glossator on Job—someone in the scholarly circle of the cathedral school of Laon—worked from a copy of Gregory's full text rather than from one of several abbreviated versions that circulated from the 7th century onward. Through a careful analysis of Adolph Rusch's *editio princeps* and several of the earliest manuscript witnesses to the Job Gloss, Smith establishes Gregory's influence not only on its content and structure, but also on the very layout of the glossing itself. In producing what was effectively an adept abbreviation of the *Moralia*, the glossator on Job made Gregory's commentary, and the biblical book itself, more accessible to students of the early scholastic period.

Within the general scholastic milieu, Job appeared—indeed loomed large—in a number of theological genres beyond the continuous scriptural commentary and the Glossed Bible. One such genre of considerable significance is that of the *Sentences* commentary. From the 13th well into the 16th century, every aspiring university master of theology was required to lecture formally on Peter Lombard's *Four Books of Sentences*. As a result, more commentaries

were produced on this scholastic ‘textbook’ of theology than on any other piece of Christian literature throughout history save Scripture alone. Franklin T. Harkins demonstrates that the book of Job serves as a remarkable authority throughout the *Sentences* commentaries of three prominent 13th-century scholastics, namely Albert the Great, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas, aiding them in grappling with a host of questions reflecting the wide range of systematic theology as it is presented in the Lombard’s book, from the fiery heaven in which the angels were created (Bk II d. 2) to the fire of hell (Bk IV dd. 44, 50). The myriad uses that Albert, Bonaventure, and Thomas make of Job in commenting on the *Sentences* not only illustrate the fundamental presuppositions regarding Sacred Scripture and its role in the theological enterprise that they held in common, but also highlight the theological concerns, methods, and conclusions particular to each. One conspicuous example of the distinctive approaches of Bonaventure and Thomas appears in their respective treatments of the question of whether there will be a bodily resurrection. In commenting on d. 43 of Book IV, both note how Job himself offers seemingly contradictory views when he affirms, on the one hand, *On the last day I will rise out of the earth* (19:25), and, on the other, *The human, when he falls asleep, will not rise again until heaven wastes away* (14:12). Whereas our scholastics read these authorities in tandem quite similarly, thereby arguing for the truth of the bodily resurrection, Bonaventure grounds his argument in the faith and practical piety of the Church whereas Thomas’s approach is explicitly philosophical. Their approaches here highlight the different postures that Bonaventure and Thomas assumed toward Aristotle in particular and his use in the theological task.

Approximately five years after concluding his *Sentences* lectures at Paris in 1256, Thomas Aquinas began lecturing on the book of Job for his religious brothers at the priory of San Domenico in Orvieto. These “cursory” lectures, delivered at Orvieto during the period 1261–64, have come down to us in the form of a continuous literal commentary, the *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*. One prevalent approach among recent commentators on the *Expositio super Iob ad litteram* has been to read it as the principal place wherein Thomas wrestles with the problem of evil and proposes a theodicy in response to it. Whereas a few scholars have rightly noted that Thomas himself is not concerned here with what contemporary philosophers call the problem of evil, scholarship to date has failed—rather surprisingly—to examine his decidedly Christological approach to the book of Job. The second essay by Franklin T. Harkins aims to fill this historiographical lacuna by investigating Thomas’s teaching on Christ in the *Expositio*. Harkins argues that, for Thomas, Christ stands as a noteworthy *significatum* of (i.e., thing signified by) the textual letter of Job, that is, Christ

occupies a significant place vis-à-vis the primary intention of the words and sensible similitudes whereby God reveals Himself to and through Job. Specifically, the redemptive work of Christ, in which Job hopes, enables Job and subsequent readers of the book bearing his name to understand what they may not apprehend naturally, namely the eternal extent of divine providence.

Inspired by his most famous student's literal exposition on Job, Albert the Great produced his own commentary on the biblical book, known simply as *Super Iob (On Job)*, in Cologne in 1272 or 1274. As Ruth Meyer demonstrates, Albert's commentary is unique in understanding and reading the entire book—for the first and only time in the history of exegesis of Job—as a scholastic disputation, more specifically as a demonstrative disputation on the contemporary (i.e., 13th-century) doctrine of divine providence. On Albert's reading, Job 3:1 is the formulation of the question and the beginning of the argument between Job, his friends, and Elihu that occupies Chapters 3–37; Job 38:1–42:6 serves as the answer to the disputed question; and Job 42:7–8 acts as the refutation. The friends of Job and Elihu maintain the view of providence according to which each human fares either well or ill according to his merits, though they disagree about when and how exactly this happens. Job, by contrast, denies that God considers merits, or indeed any temporal realities, in governing human life, affirming therefore that divine providence is fundamentally dissimilar to all forms of human governing. According to Albert, God alone is the true master who determines, or definitively answers, this hotly disputed question (in Job's favor, of course). And, among humans, only Job can apprehend God's answer and only through divine illumination. Albert presents Job, then, as a model theologian and teacher of theological truth who, *per illuminationem*, is allowed to share in the articulation of God's determination of the question: divinely inspired, Job expresses the necessary divine refutations to Eliphaz, who, in turn, conveys them to Zophar and Bildad.

Although the model of Job as *disputatio* remained influential well into the 14th century, later scholars developed the exegesis of the 13th century not only by means of a sustained interest in the literal sense of the Latin text, but also through a study of the words used by the original authors or redactors. Aaron Canty describes how a growing interest in the literal sense and in the historical context in which Job was thought to have been written suggested to Nicholas of Lyra that Thomas Aquinas was wrong in asserting that the book of Job functioned primarily as an argument in favor of divine providence in the face of other philosophical accounts of human nature. Instead, Nicholas argues that the book is a debate about why evil things happen to good people and good things happen to the wicked. While Job is not sinless, in Nicholas's view, nonetheless his affliction outweighs his sinfulness, which is why Job is correct to

indicate the disproportion. The problem is that Job's friends assume that temporal afflictions are proportionate to sins committed; in this case, rewards and punishments in the afterlife are superfluous. With such a presupposition, the friends find it easy to conclude that Job's sufferings are the proportionate consequences of sins that Job committed earlier in his life. Another position, however, is possible in light of Job's profession of innocence, namely that sufferings endured faithfully and virtuously in this life may allow one to merit greater rewards in heaven. Like a master settling the dispute among his students, God sides with Job because of his innocence and virtue; but God also finds fault with Job for his zeal in debating with Him. It is legitimate to defend oneself in the face of false accusations, but such a defense must be undertaken without impugning God's sovereignty and righteousness. God thus corrects the false beliefs of Job's friends and simultaneously removes the ignorance that allowed Job to believe that he could debate with the Almighty.

The last major 'medieval thinker' whose exegetical and theological perspective on Job rounds out Part I of this volume is Martin Luther. Ronald K. Rittgers provides a broad survey of the exegesis of Job in Luther himself and in Lutheran theologians of the 16th century more generally. Factors that shaped the exegesis of the book of Job during this period include the importance of Scripture alone as a source of doctrine along with a concomitant disengagement from late medieval exegetical traditions. Also important was an emphasis on spiritual edification and on types of devotional piety that drew inspiration from the suffering and crucified Christ in order to console the poor and afflicted in late medieval and early modern European society. Although Luther himself never wrote a treatise or commentary on Job, he referred to the figure of Job frequently throughout his writings. For Luther, Job is a model evangelical Christian because he is simultaneously a saint and a sinner, affirms the important roles of faith and humility, and teaches the uselessness of good works in salvation. Luther interprets Job's self-defense as blasphemy that was induced by Satan and yet reflected the frailty characteristic even of the most faithful people. Because Job presumably lived before the Mosaic Law, Luther believes that Job is a perfect example of someone who is righteous by faith apart from the Law. Justification by faith freed one from punishment, and so the sufferings that the faithful Job endured were truly tests and opportunities for the purification of his faith. Job's growth in faith allowed him to see God's love and goodness hidden under their opposite; thus, Job is a perfect example of the importance of the theology of the cross that Luther developed over the course of his career. Luther's theology and interpretations of Job influenced other Protestant theologians such as Johannes Brenz (1499–1570), Andreas Osiander (1492–1552), Wenzeslaus Linck (1483–1547), and Hieronymus Weller (1499–1572), as well as pastoral literature,

such as the 1533 Brandenburg-Nuremberg Church Ordinance. The later commentaries of Linck and Weller began to associate Job's friends with the pope, and thus Job commentaries came to acquire an anti-Catholic and anti-papal dimension not found in Luther's discussions of the book.

The essays in the second part of the present collection survey vernacular and popular perspectives on Job in the Middle Ages. Gamble L. Madsen traces artistic depictions of Job from Roman catacomb paintings and sarcophagi in late antiquity to Gothic images in the High and Late Middle Ages. Visual depictions of Job in the Early Middle Ages extol him as a model of patience, virtue, and perseverance. Romanesque portrayals often emphasize Job's confidence in his encounters with his wife and friends, as well as his role in foreshadowing the sufferings of Christ. In the High and Late Middle Ages, with the advent of Gothic art, sculptors and painters depicted Job in a wide variety of artistic media, including capitals in monastic cloisters, cathedral sculptural programs, and illuminated texts such as *Bibles moralisées* and Books of Hours. This period of increased artistic experimentation and intellectual complexity allowed viewers to experience Job in several roles. Madsen explores such works of art as the cloister capitals at Saint-Pierre in Moissac, the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Chartres, and several illuminated manuscripts, all of which portray Job as a type of Christ, a virtuous believer, a model of perseverance and innocence, and an object of Satan's temptation. The variety of these portrayals allowed Job's experiences and eventual vindication to resonate with the trials of medieval viewers whose faith and hope these works of art encouraged.

In addition to the visual and pictorial arts, Latin and vernacular literature of the Middle Ages also found a significant place for Job. Greti Dinkova-Bruun examines several types of medieval Latin poems, including epigrams and *tituli*, paraphrases of the book of Job, and mnemonic versifications. In general, epigrams, *tituli*, and paraphrases date from the 12th and early 13th centuries. Dinkova-Bruun surveys poems written by Hilbert of Le Mans (d. 1133), William de Montibus (d. 1213), Peter Riga (d. 1209), and a couple of anonymous authors, concluding that these types of poems are exegetical in style. Regardless of their length, they are creative works that interpret the book of Job following the exegesis of Gregory the Great's *Moralia*. Mnemonic poems tend to be a later medieval trend, with the most famous poems written between the early 13th and early 14th centuries. Examining the *Summarium Bible* attributed to Alexander of Villa Dei (d. 1240) and the *Margarita* of Guido Vicentinus (d. 1331), Dinkova-Bruun identifies these poems as more mechanical than exegetical, with the focus on succinct summaries of each chapter in order to aid the reader's memorization of the sacred text. Both groups of poems were used, in fact, for memorization, but whereas allegorical connections and rhetoric

constituted the exegetical poems, brevity and simplicity characterized the mnemonic poems.

Part 2 of the present volume also examines Job in Old and Middle English literature. Martin Chase explores the figure of Job in a variety of genres of Old English literature. The sermons of Ælfric of Eynsham and other anonymous contemporaneous homilies show how Job was depicted in 10th- and early 11th-century England. Ælfric often applies a typological reading to the sacred book and connects the figure of Job to Christ's humanity and the moral struggles of the Church's members. Other parts of Ælfric's homilies are simply paraphrases or even translations of the book of Job often interspersed with commentary largely derived from Gregory's *Moralia*. A prominent theme recurring throughout Old English interpretations of Job is the saint's constant struggle against Satan. Ælfric often exhorts his listeners to imitate Job, who was engaged in spiritual warfare throughout the course of his life. Uninterested in questions of theodicy and divine providence, the English abbot is more concerned to show how to defeat the devil through patience and perseverance. Chase also examines a number of 12th-century homilies (most of which treat the figure of Job rather cursorily), two Old English charms, and several poems, including the *Dream of the Rood* and *The Phoenix*. The latter poem in particular draws directly from the parts of Job's discourses that express his confidence in God, and it articulates Job's certitude in overcoming death by means of God's gracious assistance.

In the Late Middle Ages, Geoffrey Chaucer made various uses of Job in his *Canterbury Tales*. Jane Beal examines this classic of Middle English literature, written in the late 14th century, and notes that Chaucer often alludes to Job in the tales that deal with conflict in marriage. The retort of Job's wife, *Curse God and die* (Job 2:9), often provided a literary basis for medieval portrayals of women as complaining and unfaithful, but Chaucer associates Job's patience and perseverance with wives who have to endure the abuse and foibles of their husbands. The Wife of Bath, for example, encourages her husband in an amusing way to imitate Job's patience, thereby implying that husbands are often lacking in that virtue. Also reminiscent of Job's story is the tale of the Wife of Bath, which includes such tragedies as the deaths of her five husbands and her loss of hearing in one ear due to the abuse of one husband. In the Clerk's Tale, Griselda's similarity to Job pertains not so much to the quality of her sufferings as to her extraordinary patience and to her triumphant restoration after being so cruelly tested by her husband. In portraying Griselda's constancy, the Clerk displays a wider sympathy to the unjust sufferings of women in general, even if he tells his tale in opposition to the Wife's advocacy of female dominance within the home. Finally, Chaucer makes another connection between Job and

long-suffering wives in the Tale of Melibee. Melibee's wife, Prudence, and his daughter, Sophie, are assaulted by enemies after he leaves home. Upon discovering the tragedy, he is filled with sorrow and anger, but Prudence encourages Melibee to consider Job's sufferings and to acquire his patience. Eventually, Melibee is won over by his wife's counsel and her own conformity to the example of Job. In all three stories, Chaucer links the story of Job with examples of patient and suffering wives who exhort their husbands to be more like Job.

Job also appears in vernacular literature in the sermons and tracts of John Wyclif and his followers. J. Patrick Hornbeck II studies how these English authors invoked Job as an example counter to the corrupt institutional aspects of the 14th-century Church that Wyclif and the Lollards found so distasteful. For example, the ashes or dunghill upon which Job sits is contrasted with the ornate churches and cloisters that separated pastors, monks, and friars from the needs of the poor laity. One Wycliffite preacher associates the command of Job's wife to curse God with the clergy receiving benefices, on the grounds that both cursing God and receiving benefices are snares of the devil designed to lead one astray. Another author contrasts Job's foul breath in Job 19:17 with the breath of Christ, the Gospel or the Word of God, which animated the early Church but which has been corrupted more recently by clergy who are more interested in worldly goods. Job's righteousness is contrasted in other works with the oppression of the poor by greedy clergy who covet benefices and sell the sacraments, and the devil exercises mastery over those who are proud. Wycliffite authors tended not to find in Job a source of consolation; rather they understood him as an authoritative voice decrying the ecclesiastical and social abuses of their own day. Interestingly, in contradistinction to Luther's later exegesis that emphasized Job's faith, the Wycliffite interpretations of Job link reward and punishment to one's actions and virtues or lack thereof. If Christians are to avoid pride, they must obey God's commandments and avoid superstitious practices.

Together the essays collected here highlight the wide array of exegetical, theological, philosophical, literary, visual-artistic, and popular interpretations and appropriations of Job witnessed to in the medieval Christian West. Whether providing evidence of humankind's natural sinfulness in the hands of Augustine and Jerome, pointing forward as a type of Christ in the commentaries of Gregory the Great and Thomas Aquinas, testifying to righteousness by faith alone for Luther, modeling the virtuous believer in Gothic cathedral sculptures, illustrating how to defeat the devil through patience in the homilies of Ælfric of Eynsham, encouraging perseverance among wives who endure abusive husbands in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and denouncing ecclesiastical corruptions in Wycliffite proclamations, Job proved himself an extraordinarily malleable and compelling *auctoritas* throughout the Middle Ages.

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to those without whom this volume would not have been possible. We are grateful to Julian Deahl of Brill for his initial invitation to edit this volume, and we are obliged to both Julian and Christopher Bellitto for their helpful guidance and unfailing patience—indeed, the patience of Job!—throughout the protracted process of our producing the manuscript. We thank Ivo Romein for his kind assistance with various aspects of this project and his consistent encouragement, and we gladly acknowledge the two anonymous reviewers for Brill for their critical comments on the work. We are indebted to the excellent scholars who have contributed to this volume, from whom we have learned much. Thanks to Mitchell Stevens, Franklin’s Research Assistant at the Boston College School of Theology and Ministry, for reading, correcting, and commenting on the penultimate draft of the manuscript. Finally, we are deeply grateful to our families, who have generously and supportively shared us—for the past seven years—with the medieval Job.

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PART 1

Exegetical and Theological Perspectives



Job in the Ancient Versions and the Pseudepigrapha

Angela Kim Harkins

1.1 Introduction

Few biblical books enjoy the legacy of Job, whose appeal endures generation after generation. The perennial question of righteous suffering is one with which the protagonist of this biblical book grapples long and hard.¹ In this essay we will examine how the strikingly divergent portraits of Job from the biblical prose framework and the passionate interior dialogues raise a fundamental question that both the Greek and Aramaic interpretive traditions seek to answer, namely, who exactly is Job? This essay proposes that ancient exegetes answered this basic question not only by introducing details that clarify the identity of Job himself, but also by developing those individual characters who would have known Job best, namely, his wife, daughters, and friends. All of these exegetical developments help us to see how ancient readers sought to know more clearly this man of superlative virtue. In the interpretive traditions that will be examined here, secondary characters in the book of Job are presented with greater detail than the fleeting accounts found in the biblical text. As a result of these historicizing interpretations that make Job and his family and friends more concrete, Job himself becomes more fully human. By coming to know Job more fully as a person, the ancient reader was enabled better to understand how incomparable was the suffering of this innocent man, whose credentials are vouchsafed twice by God himself (Job 1:8 and 2:3).

1.2 The Figure of Job in the Biblical Book

The book of Job as received in the Masoretic Text has complex literary layers that are worth discussing. The hero of the book, as he is known from the

1 The scholarship on the significant theological questions raised by Job is too vast to review here. A number of excellent studies on the book of Job have appeared in recent years that have engaged the theological questions raised by the book: Gerald J. Janzen, *Job* (Atlanta, 1985); Katharine J. Dell, *The Book of Job as Sceptical Literature* (Berlin, 1991); Carol A. Newsom, "The Book of Job," in *The New Interpreter's Bible*, Volume IV (Nashville, 1996), 319–637; eadem, *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations* (New York, 2003); James L. Crenshaw, "Job, Book of," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 3, (eds.) Gary A. Harion, Astrid B. Beck, and David Noel Freedman (New York, 1992), 858–68.

prologue (Job 1:1–2:13) and the epilogue (42:7–17), has long been recognized as distinct from the figure who takes center stage in the dramatic poetic sections of the book. Modern commentators often take the prose framework to be the work of a pious hand seeking to diffuse the explosive tenor of the book. The main poetic portion of the book contains a series of dialogues between the protagonist, Job, and his so-called friends, Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite (Chs. 3:1–27:23). There is a clear and consistent exchange between each of these friends and Job, which goes through two full cycles, but the third cycle, beginning in Chapter 22, shows signs of the pattern breaking down. Some departures from the previous two cycles include the noticeable brevity of Bildad’s speech (Ch. 25) and the absence of any speech from Zophar. The extended poem on wisdom in Chapter 28 is also taken as a literary irregularity given the sequence of exchanges in the dialogues found in Chapters 3–21. As usual, Job has the final say in this round of exchanges with an extended reply (Chs. 29–31). At this point, a new character, Elihu son of Barachel the Buzite, comes on the scene and his speech, which extends from Chapter 32 to 37, is notably longer than those of Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar. Because Elihu is not listed as one of the interlocutors in either the prologue or the epilogue, commentators think it likely that his speech has been inserted.² After Elihu’s speech, the book presents a riveting set of exchanges between God and Job. The deity’s explosive reply to Job from the whirlwind (Chs. 38–39), to which Job gives a meek reply (40:3–5), serves as the thematic crescendo to the book. God gives another extended speech in Job 40:6–41:34, to which Job again responds in a submissive way (42:1–6).

The figure of Job is mentioned in both the Old and the New Testaments, although the references are few. In the Old Testament, the figure of Job is known by the prophet Ezekiel and is placed in prestigious company in Ezek. 14:14–20. There Job is cited along with Noah and Daniel, each of whom has a legendary reputation for righteousness. It appears that Job’s power of intercession merited his inclusion here, as the prophet notes that these skills would fail all

2 Notice, however, that Norman C. Habel (*The Book of Job* [Philadelphia, 1985]) holds a minority view concerning Elihu when he understands him to be part of the original structure of the book: “The rather verbose style of Elihu is not an argument for disparate authorship, but an indication that the poet has employed language and idioms consistent with Elihu’s character as a brash youth who tends to make a fool of himself as a legal official” (36). The majority of scholars understand Elihu as an intrusion to the text; see Newsom, *The Book of Job*, 200–201; Marvin H. Pope, *Job*, 3rd ed.; Anchor Bible 15 (Garden City, 1973), xxvii–xxviii; Edouard Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, trans. H. Knight (London, 1967), xcvi–cv; Samuel R. Driver and George B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job* (Edinburgh, 1921), xl–xlvi.

three holy men on the day that is to come.³ As might be expected, Job is listed in the litany of saints found in the Hebrew text of Ben Sira as part of the praise of the prophet Ezekiel (Sir. 49:9), presumably because of this reference in Ezek. 14:14.⁴ In the New Testament, the author of the Epistle of James mentions Job by name as a paragon of virtue.⁵ It is from this New Testament passage, based on the Job of the prose prologue and epilogue rather than on the dialogues in the biblical book bearing his name, that Job is thought to become an exemplar of patient endurance of suffering in the Christian tradition. Some scholars have proposed that the popularity of the portrait of Job as the patient one in the Church was also due to the Greek *Testament of Job*, which had wide appeal for later Christian communities.⁶ Scholars have also noted the significance of Paul's citation of Job 5:13 in 1 Cor. 3:19 when he says, "For the wisdom of this

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- 3 The point of referencing these distinguished holy men in Ezek. 14 is to say that the time of wrath that is approaching will be so severe that even if Noah, Daniel, and Job were to intercede, they would succeed in saving only themselves—they would be unable to save their children. See Harald-Martin Wahl, "Noah, Daniel und Hiob in Ezechiel XIV 12–20 (21–23): Anmerkungen zum traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund," *Vetus Testamentum* 42 (1992): 542–53.
- 4 It is interesting to note here that the Greek text of Sirach has not preserved this reference to Job. Natalio Fernández Marcos ("The Septuagint Reading of the Book of Job," in *The Book of Job*, (ed.) W.A.M. Beuken [Leuven, 1994], 251–66) reasons that the absence of Job in Greek Sirach is due to Job's Gentile status. For the Hebrew text of Ben Sira, see also Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim, *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance and Analysis of the Vocabulary* (Jerusalem, 1973).
- 5 While it has been proposed that the reference in James (5:11) to Job presumes the virtuous Job known from the *Testament of Job* (see, e.g., Peter H. Davids, *The Epistle of James* [Grand Rapids, 1982], 187), the reference there is not detailed enough to demonstrate knowledge of Job from that pseudepigraphon. Kurt Anders Richardson argues that the author of James has the canonical Job from the prose framework in mind: see his "Job as Exemplar in the Epistle of James," in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, (ed.) Stanley E. Porter (Grand Rapids, 2006), 213–29, esp. 214–15.
- 6 Whereas the original Jewish provenance of the *Testament of Job* is debated, there is clear evidence of the longevity of the 'saintly' and edifying portrait of Job among Greek, Coptic, and Slavonic speaking Christian communities well into the medieval period. See the excellent study by Maria Haralambakis, *The Testament of Job: Text, Narrative and Reception History* (London, 2012), 141–72. The Jewish provenance of the *Testament of Job* has been proposed by Marc Philonenko ("Le Testament de Job et les Therapeutes," *Semitica* 8 [1958]: 41–58), who suggested that the themes fit well the concerns of the Jewish sect called the Therapeutae, as they are known from Philo's *On the Contemplative Life*; also idem, "Le Testament de Job: Introduction, traduction et notes," *Semitica* 18 (1968): 1–75. See also Angela Kim Harkins, "A Fitting Inheritance for Job's Daughters in the *Testament of Job*," *Henoch* 36 (2014): 1–22.

world is foolishness with God. For it is written, 'He catches the wise in their craftiness.'⁷

The book of Job is concerned with the life of one exceedingly virtuous man; he is not the ordinary man on the street. According to the prologue, Job's moral excellence is incomparable. Some sense of Job's extreme conscientiousness is conveyed by his practice of offering preemptive sacrifices for his children's possible moral laxity (Job 1:5). The interior dialogues portray a very different Job: one who is distraught, impatient, and angry. The charges that he brings against the deity seriously challenge God's justice. In his third speech (9:1–10:22), Job speaks of the enormity of God's power, which makes Him unaccountable to any human. There is a danger to this unchecked power. God is likened to a predatory animal who is hunting Job (10:16), who is as defenseless as on the day he emerged from the womb (10:8–11, 18–19).

Job's strong angry outbursts were seen by Theodore of Mopsuestia (350–428) to be unseemly for a hero who was otherwise upheld as a moral exemplar. For the late-antique bishop of Antioch, these irreconcilable portraits of Job raised serious questions about the book's inspired status.⁸ The magnification of Job's saintly status for the ancient communities that produced and read texts about him does not necessarily need to be understood as a conscious selection of one portrait of Job, namely the patient virtuous Job from the prose framework, to the exclusion of the angry Job of the poetic dialogues. Despite the crisp, competing images of a dispassionate and virtuous saint, on the one hand, and an anguished and tormented figure, on the other, both portraits of the biblical Job make him more human as a result; like a real human, Job is capable of experiencing the full range of emotions, both dispassionate patience

7 Richardson, "Job as Exemplar in the Epistle of James," 213 n. 2.

8 Martien F.G. Parmentier ("Job the Rebel: From the Rabbis to the Church Fathers," in *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, (eds.) Marcel Poorthuis and Joshua Schwartz [Boston, 2004], 227–42) writes, "Diodore's famous pupil *Theodore of Mopsuestia* wrote a critical commentary on Job (now lost), in which he rejected the book in its present form, as we can learn from the Acts of the Council of Constantinople in 553, which preserve some fragments of the work in the context of Theodore's condemnation" (233). According to Parmentier, Theodore objected strongly to Job's ill behavior in the dialogues and also to the book's use of pagan rhetoric (234). The tension between the patient saintly Job and the indignant angry Job was too much to overcome. See also Christophe Schäublin, *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der antiochenischen Exegese* (Cologne, 1974), 77–83. Here, see too the discussion on the unity of Job by Dariusz Ivanski (*The Dynamics of Job's Intercession*, *Analecta Biblica* 161 [Rome, 2006], 118–19), but notice that he focuses almost exclusively on modern biblical commentaries that make this distinction; the disjuncture was recognized well in the ancient period, as can be seen in the comments of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

and indignant anger. Even so, the biblical book is altogether vague about the identity of its protagonist: Who is Job? Whence did he come? What other details can be known about his life experiences? These central and persistent questions gave rise to a number of interpretive traditions in the ancient versions and the pseudepigrapha that sought to clarify exactly who Job was.⁹ One way that ancient readers sought to know Job more fully was to inquire into those who knew him best, namely his family and friends. As a result, a number of interpretations that focus on expanding and deepening these characters are aimed ultimately at historicizing the figure of Job.

1.3 The Book of Job in the Ancient Versions

The text of the book of Job has an interesting and varied history. It is well known that the Septuagint version is considerably shorter than the one known from the Masoretic Text and contains significant variations in order and arrangement from the Hebrew, thus representing an alternative literary edition. Here it is important to bear in mind that religious communities in antiquity did not, as a general rule, canonize specific textual versions, but rather esteemed the book in general. Stephen D. Ryan says of the book of Judith, in a similar case of multiple literary editions: “It is particularly in cases where there are diverse textual forms of a biblical book that the notion of locating canonicity and inspiration at the level of the book or even of a whole canon, rather than at the level of a manuscript or a particular textual form makes sense.”¹⁰ A manuscript culture would extend greater generosity toward multiple literary editions than the modern mind might expect. As many as 390 lines or about 20% of the material found in the Hebrew text of Job does not appear in the

9 While it is not possible here to examine the legacy of Job in the Islamic sources, some discussion of it is available in Karla R. Suomala, “The Taming of Job in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam,” *Word & World* 31 (2011): 397–408, esp. 405–7; see also A.H. Johns, “Aspects of the Prophet Job in the Qur’an: A Rendering of Tabari’s Exegesis of Surah al-Anbiya’ (xxi.83–84),” *Hamarad Islamicus* 28 (2005): 34–46; and idem, “Narrative, Intertext and Allusion in the Qur’anic Presentation of Job,” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 1 (1999): 1–25. According to Hadi Ghantous (“Was Job ‘Patient’? Is God ‘Just’?” *Theological Review* 33 [2012]: 22–38, esp. 29–30), the Islamic reception of Job was mediated through the Greek *Testament of Job*, although it is not clear that this assertion is fully demonstrated by his discussion.

10 Stephen D. Ryan, “The Ancient Versions of Judith and the Place of the Septuagint in the Catholic Church,” in *A Pious Seductress: Studies in the Book of Judith*, (ed.) G.G. Xeravits (Berlin, 2012), 1–21. Also, on LXX Job, see Fernández Marcos, “The Septuagint Reading.”

LXX Job, making it a significant alternative witness to the book in antiquity.¹¹ Based on a similar case study where the fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls were able to confirm that the much shorter and differently arranged book of the LXX Jeremiah arose from a faithful copy of an alternative Hebrew *Vorlage*, some scholars have theorized that the LXX Job also reflects a shorter literary edition of the book that was preserved in a Hebrew text that has not survived.¹² While Jeremiah is the most famous and thus most frequently cited instance of this, other examples of double literary editions have also been attested in a Hebrew *Vorlage* at Qumran. Unfortunately, the fragments of the book of Job found at Qumran were not able to verify whether the variations were present in the

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- 11 The short version of the Greek text of LXX Job can be accessed in the critical edition by Joseph Ziegler, *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum XI, 4 Hiob* (Göttingen, 1982). See Fernández Marcos, "The Septuagint Reading," 251–52, n. 3, who references the study by Paul Dhorme, *Le livre de Job* (Paris, 1926), CLXII, which itemizes the following passages from the MT that are absent in the LXX Job: 4% of MT Job 1–15; 16% MT Job 15–21; 25% MT Job 22–31; 35% MT Job 32–37; 16% MT Job 38–42. As this data indicates, most of the significant differences between the MT Job and LXX Job appear in the third round of exchanges in the dialogue section which includes the poem on wisdom in Job 28 that many understand to be an independent poem inserted at this point in the dialogues, and in the section known as Elihu's speech (MT Job 32–37). For further discussion of the LXX Job, see: Homer Heater, *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job* (Washington D.C., 1982); Claude E. Cox, "Elihu's Second Speech According to the Septuagint," in *Studies in the Book of Job*, (ed.) W.E. Aufrecht (Waterloo, 1981), 36–49; Fernández Marcos, "The Septuagint Reading"; Johann Cook, "Are the Additions in LXX Job 2,9a-e to be deemed as the Old Greek Text?" *Biblica* 91 (2010): 275–84; and Scott B. Noegel, "Wordplay and Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Job," *Aula Orientalis* 14 (1995): 33–44.
- 12 The famous example is 4QJer^b, which is discussed by Emanuel Tov, "Some Aspects of the Textual and Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah," in *Le livre de Jérémie: Le prophète et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission*, (ed.) P.M. Bogaert (Leuven, 1981), 145–67, esp. 146; and idem, "The Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in the Light of Its Textual History," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, (ed.) Jeffrey H. Tigay (Philadelphia, 1985), 213–37. See also Eugene C. Ulrich, "Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives and Reflections on Determining the Form to Be Translated," in *Perspectives on the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honor of Walter J. Harrelson*, (ed.) James L. Crenshaw (Macon, Ga., 1988), 101–16; citations of this essay appear according to the pagination in the volume of reprinted essays by Ulrich entitled *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, 1999), 34–50. Fernández Marcos, "The Septuagint Reading," 254–55 shares this understanding of the LXX translator. This position follows the earlier views held by Harry M. Orlinsky, "Septuagint as holy writ and the philosophy of the translators," *Hebrew Union College Annual* (1975): 89–114, esp. 109–110, 112–13; and idem, "The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Job 14.12," *Jewish Quarterly Review* n.s. 28 (1937): 57–68, esp. 64.

Hebrew *Vorlage* or whether they were introduced by the Greek translator.¹³ Even so, strong evidence exists from other biblical manuscripts from Qumran that the Old Greek translator, as a general rule, faithfully translated his Hebrew *Vorlage*. Nevertheless, it is important to allow enough latitude for individual Old Greek translators who may have exercised more liberty than others.¹⁴ A strong, persistent current in modern scholarship understands the differences from the LXX Job as the result of the Greek translator's design,¹⁵ although alternative views are also represented in the scholarly literature.¹⁶ Even though no direct evidence exists to confirm the antiquity of an alternate literary edition in Hebrew, the cumulative evidence from the Scrolls suggests that the most probable scenario is one in which variation in the large scale literary edition of Job was not introduced by the hand of the Old Greek translator, who, as a general rule, sought to reproduce his Greek text carefully from the difficult Hebrew that appears in the book. In other words, the differences between the Hebrew and Greek versions cannot be attributed solely to the interpretive designs and theological agenda of the Old Greek translator.¹⁷ It is thought that

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- 13 Patrick W. Skehan et al., *Qumran Cave 4. IV Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1992), 155–57.
- 14 Ulrich writes (“Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives,” 42), “I have yet to examine an allegation of a major interpretative translation by an OG translator and be convinced that the OG translator was responsible for a substantively innovative translation.” See also Emanuel Tov (“The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Understanding of the Septuagint,” in *The Greek & Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, (ed.) Emanuel Tov [Leiden, 1999], 285–300) who cites the Qumran scrolls as significant evidence for the idea that the LXX translator was working with an alternative Hebrew *Vorlage* and not freely translating. Even so, Tov (citing Cox, “Elihu’s Second Speech”) writes, “the large omissions in the LXX of Job should probably be ascribed to the Greek translator, and hence are not relevant to the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible”: see Tov, “Recensional Differences between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint of Proverbs,” in *The Greek & Hebrew Bible*, 419–31, here 419. Both Tov’s essay (originally published in 1990) and that of Cox (1985) were published prior to Fernández Marcos, “The Septuagint Reading” (1994).
- 15 Cox, “Elihu’s Second Speech,” 36–49. At one point, Cox proposes that the LXX translator amended the text for the sake of efficiency: “Given the difficulty of the Hebrew, the translator may have decided that Elihu’s argument need not be given again” (46). Here, the rationale seems to miss the point that the overall impact of the book of Job is in the extended and repeated use of dialogue and lament, which inefficiently conveys content but cumulatively succeeds in generating a visceral response in the reader.
- 16 Cook (“The Additions in LXX Job 2,9a–e”) surveys a range of possible explanations for the short LXX version of Job.
- 17 Fernández Marcos writes: “my impression is that the translator has not had a theological bias as a main motiv (sic) for the cuttings and adaptations, but that these have been

the complexities of the Hebrew led to the translation of the book into Aramaic during the late Second Temple period. While an Aramaic text of Job dating to the 1st century CE was discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls (11Q10), its identification as a targum has not been widely accepted by scholars.¹⁸ Instead, it is reasonable to consider it, along with the LXX, as an ancient attempt to make sense of the difficult Hebrew.

1.4 The Septuagint as an Ancient Version of Job

While the great majority of the differences between the MT Job and the LXX Job are accounted for by absences in the shorter Greek text, remarkable details surface in the prose framework of LXX Job at 2:9a–e and 42:17a–e that are not found in the MT Job. The first set of pluses appears in LXX Job 2:9a–e and concerns Job's wife.¹⁹ The LXX reads:

Then after a long time had passed, his wife said to him, “How long will you persist and say, [9a] ‘Look, I will hang on a little longer, while I wait for the hope of my deliverance?’ [9b] For look, your legacy has vanished from the earth—sons and daughters, my womb's birth pangs and labors, for whom I wearied myself with hardships in vain. [9c] And you? You sit in the refuse of worms as you spend the night in the open air. [9d] As for me, I am one that wanders about and a hired servant—from place to

carried out for philological reasons, concretely because of the difficulty of understanding a great part of the text” (“The Septuagint Reading,” 255). So too reasons Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Septuagintal Translation Techniques: A Solution to the Problem of the Tabernacle Account,” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (Kampen, 1993; repr. Leuven, 2007), 107–121.

- 18 This scroll is dated palaeographically to approximately the Herodian period and was initially identified as a ‘targum’ by J.P.M. van der Ploeg and A.S. van der Woude in *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte x1 de Qumrân* (Leiden, 1971), 2–3. On the dating, see also David Shepherd, *Targum and Translation: A Reconsideration of the Qumran Aramaic Version of Job* (Assen, 2004), 3–4. Shepherd is critical of labeling this ancient version and the Syriac Peshitta, with which it shares features, as examples of targum (286 n. 102). The text 11QtgJob is alternatively labeled more neutrally as 11Q10 and as 11QarJob by G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York, 1998), 431.
- 19 Cook reasons that these details are added by the Old Greek translator (“The Additions in LXX Job 2,9a–e”). The reference to ‘plus(es)’ is more neutral and thus more preferable than the term ‘additions’ which Cook uses. The latter assumes that there is an original text that has been altered, while the former does not make the presumption that any single textual tradition is original.

place and house to house, waiting for when the sun will set, so I can rest from the distresses and griefs that now beset me. [9e] Now say some word to the Lord and die!”²⁰

The second set of pluses in the epilogue is a collection of various details. Here in LXX Job 42 we find a provocative statement in LXX Job 42:17a: “It is written that he [Job] will rise again with those whom the Lord raises up” (γέγραπται δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναστήσεσθαι μεθ’ ὧν ὁ Κύριος ἀνίστησιν), that later interpreters understood to be a reference to his resurrection.²¹ Following this comment, the Septuagint includes the identification of Job as Jobab, an ancient Edomite king known from Gen 10:29 and Gen 36:33 (LXX Job 42:17b).²² These variations in the LXX Job, like other ancient variations on the book of Job, are concerned to establish Job’s identity and lineage. This impulse is also extended in the Septuagint to his three friends, each of whom is presented as an ancient king who is presumably worthy to be recognized as the peer of the highly esteemed Job (LXX Job 42:17e): “they came to him, each one from his own country—Eliphaz, the *king* of the Thaimanites, Baldad, the *tyrant* of the Sauchites, and Sophar, the *king* of the Minites” (οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλοι, Ἐλιφάζ τῶν Ἡσαὺ υἰῶν, θαιμανῶν βασιλεύς, βαλδὰδ ὁ Σαυχαίων τύραννος, Σωφάρ ὁ Μιναίων βασιλεύς).²³ In effect, these details elevate their status, making them fitting peers of Job who are worthy of his excellent company. As a result, Job’s interlocutors become more compelling as individual characters for Greek readers. This not only heightens the dramatic force of the story, but also gives contours to the figure of Job as well. Job, the extraordinary man of legendary wealth, high

20 This translation is that of the New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS). The Greek LXX of Job 2:9 is as follows: Χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ προβεβηκότος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Μέχρι τίνος καρτερήσεις λέγων [9a] Ἰδοὺ ἀναμένω χρόνον ἔτι μικρὸν προσδεχόμενος τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας μου; [9b] ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἠφάνισται σου τὸ μνημόσυνον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐμῆς κοιλίας ὡδίνες καὶ πόνοι, οὓς εἰς τὸ κενὸν ἐκοπίασα μετὰ μόθων. [9c] σύ τε αὐτὸς ἐν σαπρίᾳ σκωλήκων κάθησαι διανυκτερεύων αἴθριος [9d] κἀγὼ πλανήτης καὶ λάτρης τόπον ἐκ τόπου περιερχομένη καὶ οἰκίαν ἐξ οἰκίας προσδεχομένη τὸν ἥλιον τότε δύσεται, ἵνα ἀναπαύσωμαι τῶν μόθων καὶ τῶν ὀδυνῶν, αἱ με νῦν συνεχουσιν. [9e] ἀλλὰ εἰπὸν τι ῥῆμα εἰς κύριον καὶ τελεύτα.

21 Also see Job 19:25–27 (cf. Job 14:12).

22 The Hellenistic historian Aristeeas knows this reference and makes mention of Job based on this identification as an ancient Edomite king. See Fernández Marcos, “The Septuagint Reading,” 254; Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments From Hellenistic Jewish Authors. Volume 1: Historians* (Chico, 1983), 261–75; and Annette Y. Reed, “Job as Jobab: The Interpretation of Job in LXX Job 42:17b–e,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120 (2001): 31–55.

23 Translation from Cook, “The Additions in LXX Job 2,9a–e,” 283.

status, and superlative virtue, keeps company with other such elite men. When the LXX Job 42:17b identifies Job as Jobab, the ancient Edomite king from Gen 36:33–34, it must follow that his companions are of similar status. These pluses that appear in LXX Job 42:17a–e come from a “Syrian” source: Οὗτος ἐρμηνεύεται ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου (literally: “This is translated from the Syriac book”). Annette Reed notes well that the phrase used here, τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου, is the typical Septuagint way of referring to the Aramaic language (2 Macc 15:36; 2 Esdr 4:7; etc) and is not commonly found as a reference to the region of Syria.²⁴

Locating Job in an ancient historical context reflects a deep desire to know more about who Job was, a concern not only for the Greek-speaking transmitters of the book but also for the Aramaic tradents. According to various Aramaic traditions preserved in rabbinic authorities, the *Targum of Job*, and Pseudo-Philo, Job’s wife was Dinah, the daughter of the great patriarch Jacob known from Gen 34.²⁵ The *Targum of Job* states, “And Dinah his wife said to him, ‘Do you still persist in your integrity? Curse the word of the Lord and die’” (*Tg. Job* 2:9).²⁶ The tradition of identifying Dinah as Job’s wife finds a more elaborate

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- 24 Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 36. Reed translates the demonstrative in this passage as a reference to the man Job: “*This one [i.e., Job] is interpreted in an Aramaic book as dwelling in the land of Uz, on the boundaries of Idumea and Arabia, and he previously bore for himself the name Jobab.*” Reed does not conclude, as Robert Doran does, that the entirety of the LXX appendix is being translated from an equivalent Aramaic *Vorlage* but rather that “the appendix may make a much weaker and more ambiguous claim, merely implying that its interpretation of Job is based on such a source” (37). Cf. Robert Doran, “Aristeas the Exegete,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, (ed.) J.H. Charlesworth (New York: 1985), 855–58, here 857. Nevertheless, it does not seem necessary to render the Septuagint Greek in this way, but rather more simply as “it is explained in the Aramaic book that...,” thus following a more direct translation as suggested by Michael C. Legaspi, “Job’s Wives in the Testament of Job,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127 (2008): 71–79, here 74. Reed’s translation forces us to take the demonstrative with the antecedent “Job” as the subject of “being interpreted,” but such a verb makes better sense when speaking of a literary text or passage rather than a person. The LXX Job seeks, in its vivid presentations of the secondary characters in the story, to present Job more fully as a person and not solely a fictive literary character.
- 25 Other late antique traditions that locate Job in the patriarchal period include the *Targ. Ps.-J.* on Gen 36:11; Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.* 1.6; Chrysostom, *Exp. in Job* Preface (Ursula and Dieter Hagedorn, (eds.), *Johannes Chrysostom Kommentary zu Hiob* [Berlin, 1990], 1); these references taken from Dale C. Allison, Jr., “Job in the Testament of Abraham,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 12 (2001): 131–47, specifically 136 n. 9.
- 26 David M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job: An Introduction and Critical Edition* (Leiden, 1994). This datum appears in all of the extant manuscripts of *Tg. Job* except ⚭, which is the siglum for the Antwerp Polyglot (*Biblia Regia*) from the 16th century (7, 14). Stec observes

setting in Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, which introduces Job into the retelling of the Shechem episode in the book of Genesis. Here Dinah is said to have been given to Job as a wife by her brothers and is said to be the mother of Job's fourteen sons and six daughters (seven sons and three daughters before his affliction and seven sons and three daughters after his healing; *L.A.B.*, 8:7–8). According to Michael C. Legaspi, the rabbis make explicit the possible exegetical hook that links the Dinah story with Job when they write: "Some say that Job lived in the time of Jacob and married Dinah the daughter of Jacob. [The proof is that] it is written here [in the book of Job], *Thou speakest as one of the impious women* [נבלות] *speaketh* [Job 2:9 (sic)], and it is written in another place [in connection with Dinah], *Because he had wrought folly* [נבלה] *in Israel* [Gen 34:7] (*b. B. Bat.* 15b)."²⁷ Both the Job and the Genesis passages cite the word for 'folly' (נבלה) and so are tied together exegetically by the rabbis. As Legaspi points out, the assertion that Dinah, first having been defiled by the uncircumcised Shechem, later became Job's wife served to alleviate interpreters' concerns about Dinah's long-term welfare since she would not have been eligible for marriage to an Israelite after her sexual relations with Shechem.²⁸ In a smooth resolution of this legal dilemma, the daughter of the great patriarch is given in marriage to Job, a superlatively moral Gentile.²⁹

Traditions that affirm that Job was Jacob's son-in-law circulated in the Aramaic-speaking world. Furthermore, it was not uncommon to find comparisons made between Job and Abraham, further securing the associative ties linking Job to the period of the patriarchs. This may be due to the intercessory role that each figure plays: Job on behalf of his friends in Job 42:7–10 and Abraham on behalf of the city of Sodom in Gen 18:16–33.³⁰ Significantly, the fragments of the book of Job that were discovered in Qumran Cave 4 were written in palaeo-Hebrew, an archaic hand that appears to have been reserved principally for

that there is a selective omission of non-literal midrashic elements with no discernible rationale (15).

27 Legaspi, "Job's Wives in the Testament of Job," 74. Text from *The Babylonian Talmud*, trans. I. Epstein (London, 1935), 75–76. Notice that Job utters these words in Job 2:10, not 2:9.

28 Legaspi ("Job's Wives in the Testament of Job," 72 n.3) writes that knowledge of the marriage laws concerning premarital sex in Exod. 22:16–17 and exogamous marriage in Deut. 7:1–5 would have been sufficient to raise these concerns about Dinah's welfare in the minds of later interpreters.

29 Legaspi, "Job's Wives in the Testament of Job," 73.

30 There are a number of parallels in the ancient depictions of these two great figures: their convert status, their name change, their shared status as kings (see Allison, "Job in the Testament of Abraham," 136–47). Allison does not mention, however, their common intercessory vocation.

the copying of Pentateuchal texts.³¹ According to Emanuel Tov, “The preserved biblical fragments written in the Paleo-Hebrew script contain only texts of the Torah and Job, both of which are traditionally ascribed to Moses (cf. manuscripts and editions of S in which Job follows the Torah).”³² In the following passage from the Babylonian Talmud *Baba Batra* 14b-15a that Tov references, the rabbis discuss the ordering of the biblical books, and the book of Job is the occasion for further explanation:

The order of the writings (*Ketuvim*) is: Ruth, and the Book of Psalms, and Job, and Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Lamentations, Daniel, and the Scroll of Esther, Ezra, and Chronicles. According to the view that Job lived in the days of Moses, Job should have been placed first? It is not proper to begin with calamity. But Ruth also deals with calamity? It is calamity which has a good end, as Rabbi Yoḥanan said: “Why was she called Ruth? (Hebrew: *rwṭ*) Because from her descended David who delighted (Hebrew: *rywhw*) God with songs and hymns.” And who recorded the [biblical books]? Moses recorded his book, including the portion of Balaam, and Job.³³

What is interesting about this passage is that it reflects knowledge of Job’s traditional association with the era of the patriarchs, even though it positions Job in the canonical order in the later writings of the *Ketuvim*.³⁴ The book of Job’s moveable location is suggested by the early evidence of the Qumran palaeo-Hebrew scribal hand. The six palaeo-Hebrew biblical manuscripts are all copied by different scribal hands and so reflect a broad scribal attitude toward

31 Skehan, *Qumran Cave 4*.

32 In this passage, the siglum S refers to the Syriac Peshitta. See Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden, 2004), 247, whereas in n. 303 he acknowledges that Job’s presumed historical location in the patriarchal era may also explain this association with the Pentateuch; but he favors instead the ancient claim of Mosaic authorship of the book of Job, citing *b. Baba Batra* 14b–15a.

33 Lawrence H. Schiffman (compiled, edited, and introduced), *Texts and Traditions: A Source Reader for the Study of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism* (Hoboken, 1998), 118–19. This passage from *b. Baba Batra* was translated by S. Berrin.

34 Even though he makes no mention of the scribal traditions that locate Job in the patriarchal period, Duane L. Christensen has compiled a fascinating numerical study of the ways in which Job’s age fits into the era of the patriarchs and within a canonical configuration of the Hebrew Bible: see his “Job and the Age of the Patriarchs in Old Testament Narrative,” *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 13 (1986): 225–28. See also Nahum M. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis* (New York, 1966), 84.

the text of Job in the Second Temple period.³⁵ According to palaeographical dating, the hand that copied the text of Job is the second oldest of the six palaeo-Hebrew manuscripts.³⁶ Job's canonical position close to the books of Moses is also affirmed by certain manuscripts of the Syriac Peshitta that actually locate the book of Job with the Pentateuch. Unlike codices, which would give evidence of a fixed sequence of books, scrolls allow for the greater mobility of books like Job. Its ancient material association with the books of the Pentateuch is preserved by the tradition of copying it in a palaeo-Hebrew scribal hand in the late Second Temple period. This attitude about the great antiquity of Job persists in the Aramaic tradition in the evidence of the Syriac Peshitta that groups the book of Job with the Pentateuchal texts.

Even so, Aramaic speaking interpreters did not unanimously agree that Job was Dinah's husband during the time of the patriarchs, and vigorous discussions about Job's identity ensued in the rabbinic debates that were recorded in the Babylonian Talmud.³⁷ While some rabbis asserted that Job lived during the time of Moses (*b. Baba Batra* 15a; *Gen. Rab.* 57:4; *Ex. Rab.* 21:7; *y. Sotah* 20d), others insisted that Job lived later, during the time of Joshua. Contrary to what is

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- 35 The palaeo-Hebrew manuscript evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls is not thought by Emanuel Tov to arise from what he refers to as the Qumran scribal school, and so it reflects a broader non-sectarian attitude about the status of the book of Job. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches*, 247–48. See also his essay, “The Socio-Religious Background of the Paleo-Hebrew Biblical Texts Found at Qumran,” in *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion, Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, (eds.) H. Cancik et al. (Tübingen, 1996), 1:353–74.
- 36 Eugene C. Ulrich, “The Palaeo-Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 121–147, here 143. Ulrich here follows the dating proposed by Frank Moore Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, (ed.) G.E. Wright (Garden City, 1961), 133–202, esp. 189–90; and Mark D. McLean, “The Use and Development of Palaeo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1982).
- 37 For an excellent summary of this lively discussion, see Jason Kalman, “Job Denied the Resurrection of Jesus? A Rabbinic Critique of the Church Fathers’ Use of Exegetical Traditions Found in the Septuagint and the *Testament of Job*,” in *The Changing Face of Judaism, Christianity, and Other Greco-Roman Religions in Antiquity*, (eds.) Ian H. Henderson and Gerbern S. Oegema with the assistance of Sara Parks Ricker (Gütersloh, 2006), 371–97, esp. 380–81. See also Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 5 vols., trans. H. Szold (Philadelphia, 1968), 5:381; Judith Baskin, *Pharaoh's Counsellors* (Chico, 1983); eadem, “Rabbinic Interpretations of Job,” in *The Voice from the Whirlwind*, (eds.) L. Perdue and E. Gilpin (Nashville, 1992), 101–110; and Irving Jacobs, “The Book of Job in Rabbinic Thought” (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1971).

stated in Job 19:25 (cf. LXX Job 42:17a), some rabbinic interpreters held the view that Job himself died on the day that the spies visited the land of Canaan!³⁸ In addition to this disagreement over Job's identity and time period, the rabbis reflect some unease about Job's status as a Gentile.³⁹

Collectively, these Greek and Aramaic pseudepigraphic traditions seek to expand what is known about Job and the other characters in the book. In the case of the Greek traditions, two-dimensional characters who appear in the MT Job to have only a supporting role are given greater complexity and depth through details about their background and status. As we have seen, the three interlocutors, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, are all said to be ancient kings (LXX Job 2:11 and LXX Job 42:17e). The details about Job's friends, and his own identification as an ancient Edomite king, make the social interactions between the four men more believable. While the characters of the three friends are not greatly developed in either the LXX Job or in the subsequent interpretations that are thought to harken back to this ancient version, the identification of their political and social status as three ancient sovereigns fittingly mirrors the identification of Job as Jobab, the ancient Edomite ruler known from Gen 36:33–34. Instead of simply being identified as Job's friends, the three interlocutors are elevated in status in order to construct a peer group for Job and further contextualize the hero in a social setting.

In contrast to the superficial roles they play in the MT Job, other characters are developed considerably in the Greek tradition.⁴⁰ In particular, Job's wife is given greater depth by means of her more substantial discourse (LXX Job 2:9a–e), which is notably impassioned. Instead of the blunt statement she utters in MT Job 2:9, her piteous speech in the LXX moves the reader. She remarks bitterly about the children whom she bore in her womb (υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐμῆς κοιλίας ὠδῖνες καὶ πόννοι, οὓς εἰς τὸ κενὸν ἐκοπίασα μετὰ μόχθων in LXX Job 2:9b) and, in so doing, becomes enrobed in flesh through this visceral report of sorrow. As a character, Job's wife is described with greater physical detail; she has locomotion and wanders from place to place and she also is in need of rest (LXX Job 2:9d). The Septuagint's overtures toward a more complex portrait of

38 "Rava said that Job was in the time of the spies. [The proof is that] it is written here [in connection with Job], There was a man in the land of Uz, Job was his name (Job 1:1), and it is written elsewhere [in connection with the spies], Whether there be wood [ez] therein. (Num 13:20)": see Kalman, "Job Denied the Resurrection of Jesus?" 381.

39 Baskin, "Rabbinic Interpretations of Job," 105–106. Here Baskin does well to note that the rabbis may also be expressing discomfort at the anger and impatience expressed by the Job of the dialogues.

40 See Christopher Begg, "Comparing Characters: The Book of Job and the *Testament of Job*," in *The Book of Job*, (ed.) W.A.M. Beuken (Leuven, 1994), 435–45.

Job's wife find further elaboration in later Greek traditions.⁴¹ The *Testament of Job*, dated between the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE, identifies Job's wife as the Egyptian named Sitidos. In the *Testament of Job*, Sitidos dies a dramatic death, and the reader learns that Job later remarries the Israelite Dinah from Gen 34. Pieter W. van der Horst notes that the unusual name for Job's first wife in this Greek retelling, from the Greek 'to give bread' (σπιτιζω), points to her unflinching pursuit to procure bread for Job throughout the work on account of their poverty.⁴² In one poignant episode that illustrates her name, her dignified status and wealth are contrasted with the desperate straits that she finds herself in as she agrees to sell her hair to Satan in exchange for a loaf of bread (*TJob* 23:6–11). Many commentators note that Sitidos's concern for the bread of this world is presented as a spiritual flaw and evidence that she is unable to discern higher realities.⁴³ Van der Horst writes, "Sitidos does not see where evil powers lie in wait, nor does she see what God is doing; she is spiritually blind. Kind though she may be, she is dull, and it is only fitting that it is the cows that are the first to bewail her death."⁴⁴ Despite these assessments of her spiritual failings, Sitidos is said to come to a merciful end and is granted a vision of her deceased children in heaven (*TJob* 40:3), just before her own death at which time she is honored with extensive laments.⁴⁵

41 While there are considerable differences between the LXX Job and the *Testament of Job*, the latter is thought to be based on LXX Job and not on MT Job. See B. Schaller, "Das Testament Hiobs und die Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Buches Hiob" *Biblica* 61 (1980): 377–406.

42 Pieter W. van der Horst, "Images of Women in the Testament of Job," in *Studies on the Testament of Job*, (eds.) M. Knibb and P. van der Horst (Cambridge, 1989), 93–116, here 96–97.

43 John J. Collins, "Structure and Meaning in the Testament of Job," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1974 Seminar Papers*, (ed.) G. MacRae (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), 35–52, esp. 40.

44 Van der Horst, "Images of Women in the Testament of Job," 101. He goes on to note that the presentation of Sitidos is typical of the portrayals of women in Hellenistic texts. Van der Horst is more nuanced and positive about his general assessment of women in the *Testament of Job* than Collins, who writes that "In the *Testament of Job*, womankind symbolizes, like the three kings, the human state of ignorance, which is transformed at the end through the mediation of Job into heavenly knowledge and heavenly life" (Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* [repr. Grand Rapids, 2000], 244). Like Collins, but contra van der Horst, see Susan R. Garrett, "The 'Weaker Sex' in the Testament of Job," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 112 (1993): 55–70, who does well to contrast Sitidos with the mother of the seven sons in 4 Macc 15:29–30. Garrett takes the view that all women in the *Testament of Job* are portrayed as weak by virtue of their preoccupation with earthly matters.

45 In contrast to van der Horst, who argues that the author of *TJob* understands Sitidos as achieving a lower spirituality, Luzia Sutter Rehmann understands Sitidos's passing from

The *Testament of Job* goes on to report that after Sitidos's death, Job took a second wife, none other than Dinah, the daughter of Jacob and Leah, taking care to note that she was the mother of the children who are restored to him at the end of his days. What is remarkable about the *Testament of Job* is the extent to which it seeks to expand the portrait of Job's wife, who is unnamed and only briefly mentioned in the biblical text of Job. The *Testament* not only expands the character of Job's wife into a realistic wife and mother, but it also geminates the character of Job's spouse, identifying the second wife as Dinah from the unforgettable tale of tragedy and zeal in Gen. 34. In doing so, the *Testament of Job* effectively gives Job's (first) spouse a complete profile: the capacity for phenomenal bodily experiences of suffering and woe, a name and ethnic identity (Sitidos the Egyptian), and a social location (a woman of prestige and means). The identification of the second wife as Dinah further fills out details about Job's spouse and awards her a prestigious family lineage, thus giving her a past set of life experiences prior to her marriage to Job.

The Greek tradition preserved in the *Testament of Job* identifies Job's first wife as an Egyptian and twice declares that Job is the king of that region (*TJob* 3:7; 28:7), contrary to the datum from LXX Job that had identified him as the Edomite king, Jobab.⁴⁶ It also provides further details about Job's other family members, with special attention to the daughters who are the fruit of the marriage between Job and Dinah (*TJob* 46–53). Job is said, after his trials ended, to have begotten children, seven sons and three daughters, who replenish those he had lost in Chapter 1. In the biblical book, the three daughters make only a brief appearance in the epilogue. The first is named Jemimah (יְמִימָה), whose Hebrew meaning is obscure. It is possible to read this as a word formed from the root for “day” (יָוֶם) or even “sea” (יָם). The Greek rendering of her name as Ἡμέραν seems to understand the first daughter's name as some form of “day.” The second daughter is named Ketziah (קֶצִיָּה), a type of fragrant bark similar to cinnamon. The third is named Keren-Hapuch (קֶרֶן־חַפּוּךְ), which means literally ‘horn of antimony,’ a vessel used for eye make-up. It is said of them: “In

the earthly realm in positive terms. According to Sutter Rehmann, Sitidos's tragic death is ennobling and can even be said to pattern the passion and resurrection of Christ. Luzia Sutter Rehmann, “Testament of Job: Job, Dinah, and Their Daughters,” in *Feminist Biblical Interpretation: A Compendium of Critical Commentary on the Books of the Bible and Related Literature*, (eds.) Luise Schottroff and Marie-Theres Wacker (Grand Rapids, 2012), 586–95, esp. 592–93.

46 This identification of Job as the King of Egypt is one of the primary reasons for locating the *Testament of Job* in Egypt. See R.P. Spittler, “Testament of Job: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, (ed.) J.H. Charlesworth (New York: 1983), 829–68, here 852 n. i.

all the land there were no women as beautiful as Job's daughters; and their father gave them an inheritance along with their brothers" (Job 42:13–15). The names of the first two in the LXX Job 42:14 can be traced more or less to some reading of the Hebrew.⁴⁷ The Greek name of the third daughter, Ἀμαλθαίας κέρασ, however, evokes the providential wet nurse from Zeus' infancy on the island of Crete, who is later said to have been placed in the heavens as the constellation of stars known as Capra.⁴⁸ She is also associated with the cornucopia image of plenty, the horn of abundance. Here the translator seems to have chosen to render the Hebrew name with a Greek equivalent that picks up on the dual meaning of the word קֶרֶן ("horn") as being both a horn and a way of expressing "ray of light" or "beam of light."⁴⁹ Thus, in the Greek the third daughter's association with the heavenly constellation is one that conveys the range of Hebrew meanings.

What is notable about the transformation of Job's three daughters from Job 42 is the greater role they take on in the story. While the three friends who enjoy a prominent role in the biblical book of Job are strangely silent in the *Testament of Job*, their part as interlocutors can be said to be taken up by the three daughters who question their father. Similar to the three friends who question Job's virtue in light of his suffering, they press their father for a rationale for the peculiar heavenly cords that he has bequeathed to them. While the daughters are silent in the biblical versions of Job, they engage their father in dialogue in *Testament of Job* 46–53, which gives depth and vivaciousness to their characters. In their exchange, they lament that they have not been given an inheritance (*TJob* 46:2) and also express doubts about the practicalities of that which Job has bequeathed to them (*TJob* 47:1). Job gives an extended account of the cords' usefulness for bodily restoration and spiritual healing (47:2–11). These lines include a quote from God Himself, reminding readers of the authoritative heavenly origins of the cords themselves, and ultimately of Job's own status, which was changed after that theophany.

In addition to the nuances of the dialogue, references made to fictitious anthologies contribute to the realism of this section of the *Testament*. The identification of texts like "The Paternal Splendor," which is recorded in the

47 Like the Hebrew name of the first daughter, Ἡμέραν, is Greek for "day." The Greek name for the second daughter, Κασίαν, is a transliteration of the Hebrew.

48 Fernández Marcos ("The Septuagint Reading of the Book of Job,") writes, "The third becomes in Greek 'the Horn of Amalthea,' the famous goat that nursed Zeus in his infancy in the Ida mountain of Crete" (pp. 258–59).

49 The most famous example of this range of meanings for קֶרֶן is Moses in Exodus 34 who is said to descend the mountain (Exod 34:29–30, 35) in a glorified or radiant condition.

hitherto unknown *Prayers of Amaltheias-keras* (*T.Job* 50:2–3), and “The Work of the Heavens,” recorded in the *Hymns of Kasia* (*T.Job* 49:2–3), contributes an air of credibility to the reports that are given about the angelic experiences of the maidens. The practice of making reference to fictitious works was not unheard of in the Bible or in Second Temple pseudepigraphic texts. As Eric D. Reymond notes, its effect is the enhancement of the verity of the reports:

As in any text, the citation of sources creates the feeling of credibility and authority and this effect pertains to all the references mentioned in *T. Job*. It gives the impression that *T. Job* is part of a network of texts referring to common events and individuals. We are encouraged to feel that *T. Job* represents a true story, in part, because it admits to its own incompleteness. The similarity the references bear in their form to biblical references only further enhances the text’s production of verisimilitude. The precise identification of the dialect each daughter speaks when uttering her hymns, as well as the identification of each hymn’s style (as exhibiting the “angelic” style or having a specific rhythm) are inventions of such specificity that they, combined with the hymns’ absence, provoke the reader’s imagination.⁵⁰

These details about Job’s exchange with his daughters in the *Testament* 46–50, especially those that elaborate on their appearance, locomotion, phenomenal experiences and physical presence, not only provide further narrative contours in the post-biblical traditions about Job, but also serve to give depth to and to animate these female characters.

The major difference between the Hebrew version of the book of Job, familiar to most, and the portrait found in the LXX Job and other Greek and Aramaic pseudepigrapha is that the latter transform these women from bland, two-dimensional characters into robust and memorable figures. These expansions provide readers with a glimpse of the interpersonal nature of Job’s dealings with his family that is inaccessible from the biblical versions alone. Job’s exchange with Kasia, Hemera, and Amaltheia’s Horn, in the *Testament* 46–50 reveals a father who is truly concerned for the welfare of his children, with a special concern for the protection of his daughters. As a result, Job himself emerges as a man with realistic relationships and family concerns.

Whereas Job’s bodily experiences, emotions, and laments are vividly recounted in what has been handed down in the Hebrew version of the book

50 Eric D. Reymond, “Imaginary Texts in Pseudepigraphal Literature: The Angelic Hymns of Job’s Daughters in the Testament of Job,” *Henoch* 31 (2009): 366–86, here 381–82.

of Job, MT Job, the flatness of the other characters may leave the reader feeling that Job is merely a fictive literary character. The interpretive expansions, by contrast, remedy this, bringing Job into high relief by giving depth to the secondary characters with whom he interacts. The diabolical and dynamic antagonism between Job and Satan further concretizes the experiences of Job, serving to portray him as even more real. So too the further details about the identity and the prestige of Job's three friends confirm Job's own sovereign status since they are royal peers worthy of his company. As a result of these pseudepigraphic transformations of the supporting characters in the book of Job, the protagonist becomes more completely human. These historicizing interpretations of Job's family and friends help to make Job more true-to-life and more knowable as a person. In this process, his extraordinary qualities are not diminished, but instead his virtue and holiness are magnified to an even greater extent.

1.5 Conclusion

Job is one of several biblical books that enjoyed considerable elasticity in antiquity and has been preserved in multiple literary editions. This variation in the ancient versions illustrates the complexity of the character of Job as we know him from the prose framework and the poetic dialogues of the book. The figure of Job is capable of expressing the emotional extremes of the human experience: both the calm, dispassionate response of patient virtue and the explosiveness of righteous anger. He is not a simple figure, although certain communities have focused on one aspect of Job's character more than the other.⁵¹ The biblical book itself presents Job as a complex figure, who, like any real person, is capable of an unpredictable range of responses to suffering. Job, as he is known from the biblical book, somehow holds these two seemingly disparate personae—namely those of patience and righteous anger—in tension; yet, in a very real way, this somehow seems more true to the human condition, where even the most holy of persons is capable of experiencing a full range of emotions—from dispassionate resignation to indignant anger.

The figure of Job unifies the different ancient versions and relates them to each other.

There is a suppleness in the figure of Job, as he is known from the biblical book, which allows for the elasticity of his authorial persona as later

51 For example, it is oftentimes said that only the patient Job of the prologue appears in Jas. 5:7–11 and in the *Testament of Job*.

interpretative traditions emerged around his life experiences. Even so, for ancient religious communities, Job was more than an authorial persona; he was an actual person who became increasingly real as details about his family were given more depth and dimension. The idea of Job as the putative author of the book serves to unify the multiple literary editions and the multiple discursive traditions from antiquity that are associated with him. The proliferation of traditions that arise in the post-biblical literature about Job and his life experiences testifies to the rising status of the figure of Job in antiquity.

The biblical book of Job provides interesting insights into the phenomenon of multiple literary editions. It is preserved in one edition in the Hebrew Masoretic Text and in a different edition in the Old Greek. Other examples of this phenomenon include the biblical books of Jeremiah, Exodus (the Tabernacle section), Daniel, and Judith.⁵² The differing literary editions of this book preserved in the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint did not appear to be a cause for concern among the ancients.⁵³ On the topic of multiple literary editions of biblical books, Eugene Ulrich writes:

[T]here were multiple editions of some, perhaps many, of these sacred works, and unless we have indication to the contrary, we must assume that—just as today—it was the sacred work or book that was important, not the specific edition or specific wording of the work. In discussion of the canon, it thus becomes important to remember that, for both Judaism and Christianity, it was books, not specific textual forms of the books, that were canonical.... Moreover, the use by both Jews and Christians of diverse forms of texts in the first century shows that neither community thought that a fixed text was necessary for an authoritative book; evidently, differing forms of the text were acceptable.⁵⁴

Here, Ulrich highlights the disjuncture between a modern readership, rooted largely in a printing press culture, and an ancient community that knew only a manuscript culture. The temptation for modern readers of the Bible is to regard one edition as primary and another, oftentimes the Septuagint, as being

52 Eugene C. Ulrich, "Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives and Reflections on Determining the Form to Be Translated," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 34–50.

53 See the discussion by Stephen D. Ryan, who correctly notes that authority and canonicity resided at the level of the book and not the specific textual form or literary edition ("The Ancient Versions of Judith," 14).

54 Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text," *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 93.

secondary. According to Ulrich, the remarkable elasticity of the book of Job, and other biblical books, is reined in by the idea of the book—or more precisely, the person—of Job.

“Who is Job?” is a question that is answered in part by the ancient versions and pseudepigraphic traditions that try to offer a fuller portrait of the holy man through the people who knew him best. The development that Job’s wife, daughters, and friends undergo ultimately assists in the further animation of Job as a person, thereby rendering him more accessible to the reader. Job had a spouse with a personality, a past, an identity, and a social location, just as any ancient reader might have had. Ironically, the more an ancient reader was able to know of the hero’s extraordinary experiences at the human level, the greater his own sense of unworthiness likely emerged in comparison. This is perhaps one way to imagine how Job’s holiness became magnified to legendary proportions. That is to say, developments of Job’s saintly status are not simply a reflection of an ancient community’s preference for one portrait of Job—e.g., that found in the biblical prose framework—over another, but rather they reflect the cumulative effect of ancient interpreters wrestling with the fundamental question of who Job is.

The person of Job unifies and secures the multiple traditions that come to be attached to him, beginning with the competing personalities known from the prose framework and the poetic dialogues. The growth of the historicizing traditions about him and the great interest in the events of his life reflect his rising prominence in the Second Temple period. Job alone can vouch for the credibility of his tale, and what an astonishing tale it is: a superlatively virtuous man who endures undeserved suffering, tenaciously demands justice from God himself, and achieves a theophanic encounter with the deity as a result. Job’s superior spiritual powers, demonstrated in the form of intercessory prayers offered on behalf of his friends, are validated by none other than God (Job 42:8–9). Job’s credentials are astounding. His experiences are not those of the everyday man on the street. Serving as the name by which the multiple editions were categorized in antiquity, “Job” is an increasingly complex figure who becomes more knowable through the historicizing expansions of the biblical story that occur in the post-biblical literature. As an ancient reader approached the holy man who becomes more real through the historicizing interpretations of his family and friends, a profound sense of his own unworthiness could have overtaken him. Like the prophet Isaiah who was humbled by his unworthiness in the presence of the angels (Isa. 6), moving closer to Job’s holiness could have had a similar effect. The more one knows who Job was, the greater one becomes aware of his incomparable status, resulting in the magnification of Job’s holiness by later readers.

Job in Patristic Commentaries and Theological Works

Kenneth B. Steinhauser

2.1 Introduction

On the eastern end of Long Island nestled along its south shore, one finds the Village of Southampton, the oldest English-speaking settlement in New York State. Its most attractive street is called Job's Lane, which today is known for fine dining and quaint shops. I imagine that in 1640, when the Puritan colony was first settled, Job's Lane led to the garbage dump at the edge of town where one might presumably catch a glimpse of pitiful Job, sitting on a dung heap (see Job 2:8), enduring his sufferings and lamenting his misfortune. Job has captured the imagination of many religious and perhaps some not-so-religious people. In his 1958 play entitled *J.B.*, Archibald MacLeish presented the story of a modern Job who complains: "If God is God He is not good, if God is good He is not God." This is indeed a poetic and eloquent statement of the theodicy problem, which was more prosaically approached by Harold Kushner in his 1978 best-seller *When Bad Things Happen to Good People*. Shocking as it may seem, no Latin patristic author considers the biblical book of Job an expression of the theodicy problem. In patristic literature Job is a worshipper of God, he is a type of Christ, he is a man of the law, he is an apostle, he is a just man, he is a sinner, and he is a king. However, he is never the subject of the theodicy problem. While Job's righteousness is frequently called into doubt, God's justice is never questioned.¹ My goal in this essay is to explain why writers of the early church, at least in the West, have ignored what we would consider today the obvious message of this biblical book.² Furthermore, I wish to uncover their understanding of the book of Job and its protagonist, Job himself.

¹ For example, see *Job*, (eds.) Manlio Simonetti and Marco Conti, *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, Old Testament 6* (Downers Grove, 2006), *passim*.

² Two modern works need to be mentioned: C.G. Jung, *Answer to Job*, Meridian Books M86 (New York, 1960) explores an evil dimension of God in his *Antwort auf Hiob*. Pierre Cazier, *Le cri de Job: Approche biblique, mythologique et littéraire du problème de la souffrance du juste*

From the Latin West³ there are five extant commentaries on the book of Job written during the patristic period: the Arian *Anonymi in Iob commentarius*, Philipp the Presbyter's *In historiam Iob commentariorum libri tres*, Augustine's unfinished *Adnotationes in Iob*, Julian of Eclanum's *Expositio in Iob*, and Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*.⁴ Although Migne transmits two commentaries identified as having been written by Jerome, *Commentarii in librum Job* (PL 26:619–802) and *Expositio interlinearis libri Iob* (PL 23:1407–1470), both are pseudonymous abridgments of the commentary of Philipp. With the exception of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, which was written between 579 and 602, the remaining four commentaries were all written roughly during the four decades from 380 to 420.

In addition to the five commentaries, several early Christian Latin authors, without attempting to write full length commentaries on the book of Job, do present a theological assessment of Job and his life in treatises, letters, or sermons. Zeno of Verona's *Tractatus* I.15 presents Job as prefiguring Christ. The concept of Job as an example (*paradeigma/exemplum*) was first introduced by Origen but further developed by Zeno. Ambrose of Milan meditates on Job's complaint before God in his homiletic *De interpellatione Iob et David*, where the parallelism with David is significant. Jerome uses Job in an anti-Pelagian context in his *Epistola* 118 and his *Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos*. Augustine also takes up Job in his anti-Pelagian works including *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo paruulorum* and *Contra Iulianum* among others. Emphasizing the goodness of his human nature, Pelagius counters by placing Job among other Old Testament "saints" in his *Epistola ad Demetriadem*.

Job 14:4–5a (*quis enim erit mundus a sordibus? ne unus quidem, etiam si unius diei fuerit vita eius super terram.*) is a special case.⁵ This verse emerges as

(Artois, 1996) traces the biblical and classical tradition of the problem of human suffering as well as the French literary tradition.

- 3 In the Greek East the person of Job is significant in the ascetic tradition. He is an example of one who struggles against the devil and his name is common among the desert fathers. In fact, the Syriac Peshitta places the book of Job in an honored position immediately after the Pentateuch.
- 4 I will not deal with Gregory's *Moralia* in this chapter. Because of its goals, its scope, and its influence, that work is treated at length by Carole Straw in a separate chapter in the present volume.
- 5 "For who is clean from filth? Not even someone whose life was one day upon the earth." *Vetus Latina*, my translation; see Joseph Ziegler, *Job 14,4–5a als wichtigster Schriftbeweis für die These "Neminem sine sorde et sine peccato esse" (Cyprian test 3,54) bei den lateinischen christlichen Schriftstellern*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1985, Heft 3 (Munich, 1985).

a standard proof text for the sinfulness of humankind, first in *Ad Quirinium* of Cyprian of Carthage, then subsequently in Lucifer of Cagliari, Ambrosiaster, Tyconius, and Ambrose, and during the Pelagian controversy extensively in various works by Jerome, Augustine, and others.

My method in the present study will proceed in two distinct steps. First, I will describe each text, where necessary considering questions of authorship, composition, dating, and textual transmission. Second, I will describe the contents of each work with regard to its theological interpretation of the book of Job or its description of the person of Job.

2.2 Anonymous Arian Bishop

Proceeding chronologically, we find that the anonymous Arian commentary is the first Latin Job commentary that one encounters. I produced the critical edition of this text which had been previously unedited.⁶ In my introduction, I investigated the possible date and place of composition and authorship. My arguments are presented at length, in detail, and with ample documentation in the introduction to my edition. Here I limit myself to my conclusions. Although it was passed down as a translation of a commentary by Origen, the commentary was originally written in Latin by an unknown Arian bishop most likely during the short-lived “homoian revival” between the years 384 and 387.⁷ The place of composition was a traditional Arian stronghold, located somewhere within the territory extending westward from the Black Sea along the Danube basin into northern Italy south of the Alps as far as Milan.⁸

6 CPG 1521; PG 17:371–522; *Anonymi in Iob commentarius*, (ed.) Kenneth B. Steinhauser with the assistance of Hildegund Müller and Dorothea Weber, CSEL 96 (Vienna, 2006). To my knowledge, three reviews of my edition have been published: P.-M. Bogaert, RB 117 (2007): 405–406; Basil Studer, *Gnomon* 80 (2008): 459–460; Daniel H. Williams, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16, no. 4 (2008): 602–603. The reviewers raised no major problems. In fact, all three welcome the first critical edition of this significant but neglected text. In addition, in a brief but insightful analysis of the critical text, Johannes B. Bauer, “Testularum experimentum et al.: Anonymi in Iob commentarius (I, 17; II, 31.58; III, 19),” RB 117 (2007): 207–210, treats the three passages where I set *crucis desperationis* and one passage where I did not but in his opinion should have. Since I am a conservative textual critic, I tend not to conjecture unless absolutely necessary; see Kenneth B. Steinhauser, “Transmission and Meaning,” in *The Use of Textual Criticism for the Interpretation of Patristic Texts: Seventeen Case Studies* (Lewiston, 2013), 11–16. Nevertheless, Bauer’s observations are valuable.

7 See Steinhauser, “Introduction,” CSEL 96, 38–47.

8 Regarding the place of composition I disagreed with Leslie Dossey, “The Last Days of Vandal Africa: An Arian Commentary on Job and its Historical Context,” JTS, n.s. 54 (2003): 60–138, who

Although the identity of Anonymous cannot be precisely determined, working much like a criminal profiler in a television episode, I identified as many characteristics of the author as possible and constructed a profile. First, Anonymous is homoian, namely, a western “Arian” who believed that the Father and the Son shared “similar” being. Although the commentary is quite substantive theologically, Anonymous does occasionally indulge in anti-Nicene polemic which identifies him as homoian. The following passage is especially clear in this regard:

The devil made three squadrons in the type and figure of his threefold sect and heresy of the three gods, which has filled the entire world with a manner of darkness and which worships the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit as if three [gods] but in no way adores the one [God], for instance as expressed in the language of the Greeks triad or homoousion.⁹

Actually a deliberate reading of the text also exposes an anti-Nicene predilection throughout.¹⁰ Second, Anonymous is bishop of a large diocese. The simple fact that the homilies were taken down by scribes and published indicates that he would have been in a significant urban diocese with economic and cultural resources. He certainly is not a country priest. Third, Anonymous is a competent biblical scholar. His command of the scriptures, particularly the Old Testament, is impressive. He cites many books of the Bible, even obscure passages, and had some familiarity with rabbinical literature. Fourth, Anonymous is a man of great intellectual ability and superior oratorical skills. He commands the specialized vocabulary of a wide variety of disciplines (for example, construction, medicine, agriculture, etc.), which is expressed in his frequent concrete examples as he explains the book of Job. Fifth, quite noticeably there are no references to classical literature.¹¹ This may be due either to the

placed the commentary in Vandal North Africa. In her more recent study, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa* (Berkeley, 2010), 278 n. 153, Dossey concedes that “the North African provenance of these Arian texts is less certain.” P.-M. Bogaert, 406, is equally circumspect: “Si vraiment le meilleur texte du commentaire est conservé en Italie du Nord, la balance pencherait un peu plus en faveur de Steinhäuser contre Dossey. Mais l’hésitation reste permise.”

9 “Tria cornua fecit diabolus in typum atque figuram trionymae illius sectae triumque deorum haeresis, quae universum orbem terrae in modum tenebrarum replevit, quae patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum aliquando tamquam tres colit, nonnumquam autem tamquam unum adorat, quemadmodum Graecorum lingua memoratur triada vel homoousion.” *Anonymi in Iob commentarius*, I.75.1–7, (ed.) Steinhäuser, 205, my translation.

10 This is particularly evident in Anonymous’ emphasis on true worship; see below.

11 His use of fictive dialogue may be a classical influence; see below.

lack of a classical education or to the rejection of his pagan classical heritage. I would suspect the latter. Sixth, his exegesis is thoroughly Antiochene.¹² Anonymous avoids the use of allegory and presents a literal interpretation of the text, which is an Antiochene version of the Septuagint. Seventh, the commentary is a series of genuine sermons actually preached on the book of Job. Since readings from the book of Job are found in the lectionary designated for Holy Week, fairly widespread in the East but only in northern Italy in the West, this is indicative of a possible place of composition. Ambrose's letters demonstrate that Job was read during Holy Week in Milan, a diocese liturgically influenced from the East by antiphonal singing as well. Eighth, Anonymous is probably bilingual, speaking both Latin and Greek. His Latin Job text appears to have been his own translation from an Antiochene version of the Septuagint, unique in many places. Some of the population in the territory of Illyricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia would have been bilingual. I am reminded of border regions in today's world, for example, Québec or Alsace, where two languages may be spoken extensively and almost interchangeably. For example, Jerome probably came from the same region as Anonymous. Growing up in Dalmatia he spoke Latin and Greek and acquired Hebrew later in life. Ninth, Anonymous' only reference to a non-biblical historical figure is to Lucian of Antioch, a martyr during the persecution of Diocletian and the reputed teacher of Arius.

In summation regarding authorship, Anonymous is a homoian bishop of a significant diocese located in northern Italy, Illyricum, or Pannonia. Able to speak both Greek and Latin, he is a creative preacher, well educated and learned in the scriptures. The commentary manifests historical, intellectual, and linguistic connections to Antioch. One known figure fits this profile, namely, Ambrose's homoian counterpart in Milan, the reputed "Arian" bishop Auxentius of Durostorum. In the introduction to the edition, I suggested that Auxentius may be the commentary's author, but I hesitated to come down conclusively in favor of Auxentius' authorship because of the lack of definitive evidence. I continue to stand by my hypothesis until new evidence either affirms Auxentius' authorship definitively or moves us elsewhere in our search for an author. Meanwhile, the commentary remains anonymous. In spite of extensive

12 Studer, 460, questions my assertion although he does acknowledge the absence of allegory. I also hasten to point out that there are many "Antiochene" factors in the text such as Anonymous' use of an Antiochene Septuagint text and his reference to Lucian of Antioch. I am aware that the hard and fast distinction between Antiochene and Alexandrian exegesis has fallen into disrepute since the publication of Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge, 1997). Nevertheless, the distinction need not be avoided like the plague.

detective work, we may never be certain of the author's name, but we do have a reasonably good description.

Although the identity of Anonymous may elude detection, his message is abundantly clear. This clarity begins with the very first verse of the book of Job: "There was a certain man in the region of Ausitida whose name was Job and the man was without fault, just, truthful, worshipper of God, avoiding every evil thing" (Job 1:1). Anonymous lavishes praise upon Job for his great virtue. Job is without fault, he is just, he is truthful, and above all he worships God. If any single characteristic dominates the commentary, it is the simple fact that Job is a worshipper of God. Anonymous logically explains that Job's other virtues are subservient to his distinctive characteristic as a worshipper of God. At this point, the Greek text universally reads *theosebes*, which in both the Vulgate and the pre-Hieronymian versions of Job is translated *timens deum* (God-fearing) but here is rendered *dei cultor* (worshipper of God) by Anonymous, who explains just what it means to be a worshipper of God:

There is nothing more just and more true than that the creator of the universe and benefactor of everyone should be truly worshipped and adored; there is nothing more just and more true than that one believe as one should and confess and profess him who is God, the creator and sustainer of everything. God accepts nothing without the truth of faith. For he does not need things which belong to us, except our souls alone persisting in the truth of faith, except our conscience alone confessing him in the truth of faith. For indeed knowing these things holy Job laid the foundation of truth and erected justice, but he joined together all these things, put a roof on the structure and completed it with the worship of God, that is with faith.¹³

Job is the paragon of faith. His crowning achievement is the worship of God, which is an expression of his faith. Central to the list of Job's virtues is *dei cultor*. The worship of God signals the presence of faith. In his description,

13 "Nihil enim hoc iustius ac veracius quam ut creator universorum ac benefactor omnium veraciter colatur et adoretur; nihil hoc iustius neque veracius quam ut ei, qui est omnium deus et conditor ac provisor, credatur ut oportet et confiteatur et profiteatur. Nihil ergo suscipit deus absque fidei veritate. Non enim indiget his quae nostra sunt, nisi solis animabus nostris in veritate fidei persistentibus, nisi sola conscientia nostra in veritate fidei sibi confitente. Haec namque sciens beatus Iob iustitiam aedificavit, veritatem fundavit, sed haec universa dei cultura, hoc est fide, contignavit atque obtexit, †obdulcavit† atque perfecit." *Anonymi in Iob commentarius*, I.12.9–18, (ed.) Steinhauser, 106–107, my translation.

Anonymous takes an analogy from construction. The foundation is truth, the structure is justice; but the building is incomplete without the worship of God, which is simultaneously the beams and the roof covering of the beams.

The repetitive homiletic style of Anonymous also emerges clearly from this passage. The point is made once and repeated and then repeated again using a variety of examples. The theme of true worship is revisited elsewhere in the narrative where Anonymous condemns those who worship more than one God.¹⁴ Specifically, he preaches against the heresy of the Nicene Christians who worship the three gods rather than the one true God of the Arians. Of course, we know that homoians did not wish to be called Arians, but they were so designated by their opponents to bring them into disrepute through association with Arius, the archetypal heretic.¹⁵ Anonymous was very astute in understanding that the phrase *dei cultor* is not only a statement about Job but also a statement about God. First, Job is the subject, the one who worships. Second, God is the object of Job's worship. Anonymous drives the message home in a peroration:

In addition to all these things, in conclusion as a recapitulation of everything, the text adds: "worshipper of God," because all sanctity and all justice and every good work that men are seen to perform, unless these are done in the worship of God, unless in the recognition and confession of God, have been done without reason and uselessly. And that I may speak briefly and clearly: Whatever men do either in virginity or in abstinence or in chastity of the body or in burning their remains or in distributing their wealth, they act without purpose if they do not act in faith, they act without reason unless they act in recognition of the one uncreated God the Father and in confession of his one only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ and in illumination of the glorious Holy Spirit and venerable Paraclete who aids the infirmity of our prayers, in which we were sealed on the day of our redemption. Therefore, all holiness and all justice, which someone may do outside of true worship of God and true faith, he does in vain, he does it toward perdition, his action does not benefit him, it does not help him on the day of wrath and it will not free him on the day of death.¹⁶

14 See n. 9 above.

15 See Kenneth B. Steinhauser, "The Acts of the Council of Aquileia (381 C.E.)," in *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*, (ed.) Richard Valantasis (Princeton, 2000), 275–288; Maurice Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism through the Centuries* (Oxford, 1996), 27–51.

16 "Propterea post haec universa in conclusione omnium pro universorum recapitulatione adiciens dicit: 'Dei cultor,' quia omnem sanctitatem et omnem iustitiam et 'omne opus

Worship and faith are inextricably bound together. One cannot rightly worship God unless one believes in God. Good deeds are useless without true faith, which is the basis of true worship.

As an orator, Anonymous is fond of various figures of speech, which he effectively utilizes throughout his homilies.¹⁷ The chief figure of speech which stands out in his sermons is *commoratio*, which is the repetition of the same idea in different words. In conjunction with this figure he also uses parallel organization. *Isocolon* is the use of parallel structures of the same length in successive clauses, *parison* if the clauses are of different length, and *antithesis* if they are contrasting. In addition, Anonymous often uses fictive dialogue to convey his message. He constructs lengthy dialogues between Job and the messenger, between Job and God, and between God and the devil. I have chosen an example which illustrates both the figures of speech and the fictive dialogue. In the following passage the devil speaks to God:

Responding, the devil said: "Not without reason does Job worship God." He began to show what he miserably contemplated; he began to proclaim what he maliciously thought, saying, "Not without reason does Job worship God': not free of charge but at a price, not without motive but for a reward, not because of piety but because of riches, not because of the love of the Lord but because of the abundance of money. 'Not without reason does Job worship God.' For these things which he has, he gives compensation, for these things which he has, he renders payment. 'Not without reason does Job worship God.' For if you would confer on ferocious and ill-mannered men such riches and such glory and such honor, immediately all with one accord would serve you and worship you. 'Not without reason does Job worship God,' but for riches, for opportunities,

bonum,' quod visi fuerint homines facere, nisi in dei cultura, nisi in dei agnitione atque confessione fecerint, sine causa faciunt atque supervacue. Et ut breviter atque evidenter dicam: Omnia quaecumque fecerint homines sive in virginitate sive in abstinencia sive in corporis castitate sive in carnis suae combustione sive in bonorum suorum distributione, omnia gratis faciunt si non in fide fecerint, sine causa agunt nisi in agnitione unius infecti dei patris et in confessione unius unigeniti filii eius domini nostri Iesu Christi et in illuminatione spiritus sancti gloriosi ac venerabilis paraclleti, qui adiuvat infirmitatem nostrae orationis, 'in quo signati sumus in die redemptionis nostrae,' hoc fecerint. Omnem ergo sanctitatem, omnem iustitiam quam fecerit quis foris a vera dei cultura atque vera fide, gratis facit, frustra facit, in perditionem facit, non est ei prode, non adiuvat eum in die irae, non liberabit eum in die interitus." *Anonymi in Job commentarius*, I.11.1–18, (ed.) Steinhauser, 104–105, my translation.

17 See Steinhauser, "Introduction," CSEL 96, 33–37.

for substance, for abilities, for power and glory and honor. For these reasons, therefore, and because of those delights similar to them he worships you. Take away all that you have given him and one will see why he worships you. Now indeed it is easy for him to worship you; it is also easy to be without fault and just and truthful. He is 'without fault' because he has everything and needs nothing; he is 'just' because he has riches; he is 'truthful' because everyone everywhere bows to him and carries his conversation to the clouds. 'But send your hand and touch everything that he has and know if he would bless you.'"¹⁸

The devil is responding to God. The rhetorical style is apparent with the constant repetition of the biblical refrain "not without reason does Job worship God." The passage expresses a single thought, namely, that Job worships God not out of personal virtue but because God gave him many good things. Take those good things away and Job will no longer worship God. The message is repeated over and over again. This is typical of Anonymous' style. Indeed the passage is typical of the commentary.

The fictive dialogue deserves further analysis. Throughout the commentary there are extensive passages of fictive dialogue. Anonymous expands the dialogue that is already present in the book of Job itself, using fictive dialogue to supply an explanation and narrative. Yet at the same time the fictive dialogue is a performance. Anonymous himself stands in the place of the devil or in the place of God. Therefore, the dialogue is simultaneously narrative and performance. One must concede that this is an effective way to engage his audience.

18 "Respondens diabolus dixit: "Non sine causa Iob colit Deum." Incipit ostendere quia nequiter meditatus est, incipit publicare quia malitiose cogitavit, "Non sine causa" inquires "Iob colit Deum": non gratis sed cum pretio, non frustra sed pro mercede, non propter pietatem sed propter divitias, non propter domini dilectionem sed propter peculii multitudinem. "Non sine causa Iob colit Deum." Habet pro quibus recompenset, habet pro quibus reddat retributionem. "Non sine causa Iob colit Deum." Si enim ferocioribus atque immanioribus hominibus tantas conferres divitias et tantam gloriam atque tantum honorem, profecto omnes uno consensu tibi servirent et te colerent. "Non sine causa Iob colit Deum," sed pro divitiis, pro possibilitatibus, pro substantia, pro facultatibus, pro potentia et gloria atque honore. Pro istis ergo atque horum his simillimis blandimentis te colit. Aufer universa quae ei dedisti, et apparebit ob quam rem te colit. Nunc vero facile est illi colere te; facile est etiam esse sine querela et iustum atque veracem. "Sine querela" est quia innumerabilia habet et nullo indiget; "iustus" est quia divitias habet; "verax" est quia omnes undique illi inclinantur et sermonem eius usque ad nubes perferunt. "Sed mitte manum tuam et tange omnia quae habet et scito si benedicat te.""¹⁸ *Anonymous in Iob commentarius*, 1.56.8–29, (ed.) Steinhauser, 175–176, my translation.

Since he is just one person, Anonymous as a preacher would have had to differentiate between the characters speaking. In fact, setting the quotation marks, which normally do not appear in manuscripts, on the fictive dialogues was one of the more difficult tasks in producing the edition. Anonymous did not always state *diabolus inquit* or *Deus inquit*. Therefore, he must have modulated his voice to represent the different characters engaged in the fictive dialogue, or perhaps he changed position before the congregation in order to deliver the sermon effectively, allocating one place in the sanctuary to the devil and another to God. This means that he may have been standing somewhere in the sanctuary and not sitting on his episcopal throne.

Another theme of the commentary is polemic against divination and magic, which may seem to be out of place in a Job commentary. Nevertheless, such polemic makes perfect sense since the commentary is made up of sermons delivered during Holy Week. The renunciation of the devil and magic is part of the baptismal ceremony on the Vigil of Easter.

In summation, the commentary is a remarkably well-written literary piece based on the first three chapters of the book of Job. Its central theme is the worship of God and the necessity of true faith for the genuine accomplishment of Christian living. For Anonymous, this true faith must have as its object not the three gods of the Nicenes but the one God of the Arians. Job is an exemplar of true faith and correct worship because he truly was a *dei cultor*.

2.3 Philipp the Presbyter

Chronologically, the next Job commentary is that of Philipp the Presbyter, probably written between 393 and 397.¹⁹ The greatest problem in studying Philipp's commentary is the lack of a critical edition. I will briefly survey the history of the research without going into detail regarding the philological problems which have yet to be resolved and which of necessity must lie beyond the goals of the present chapter. In 1920, Desiderius Franses surveyed six presumptive recensions of Philipp's commentary.²⁰ *Philippi Presbyteri viri longe eruditissimi in historiam Iob commentariorum libri tres* (CPL 643), edited by Joannes Sichardus and published by Adam Petrus in Basel in 1527, represents the authentic

19 The date of composition is contested and will be discussed below.

20 Desiderius Franses, "Het Job-Commentar van Philippus Presbyter," *Die Katholiek* 157 (1920): 378–386.

commentary of Philipp and is presently the best edition available.²¹ The text is probably based on a lost Fulda manuscript.²² Pseudo-Bede's *In Job libri tres ad Nectarium*, printed among the works of Bede in Basel in 1563 and again in Cologne in 1612 and 1688, is a less reliable version of Philipp's commentary. Pseudo-Jerome's *Commentarii in librum Job* (CPL 643; PL 26:619–802; inc. *Job, qui dolens, vel magnus interpretatur*) and pseudo-Jerome's and pseudo-Pelagius' *Expositio interlinearis libri Iob* (CPL 757; PL 23:1407–1470; inc. *Vir dictus de virtute*) are abridgments of Philipp's commentary by an unknown person. Pseudo-Jerome's *Excerpta ex commentario in Jobum* (CPL 757; PL 23:1469–1480; inc. *Quaedam historice hic dicuntur, et allegorice, et moraliter*) are excerpts from Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*. Finally, *Philippi commentaria in Job*, discovered in a manuscript from Monte Cassino and printed in 1897, is actually the *Expositio libri Iob* of Julian of Eclanum.²³ In the literature, Sichardus' edition, which is considered authentically authored by Philipp, is sometimes called *plenior*, while PL 26 (pseudo-Jerome), deemed to be an abridgment of Philipp's text, is called *brevior*.

Continuing our survey, we need to consider several studies that have significantly advanced scholarship on this text. In 1933, André Wilmart published an outline of and selection from Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 111.²⁴ In 1949, Irénée Fransen published his study of the various printed editions and manuscripts of the work.²⁵ This doctoral dissertation was designed to be research preliminary to a critical edition of Philipp's commentary.²⁶ His manuscript list is now dated. For a more complete list, I refer the reader to

21 Ibid., 385: "Deze editie van Joannes Sichardus is zeer goed, maar toch voor verbetering vatbaar en, wat het ergste is, temelijk zeldzaam. Het is daarom, te wenschen, dat er binnen afzienbaren tijd een nieuwe uitgave kome in het Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum van Weenen." No edition was published in CSEL. Sichardus' edition is freely available online in the HathiTrust Digital Library: <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009303858>.

22 Paul Lehmann, *Johannes Sichardus und die von ihm benutzten Bibliotheken und Handschriften*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 4, 1 (Munich, 1911), 50–51; Lehmann makes this assertion on 118 but does not provide the manuscript's shelfmark.

23 See below.

24 André Wilmart, "XIX. Reg. Lat. 111 (fol. 1–2v): Cadre du commentaire sur Job du prêtre Philippe," in *Analecta Reginensia: Extraits des manuscrits latins de la reine Christine conservés au Vatican*, Studi e Testi 59 (Vatican City, 1933), 315–322 (= PLS 3:323–328).

25 Irénée Fransen, "Le commentaire au livre de Job du prêtre Philippe: Etude sur le Texte," (PhD Diss., Lyon, Maredsous, 1949) (typescript).

26 Ibid., 86. No edition was published.

Lambert,²⁷ Stegmüller,²⁸ and *In Principio*.²⁹ Since 1993, Maria Pia Ciccicarese has published three articles on Philipp's Job commentary.³⁰ She has investigated Philipp as a transmitter of Origen's exegesis in the Alexandrian tradition. In addition, she has studied the biblical Job text used by Philipp as an early witness to Jerome's translation from the Hebrew. Her studies are preliminary to a critical edition in CCSL which has yet to appear.³¹

Unfortunately, the textual issues are yet more complex. Three problems have been proposed in the literature. First, does the commentary attributed to Philipp in the edition of Sichardus contain sections of the lost Job homilies of Origen? Ciccicarese would answer in the affirmative.³² In fact, she states that this data may enable a reconstruction at least in part of the lost homilies of Origen. It should also be noted that these homilies may be the very same ones that were translated from Greek into Latin by Hilary of Poitiers.³³ Second, did Bede himself revise the commentary transmitted under his name? Alberto Vaccari holds, rightly in my opinion, that Bede never wrote a Job commentary,³⁴ although Robert Gillet considers the question still open.³⁵ Third, is Sichardus' text really the complete unrevised text of Philipp? Katharina Greschat raises

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- 27 Bernard Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana manuscripta: La tradition manuscrite des œuvres de Saint Jérôme*, Instrumenta Patristica 4 (Steenbrugge, 1969–72), no. 413.
- 28 Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medi Aevi* (Madrid, 1940 [i.e., 1950]–1980), no. 6970. *Repertorium Biblicum* is freely available online: <http://www.repbib.uni-trier.de/cgi-bin/rebihome.tcl>.
- 29 *In Principio: Incipit Index of Latin Texts* (Brepols), available online by subscription, is actually less complete than Lambert and Stegmüller.
- 30 Maria Pia Ciccicarese, "Una esegesi 'double face': Introduzione all'*Expositio in Iob* del presbitero Filippo," *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 9, no. 2 (1992): 483–492; idem, "Filippo e i corvi di *Giobbe* 38,41: Alla ricerca di una fonte perduta," *Augustinianum* 35 (1995): 137–159; idem, "Sulle orme di Gerolamo: La '*Expositio in Iob*' del presbitero Filippo," in *Motivi letterari ed esegetici in Gerolamo: Atti del convegno tenuto a Trento il 5–7 dicembre 1995*, (eds.) Claudio Moreschini and Giovanni Menestrina (Brescia, 1997), 247–268.
- 31 Ciccicarese, "Sulle orme di Gerolamo," 258 n. 50.
- 32 Ibid., 267–268; cf. Johannes Bauer, "Corpora orbiculata: Eine verschollene Origenesexegese bei Pseudo-Hieronymus," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 82 (1960): 333–341.
- 33 See Jerome, *Epistola* 61.2, (ed.) Isidorus Hilberg, CSEL 54 (Vienna, 1996), 577–578; and Licinianus of Carthage, *Epistola* 1.6, (ed.) José Madoz, *Liciniano de Cartagena y sus cartas: Edición crítica y estudio histórico*, Estudios Onienses, 1st ser., vol. 4 (Madrid, 1948), 94–95; see also Madoz's introduction at 61–63.
- 34 Alberto Vaccari, "Scrispitne Beda Commentarium in Iob?," *Biblica* 5 (1924): 369–373 at 373: "Quare concludamus in universon: nulla plane ratione probatur, Sanctum Bedam commentarium scripsisse in librum Iob."
- 35 Robert Gillet, "Introduction," in *Grégoire le Grand: Morales sur Job*, sc 32bis (Paris, 1975), 86.

doubts whether any of the versions initially studied by Franes transmit the authentic text of Philipp.³⁶

With a very strong manuscript tradition supporting the *textus plenior*, I maintain there is no need to be so skeptical. After all the manuscripts are carefully studied, the edition of Sichardus may or may not be proven to be a good witness to the text. Nevertheless, I believe that the Sichardus edition is fundamentally reliable. I cite one especially apparent example. Prescinding from orthographical variances, according to Lambert, Stegmüller, and *In Principio*, the incipit of the text is *Sanctus Job, vir summae patientiae et virtutis Deique testimonio approbatus*. However, in Sichardus' edition one reads *potentiae* instead of *patientiae*. In my opinion, the more difficult and thus original reading is *potentiae*, which would have been changed to *patientiae* by a scribe based on his recollection of James 5:11 in the Vetus Latina version.³⁷ The Vulgate reads *sufferentiam* while *sustinentiam* is another variant.³⁸ A change in the opposite direction, from *patientiae* to *potentiae*, abandoning the biblical reference, would have been highly unlikely. Furthermore, Philipp's use of *potentiae et virtutis*, "power and strength," two words meaning essentially the same thing, represents a simple *adiectio* or literary expansion emphasizing Job's qualities. This one example shows that Sichardus' text is at least as reliable as any available manuscript. At this point it appears to transmit the better reading, but of course more study is necessary. Since his text stems from a now lost manuscript,³⁹ it will have to be treated as a manuscript when the witnesses are collated. At the present time, Sichardus' edition of 1527 is clearly the best edition available and in the absence of a critical edition will remain the best edition for some time to come. Meanwhile, research is hobbled until a critical text becomes available. I join the chorus of scholars clamoring for a critical edition of this important text, and I also must recognize the limitations of any research done without one.⁴⁰

36 Katharina Greschat, *Die Moralia in Job Gregors des Grossen: Ein christologisch-ekklesiologischer Kommentar*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 31 (Tübingen, 2005), 44.

37 For example, Quodvultdeus, *Liber de promissionibus et praedicationibus Dei* I.22.31.13–16, (ed.) René Braun, SC 101 (Paris, 1964), 222, cites James 5:11: "Iacobus quoque apostolus ad exemplum patientiae credentium corda confirmans ait: Patientiam Iob audistis et finem domini uidistis, quia misericors dominus et miserator est."

38 I am aware of no Vetus Latina edition of the letter of James either printed or electronic. I researched the textual variants using the *Vetus Latina Database* (Brepols) and the *Patrologia Latina Database* (Chadwyck-Healey), both available online by subscription.

39 See n. 22 above.

40 See Gillet, "Introduction," 86; Greschat, *Die Moralia in Job Gregors des Grossen*, 44–45.

At this point three issues require investigation. First of all, the title of the work is unclear. Ciccarese is the only scholar who insists on calling the work *Expositio in Iob*. She bases this on a reference in Bede and the “oldest manuscripts.”⁴¹ Following Franses, she also considers the edition of Sichardus the best edition presently available, where the work is clearly titled *Philippi Presbyteri viri longe eruditissimi in historiam Iob commentariorum libri tres* with no mention of exposition. Nevertheless, Philipp’s introductory letter to Nectarius states: *Quod propter copiam expositionis in tres libros diuidendum existimo*.⁴² However, Gennadius calls the work *commentatus*.⁴³ Without prematurely dismissing Ciccarese’s hypothesis but because of the conflicting evidence, I will continue to call the work the commentary on Job⁴⁴ until a critical edition is available.

Second, the date of composition, though disputed, is reasonably certain. Meager biographical information about Philipp comes from Gennadius: “Philipp the presbyter, Jerome’s best pupil, published a *Commentary on Job*, written in an unaffected style. I have read his *Familiar letters*, exceedingly witty, exhorting the endurance of poverty and sufferings. He died in the reign of Martianus and Avitus.”⁴⁵ Additional information comes from the letter written to Nectarius introducing the commentary where Philipp explains that he is using Jerome’s newly minted translation of Job from the Hebrew. Nectarius, the addressee of the letter, was patriarch of Constantinople from 381 to 397, immediately after Gregory Nazianzen and immediately before John Chrysostom. Dissatisfied with the translation from the Septuagint, Jerome had finished his new translation of Job from the Hebrew in 393. This puts the commentary’s date of composition between the completion of Jerome’s translation and Nectarius’ death, that is, between 393 and 397.⁴⁶ There is an opposing opinion.

41 Ciccarese, “Sulle orme di Gerolamo,” 249 n. 12: “La coincidenza tra la testimonianza di Bede e l’*incipit* dei più antichi mss ci autorizza a restituire all’opera il titolo originario di *Expositio*.”

42 Philippus Presbyter, *In historiam Iob commentariorum libri tres*, (ed.) Joannes Sichardus (Basel, 1527), 1.

43 Gennadius, *De viris illustribus* CXC VII (LXII), (ed.) Carl Albrecht Bernoulli, *Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen—und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften* 11 (1895; repr. Frankfurt, 1968), 82.

44 CPL 643 uses the title *Commentarii in Iob*.

45 “Philippus presbyter optimus auditor H[i]eron[y]mi commentatus in Iob edidit sermone simplici librum. Legi eius et familiares epistolas et ualde salsas et maxime ad paupertatis et dolorum tolerantiam ex[h]ortatorias. Moritur Marciani et Auito regnantibus.” Gennadius, *De viris illustribus* CXC VII (LXII), (ed.) Bernoulli, 82, trans. Ernest Cushing Richardson, *NPNF*, 2nd ser., vol. 3, 396. I have slightly emended the translation.

46 See Ciccarese, “Sulle orme di Gerolamo,” 257; Michael Richter, *Ireland and Her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (New York, 1999), 232.

Franses identifies Nectarius as the bishop of Digne in southern Gaul from 439 to 455. This would date the commentary much later, during Nectarius' episcopacy at Digne. Franses argues that placing Philipp in Gaul would account for Gennadius mentioning him in *De viris inlustribus*. To me, the five-year period between 393 and 397 seems more reasonable. Presumably Philipp would have spent some time in Bethlehem where his teacher Jerome resided. He could have easily sent his commentary and the accompanying letter from Bethlehem to Nectarius in Constantinople. Philipp died during the reign of Martianus and Avitus, that is, around 455–456.

Third, there is ample evidence that Philipp's commentary first circulated in Ireland in the 7th century.⁴⁷ Although there are no Irish manuscripts extant, the oldest known witness is Anglo-Saxon, namely, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 426 (SC 2327), 9th century. Bede could have had access to the commentary through an Anglo-Saxon witness. The commentary could have come to the British Isles from an Irish monastic settlement on the continent. Bobbio would be a possibility. Subsequently, either copies of the commentary returned to the continent through Irish missionaries or the commentary enjoyed an independent circulation on the continent. This cannot be determined without a detailed study of the commentary's manuscript tradition.

Now I wish to present the fundamental message of Philipp's commentary. I will do this by means of three brief citations. The first citation, taken from Philipp's dedicatory letter to Nectarius, explains his method:

For saint Jerome, who, as you know, is very learned in the divine scriptures, said this concerning that same book: "This entire book is considered obscure among the Hebrews, and slippery, and what the Greek rhetors call *eschematismenos* [figurative], because it says one thing, while it means another."⁴⁸

47 See Marina Smyth, *Understanding the Universe in Seventh-Century Ireland*, Studies in Celtic History 15 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1996), 137; Richter, *Ireland and Her Neighbours*, 231. Smyth, *Understanding the Universe*, 137 n. 116, kindly points out that I was preparing a critical edition of Philipp's Job commentary. At the time I was, but I discontinued the project after being informed that Ciccarese was already working on an edition of the same text.

48 "Nam cum sanctus Hieronymus in scripturis diuinis, ut ipse nosti, multum peritus, de eodem libro ita dixerit: 'Obliquus apud Hebraeos totus ille liber fertur, et lubricus, et quod Graeci rhetores uocant, *eschematismenos*, dum qui aliud loquitur, aliud agit.'" Philippus Presbyter, *In historiam Iob commentariorum libri tres*, (ed.) Sichardus, 1, my translation.

Clearly Philipp is using a figurative method, which he claims to have learned from Jerome. He includes a quotation from Jerome's own preface to his Job translation, i.e., the Vulgate. This method is immediately applied in the very first sentence of his commentary:

Holy Job, a man of the greatest power and strength and approved by the testimony of God, prophesied much concerning Christ the Lord, whose person he carried figuratively (*figuraliter*) in himself, because it is even declared in his very name. For Job is translated "sorrowful" in Latin, according to the prophets and the gospel, in which that prophecy is fulfilled where it states: "He accepted our infirmities and suffered for us" [Isa. 53:4].⁴⁹

The operative phrase is *cuius etiam in se personam figuraliter gessit*, where the reader finds Job representing the person of Christ in his own body. The theme continues throughout the entire commentary and is revisited again at its end:

Therefore, holy Job explicitly bore the figure (*figuram*) of the Savior, in that, experiencing want from abundance, he was made poor as we became wealthy. The devil exercised power over his body, but it gained him nothing, as the Lord himself said: "The prince of this world will come but he will have no hold over me" (John 15:30)... In many ways, therefore, holy Job prefigured (*figuravit*) our Lord, for example, by his passion and patience, in the number of sons and in the names of his daughters, all of which foretold (*portendebant*) through a figure (*per figuram*) the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit and the law and the prophets and the fullness of the gospel in our Savior, on whom rested the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and power, the spirit of knowledge and piety. "And the spirit of the fear of God filled him" [Is. 11:3]; that must be understood as fullness of days.⁵⁰

49 "Sanctus Iob, uir summae potentiae, et uirtutis, deque testimonio adprobatus, multa de Christo domino prophetauit, cuius etiam in se personam figuraliter gessit, quod et ipso nomine declaratum est: Nam Latine Iob dolens transfertur, secundum prophetas et Euangelium, in quo prophetia illa completa est, ubi dicitur: 'Ipse infirmitates nostras suscepit, et pro nobis dolet.'" Philippus Presbyter, *In historiam Iob commentariorum libri tres*, (ed.) Sichardus, 1, my translation.

50 "Figuram ergo sanctus Iob manifeste habuit Saluatoris, et ex hoc quod ex ditissimo egens et pauper factus est, ut nos locupleremur: circa corpus eius potestam diabolus exercuit, sed nihil proficit, sicut et ipse dominus ait: 'Veniet princeps mundi huius, sed in me nihil inueniet'.... Per multa ergo Iob sanctus dominum nostrum, passione quoque et

The primary message is that the story of Job prefigures the story of Christ the Savior. Both suffered, both struggled against the devil, and both had disloyal friends. The exegetical method is thoroughly figurative or typological.

Ciccarese has presented the theory that Philipp is utilizing a twofold exegesis, which she calls “double face” in all three of her studies.⁵¹ In other words, Philipp is applying two different methods to the text simultaneously. The one approach is typological and based on the teaching of Jerome. The other is allegorical and based on Origen. Ciccarese seems to emphasize Philipp’s use of the allegorical method. She holds that Philipp had access to the now lost Job homilies of Origen. Thus, the two very diverse methods being utilized by Philipp side by side would account for apparent contradictions in the commentary. In one instance Philipp might be relying on Jerome and in another on Origen as a source. One of her foremost examples is Philipp’s reference to ravens in Job 38:41.⁵² The raven is usually a negative figure because it is black, while the dove is a positive figure because it is white. They stand in antithesis to each another. The raven symbolizes the devil.⁵³ Nevertheless, the raven can be positive, for example, when it symbolizes the obscurity of Scripture, which speaks of the mystery of Christ. Thus, the raven may manifest either Christ or the devil. She provides a detailed explanation of Philipp’s exegesis of the passage, identifying the source of the paradox as the lost Job homilies of Origen. Her hypothesis is intriguing and certainly does have merit. On the basis of this research, she would hope to reconstruct at least partially the lost Job homilies of Origen, which would be a great contribution to scholarship. Ciccarese also maintains that Philipp has consciously used two Job translations—the old translation from the Septuagint and the new Vulgate of Jerome. The former is from the Greek and the latter from the Hebrew. Philipp refers to both translations and frequently compares them to each other. Ciccarese hopes to correct and, where necessary, reconstruct the Vulgate of Jerome on the basis of Philipp’s commentary, which is a very old, if not the oldest, witness to the Vulgate translation of

patientia figuravit, numero filiorum, et filiarum nominibus, quae septiformem gratiam spiritus sancti, legisque et prophetarum, atque Euangelii in Salvatore nostrum plenitudinem portendebant, per figuram, in quo requieuit spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et uirtutis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis. ‘Et repletuit eum spiritus timoris dei,’ quod intellegendum est: plenus dierum.” Philippus Presbyter, *In historiam Iob commentariorum libri tres*, (ed.) Sichardus, 211, my translation.

51 See n. 30 above. In English “two-faced” can carry the connotation of disingenuousness. Ciccarese does not intend this but merely intends to stipulate two different approaches.

52 Ciccarese, “Filippo e i corvi,” 137–159.

53 One is immediately reminded of Edgar Allan Poe’s poem “The Raven,” which was influenced by classical and biblical tradition.

Job. Unfortunately, neither the work on Origen's homilies nor the work on Jerome's translation can be done until a critical edition of Philipp's commentary is available. Regarding Ciccarese's theory of a "double face" exegesis, I would simply add that the two faces are not equal. Clearly the typological interpretation whereby Job is a figure of Christ takes priority in Philipp's commentary, while the allegorical layers, perhaps inspired by Origen, represent an exegetical technique more than an overarching hermeneutical method. Typology, not allegory, is the driving force by which Philipp interprets Job.

2.4 Pelagius and Julian of Eclanum (Pelagian Interpretations)

Pelagianism is one of the most extensively studied heresies in the history of Christianity.⁵⁴ Like many such movements, it resembles a bad case of athlete's foot, which stubbornly refuses to go away and then returns after one thinks that it has disappeared. Pelagianism ran its course during the lifetime of Augustine only to reappear as semi-Pelagianism after his death. To put the controversy in simple terms, the basic conflict between Augustine and Pelagius concerned the relationship between divine grace and human free will. On one hand, Augustine insisted that human beings are incapable of good deeds without grace being given directly to them by God. While human nature is not evil, it has been severely damaged by the original sin of Adam and Eve, which the entire human race, as their descendents, inherits. On the other hand, Pelagius and his followers held that there is no such thing as original or inherited sin because Adam and Eve's sin was a personal act belonging to them alone. Human nature is inherently good and undamaged, and above all human beings are capable of doing good on their own without any external assistance from grace. For Pelagians, human nature is totally self-sufficient. Created by God with free will, the human being is capable of choosing either good or evil. Human beings can be sinless. Additional grace would be superfluous since the capability to do good is already present in human nature.

54 Since the literature on Pelagianism is massive, I refer the reader to the four volume translation of Augustine's anti-Pelagian works with detailed introductions, which provide a lucid history of the controversy, by Roland J. Teske, *St. Augustine: Answer to the Pelagians [I]–IV*, The Works of Saint Augustine 1/23–26 (Hyde Park, 1997–2000). In addition, the following works provide a point of departure and bibliographies: B.R. Rees, *Pelagius: A Reluctant Heretic* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1988); Eugene TeSelle, "Pelagius, Pelagianism," in *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, (ed.) Allan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, 1999), 633–640; Volker Henning Drecoll, "Gratia," in *Augustinus-Lexikon*, (ed.) Cornelius Mayer (Basel, 2004–2006), 3:182–242.

The poster boy for Pelagian teaching is Job. For example, at Job 2:3a we read: “And the Lord said to Satan, ‘Have you noticed my servant Job, and that there is no one on earth like him, faultless and upright, fearing God and avoiding evil?’” On this point the Pelagian logic is flawless. God states that Job is the perfect human being, who fears God and does no evil. When Job lived is important for the argument. He lived before Moses so that he did not have the law of Moses available to him. He also lived before Jesus so that he did not have the teaching and example of Jesus available to him. Since Job was good like no one on earth, how was this possible without the law and the prophets and without the gospel? How could Job be good without the teachings of the Old and New Testaments? What is the source of his goodness? To the Pelagians the answer is abundantly clear. The goodness of Job had to be present in some way in his nature as a human being. Here we will investigate two Pelagian texts which deal directly with the book of Job.⁵⁵ The first is the letter of Pelagius to Demetrias, where in one brief but important chapter Pelagius uses Job as an example of virtue. The second is the Job commentary of Julian of Eclanum.

(a) *Pelagius’ Epistola ad Demetriadem*⁵⁶

Pressured by the invasion of the Goths in 410, Demetrias fled from Rome together with her mother Juliana and other female members of the aristocratic and wealthy Anician family to their estates in North Africa. Demetrias was just fourteen years old and engaged to a fellow exile when she decided to call off the wedding and dedicate herself to a life of virginity. She appears to have had ample theological counsel from both Jerome and Augustine. Pelagius’ letter to Demetrias is of interest in our present study of Job commentaries particularly because of his comments on Job in Chapter 6 of his letter.⁵⁷ Pelagius knew the family from his own years in Rome and directed a letter of instruction and exhortation toward the young lady. In the first part, Pelagius proceeds in three logically ordered steps. First, he extols the strength and goodness of human nature. Second, he explains the natural sanctity of the human person. Third, he presents concrete examples of historical figures who embody this natural

55 See Kenneth B. Steinhauser, “Job Exegesis: The Pelagian Controversy,” in *Augustine: Biblical Exegete*, (eds.) Frederick Van Fleteren and Joseph C. Schnaubelt (New York, 2001), 299–311.

56 Transmitted as both pseudo-Augustine and pseudo-Jerome, the *Epistola ad sacram Christī virginem Demetriadem* (CPL 737) is published in PL 30:15–45 (= Vallarsi) and PL 33:1099–1120. An English translation is available in B.R. Rees, trans., *The Letters of Pelagius and his Followers* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1991), 29–70.

57 See Pelagius, *Epistola ad Demetriadem* VI, PL 30:21–22, trans. Rees, 42–43.

sanctity, culminating in the person of Job. Having established his logical and instructional groundwork in Chapters 1–6, Pelagius dedicates most of this letter, Chapters 7–29, to exhorting Demetrias to virtue.

Pelagius' first step in the argument is a description of the strength and goodness of human nature:

The best incentive for the mind consists in teaching it that it is possible to do anything which one really wants to do: in war, for example, the kind of exhortation which is most effective and carries most authority is the one which reminds the combatant of his own strengths. First, then, you ought to measure the good of human nature by reference to its creator, I mean God, of course: if it is he who, as report goes, has made all the works of and within the world good, exceeding good, how much more excellent do you suppose that he has made man himself, on whose account he has clearly made everything else?⁵⁸

Several points are made in this passage. The human being is capable of doing whatever he or she wants to do. The incentive to victory comes from asserting this power in the face of temptation as a soldier would excel in combat during battle. In addition, the goodness of human nature comes from God who made all things good. If the world is good, then certainly human beings for whom the world was made must also be good. In the next chapter Pelagius continues his argument:

It was because God wished to bestow on the rational creature the gift of doing good of his own free will and the capacity to exercise free choice, by implanting in man the possibility of choosing either alternative, that he made it his peculiar right to be what he wanted to be, so that with his capacity for good or evil he could do either quite naturally and then bend his will in the other direction too.⁵⁹

58 "Optima enim animi incitamenta sunt, cum docetur aliquis posse quod cupiat. Nam et in bello ea exhortatio maxima est, eaque plurimum auctoritatis habet, quae pugnatorem de viribus suis admonet. Primum itaque debes naturae humanae bonum de ejus auctore metiri, Deo scilicet, qui cum universa mundi, et quae intra mundum sunt, opera bona, et valde bona fecisse referatur: quanto, putas, praestantiores ipsum hominem fecit: propter quem omnia etiam intelligitur illa condidisse!" Pelagius, *Epistola ad Demetriadem* 11.1–2, PL 30:16–17, trans. Rees, 37.

59 "Volens namque Deus rationabilem creaturam voluntarii boni munere, et liberi arbitrii potestate donare: utriusque partis possibilitatem homini inserendo, proprium ejus fecit

In other words, human beings have free will, given to them by God. Each person has the power to make a choice either for good or for evil. According to Pelagius the prejudice or, to utilize computer jargon, the default position is toward doing good because human nature, since it was created by God, is inherently good.

In the second step of his argument Pelagius asserts the natural sanctity of human nature. Here he relies on Rom. 2:15–16, where Paul asserts that all human beings have a law written in their hearts:

There is, I maintain, a sort of natural sanctity in our minds which, presiding as it were in the mind's citadel, administers judgement equally on the evil and the good and, just as it favors honourable and upright actions, so too condemns wrong deeds and, on the evidence of conscience, distinguishes the one side from the other by a kind of inner law; nor, in fine, does it seek to deceive by any display of cleverness or of counterfeit brilliance in argument but either denounces or defends us by our thoughts themselves, surely the most reliable and incorruptible of witnesses. This is the law which the apostle recalls when he writes to the Romans, testifying that it was implanted in all men and written as it were on the tablets of the heart: "For when the gentiles who have not the law do by nature what the law requires, they are a law to themselves, even though they do not have the law. They show that what the law requires is written in their hearts, while their conscience also bears them witness and their conflicting thoughts accuse or perhaps excuse them."⁶⁰

ROM. 2:15–16

esse quod velit, ut boni ac mali capax naturaliter utrumque posset: et ad alterutrum voluntatem deflecteret." Pelagius, *Epistola ad Demetriadem* III.2, PL 30:17–18, trans. Rees, 38.

60 "Est enim, inquam, in animis nostris naturalis quaedam (ut ita dixerim) sanctitas: quae par velut in arce animi praesidens, exercet mali bonique iudicium: et ut honestis rectisque actibus favet: ita sinistra opera condemnat, atque ad conscientiae testimonium diversas partes domestica quadam lege dijudicat. Nec illo prorsus ingenio, aut fucato aliquo argumentorum colore decipit: ipsis nos cogitationibus fidelissimis et integerrimis sane testibus, aut arguit, aut defendit. Hujus legis, scribens ad Romanos, meminit Apostolus: quam omnibus hominibus insitam velut in quibusdam tabulis cordis scriptam esse, testatur: 'Cum enim,' inquit, 'gentes, quae legem non habent, naturaliter quae legis sunt, faciunt: hujuscemodi legem non habentes, ipsi sibi sunt lex. Qui ostendunt opus legis scriptum in cordibus suis: testimonium reddente eis conscientia eorum, et inter se invicem accusantium cogitationum, aut etiam defendentium.'" Pelagius, *Epistola ad Demetriadem* IV.2, PL 30:19–20, trans. Rees, 40.

The third and final step of the procedure is for Pelagius to present the concrete evidence of specific human beings who have manifested this natural sanctity in history. Pelagius rehearses the lives and deeds of Abel, Melchizedek, Abraham, Joseph, and Job. They were all saints of the old covenant who did good on their own without any external help. Job is, for Pelagius, clearly the culmination and best example:

What shall I say of the blessed Job, that most renowned athlete of God, whose wealth was snatched from him, whose estate was utterly destroyed, whose sons and daughters died all together, and who, after all this, yet fought against the devil to the very end with his body? Everything that he possessed on the outside was taken from him, and his external possessions suddenly fell away, so that those more truly his own stood out clearly; he was as if stripped absolutely of all his outer garments and yet was able to stand triumphant in his nakedness, stronger and less encumbered, and, by bearing his own punishment, to overcome again the same enemy whom he had previously defeated by bearing his own losses. This is the testimony of the Lord himself upon him: "Have you considered my servant Job? For there is none like him on the earth, a man against whom there is no complaint, a true worshipper of God, keeping himself away from all evil (Job 1:8; 2:3)." Nor was this testimony undeserved, for, as he himself says, he always feared the Lord as the waves raging over him and was unable to bear the weight of his presence; at no time did he dare scorn one whom he believed to be ever present with him but said: "I am safe for my heart does not reproach me for any of my days (Job 27:6)."... What a man Job was! A man of the gospel before the gospel was known, a man of the apostles before their commands were uttered! A disciple of the apostles who, by opening up the hidden wealth of nature and bringing it out into the open, revealed by his own behaviour what all of us are capable of and has taught us how great is that treasure in the soul which we possess but fail to use and, because we refuse to display it, believe that we do not possess it either.⁶¹

61 "Quid de beato Job dicam, famosissimo illo athleta Dei: qui post directas opes, et funditus deleta patrimonia: post filiorum ac filiarum unum subito interitum, ad ultimum proprio contra diabolum corpore dimicavit? Auferebantur omnia, quae extrinsecus possidebat, et extranea bona repente decidebant, ut magis propria clarescerent. Omnibus prorsus velut indumentis exuitur, ut expeditius ac fortius nudus triumphet, et hostem, quem ferendo damna ante superaverat, rursus tolerando supplicia devincat. De quo tale ipsius Domini testimonium est: 'Numquid considerasti puerum meum Job? Non est enim similis ei

It would be difficult to make a more compelling or more eloquent argument. Job acted justly and kept his faith in the face of adversity because he was able to utilize the wealth of his human nature, created good by God and hidden within himself.

(b) *Julian of Eclanum's Expositio libri Iob*

Contemporary scholars who study Julian of Eclanum are for the most part interested in his role in the Pelagian controversy. Called the “architect” of Pelagianism by Augustine, Julian was involved in an extensive polemical exchange with Augustine between 418 and 430. In fact, Augustine’s last work against Julian remained unfinished due to his death. Julian’s contribution to the controversy was threefold. First, as Augustine’s intellectual match, he challenged the father of grace to refine his positions and sometimes forced him into a logical dead end. Second, Julian realized that a good offense was superior to a good defense, so he went on the attack against Augustine accusing him of Manichaeism, a charge to which Augustine’s personal history made him quite vulnerable. Third, Julian provided a systematic coherence and intellectual standing to Pelagianism which was heretofore lacking. Unfortunately, most of his polemical and theological works are lost or fragmentary. Some can be partially constructed from citations in Augustine, Marius Mercator, and Bede the Venerable.⁶² History has been more fortunate to his exegetical works.⁶³ In addition to his *Expositio libri Iob*, his *Tractatus prophetarum Osee, Iohel et Amos* has survived as well as his translation of Theodore of Mopsuestia’s *Expositio in psalmos*. Born in 381 in Eclanum, Julian spoke Greek in addition to his native Latin. His father Memorius was a bishop. Julian married Titia, whose father

quisquam in terris: homo sine querela, verus Dei cultor, abstinens se ab omni malo.’ Nec immerito. Semper enim, ut ipse ait, tamquam tumentes super se fluctus, timebat Dominum, et praesentiae ejus pondus ferre non poterat: nec audebat aliquando contemnere, quem semper adesse credebat; dicebatque: ‘Securus sum, non enim reprehendit me cor meum in omni vita mea.’ ... O virum ante Evangelium evangelicum, et apostolicum ante apostolica praecepta! discipulum apostolorum: qui aperiens occultas divitias naturae, et in medium proferens, ex se quid omnes possimus, ostendit: docuitque quantus sit ille thesaurus animae, quem nos sine usu possidemus: et quod proferre nolumus, nec habere nos credimus.” Pelagius, *Epistola ad Demetriadem* VI.1–3, PL 30:21–22, trans. Rees, 42–43.

62 See CPL 773–775d; Julian of Eclanum, *Operum deperditorum fragmenta*, (ed.) Lucas de Coninck, CCSL 88 (Turnhout, 1977), 331–402.

63 See CPL 776–777a; Julian of Eclanum, *Expositio libri Iob; Tractatus prophetarum Osee, Iohel et Amos*, (ed.) Lucas de Coninck, CCSL 88 (Turnhout, 1977), 1–329; *Theodori Mopsuesteni Expositionis in psalmos Iuliano Aeclanensi interprete in Latinum uersae quae supersunt*, (ed.) Lucas de Coninck, CCSL 88A (Turnhout, 1977).

was also a bishop. Around 417 he was named bishop of Eclanum. Then Julian became involved in the Pelagian controversy and, as a result, was sent into exile in the East where he came into contact with Theodore, bishop of Mopsuetia. He returned to the West and seems to have settled in Sicily where he died sometime before 455.⁶⁴

His translation of Theodore of Mopsuetia's commentary on the Psalms from Greek into Latin indicates the influence that Theodore and the Antiochene School had on his exegesis, which is for the most part literal and historical.⁶⁵ In fact, he is one of the few ancient commentators on Job who comes close to the actual theme of the book, when he states that God permits the good to suffer in order to demonstrate their devotion and increase their merit. The word *meritum* appears 64 times in the text, making it clear that human beings can earn merit before God.⁶⁶ Another apparent influence upon Julian is Stoicism. In Julian scholarship, it is debated whether he was more Aristotelian or Stoic. According to Josef Lössl, there is a tension between voluntarism and determinism in the thought of Julian.⁶⁷ Lössl tends to emphasize the Aristotelian influence on Julian in the development of his understanding of human free will. Mathijs Lamberigts states, "It is difficult if not impossible to locate Julian within one specific philosophical school. It is perhaps better to consider him as an eclectic thinker."⁶⁸ Nevertheless, in his Job commentary, the Stoic influence seems to dominate because Julian puts great emphasis on *ratio*, which he mentions 63 times throughout the commentary. The word *ratio* may be translated reason or logic. He also describes reason as a force or power reminiscent of the Stoic

64 For biographical information, see Josef Lössl, *Julian von Eclanum: Studien zu seinem Leben, seinem Werk, seiner Lehre und ihrer Überlieferung*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianiae 60 (Leiden, 2001), 19–73; 250–329; cf. Albert Bruckner, *Julian von Eclanum, sein Leben und seine Lehre: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pelagianismus*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 15, 3 (Leipzig, 1897).

65 On the exegesis of Julian, see Lössl, *Julian von Eclanum*, 147–249; Gilbert Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar zu den Propheten Osee, Joel und Amos: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese*, Analecta Biblica 9 (Rome, 1958); Alberto Vaccari, *Un commento a Giobbe di Giuliano di Eclana* (Rome, 1915).

66 For statistics, I have used the *Library of Latin Texts* (Brepols), which is available online by subscription.

67 See Lössl, *Julian von Eclanum*, 74–146.

68 Mathijs Lamberigts, "The Philosophical and Theological Background of Julian of Aeclanum's Concept of Concupiscence," *Die christlich-philosophischen Diskurse der Spätantike: Texte, Personen, Institutionen, Akten der Tagung vom 22.—25. February 2006 am Zentrum für Antike und Moderne der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg*, (ed.) Therese Fuhrer, Philosophie der Antike 28 (Stuttgart, 2008), 254.

ordering principle, *hegemonikon*. Julian's exegesis may be illustrated by several passages from his Job commentary.

In the first passage that I have chosen, he emphasizes the deeds of Job where he contrasts *scripta* with *acta*. He recruits Paul to his side by a citation from Rom. 15:4. Then, like Pelagius before him, he asserts the self-sufficiency of human nature for doing good and avoiding evil:

If according to the testimony of the apostle, "all things that have been written (*scripta*), have been written (*scripta*) for our instruction," [Rom. 15:4] those things actually done (*acta*) by holy men are much more important.... The life of blessed Job is praised so that in him the good of human nature may be known. Thus, as established by God, human nature shows that it can be sufficient in itself both for repelling sins and pursuing all virtues, even without the teaching of the written law.⁶⁹

In the second exemplary passage Julian describes logic and the force of logic. There is a natural order in the world, placed there by God, although this order may sometimes be difficult for human beings to understand.

Since the logic (*ratio*) of nature or of the works of God is profound, foolish human beings think that nothing of his contemplation may pertain to themselves but live like dumb animals, from which the force of logic (*uis rationis*) is alien.⁷⁰

Nevertheless, in truly Stoic fashion, the order does come from God who has imprinted the power of reason upon human nature:

Job calls the "commands of the lips of God" the power of reason stamped upon his nature, by which in place of the law God can teach human beings justice, as the apostle says: "For when the gentiles, who do not have

69 "Si teste Apostolo 'omnia quaecumque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt,' multo magis ea quae a sanctis uiris acta referuntur.... Sancti itaque Job uita laudatur, ut in eo bonum humanae naturae possit agnosci, quae tam ad repulsam peccatorum quam ad sectationem uirtutum omnium, quippe ita a Deo condita, etiam sine Legis scriptae magisterio ostendit se sibi posse sufficere." Julian of Eclanum, *Expositio libri Job* [praef.], 1–8, (ed.) de Coninck, CCL 88, 1, my translation.

70 "Cum naturae uel operum Dei ratio sit profunda, nihil de contemplatione eius stulti putant ad se homines pertinere, sed in morem pecudum uiuunt, a quibus est uis rationis aliena." Julian, *Expositio libri Job* XI.12.61–64, (ed.) de Coninck, CCL 88, 34, my translation.

the law, by nature observe the prescriptions of the law, even though they do not have the law, they are a law for themselves.”⁷¹

ROM. 2:14

Finally, Julian insists on divine providence existing in all ages of human history as the concrete expression of God's *ratio*. The word *providentia* is clearly Stoic and is used 30 times in his Job commentary. In the midst of his sufferings, Job debates the providence of God with Elihu. Job explains that God's providence has never been absent from human beings and may be found in all things especially at the very beginning of the world. In several instances, Julian contrasts divine providence with divine justice. Although he acknowledges that personal experience may sometimes appear to contradict providence and deny justice, Julian sees God's providence as the continuation of his single creative act so much so that the two are difficult to distinguish from each other. As in Stoic teaching, which is essentially Unitarian, the two—creation and providence—are one. For Julian, the providence of God is evident in the birth of each human being whereby God provides that the seed not perish but be formed into a person and be brought to light. Perhaps Julian's approach to divine providence is best summarized by his comment on Job 5:9 (*qui fecit magna et inscrutabilia* [Vulgate]) referring to God who has done great and inscrutable things: “Job recounts the riches of divine providence, which are lavished upon individual generations in common and properly upon each and every generation.”⁷²

In summation, the Pelagian interpretations of the book of Job have several common characteristics. First, according to Job 1:1, blessed Job is without sin. Since he has neither the law nor the gospel available to him, the source of his goodness must be his own human nature, which has been created by God with the power to do good with no need for further help or grace. Human nature is self-sufficient because it has been created that way by God. Second, Paul supports this teaching in Rom. 2:14–15, where he affirms that gentiles have a law written in their hearts. Third, emphases on human reason and divine

71 “Mandata labiorum Dei’ esse dicit naturae suae uim rationis impressam, quae uice Legis potuit homines docere iustitiam, sicut et Apostolus ait: ‘Cum enim gentes quae Legem non habent, naturaliter ea quae Legis sunt faciunt, eiusmodi Legem non habentes, ipsi sibi sunt Lex.’” Julian, *Expositio libri Iob* XXIII.12.48–53, CCL 88, 65, my translation.

72 “Diuitias diuinae providentiae, quas per singulas generationes et in commune omnibus et singulis proprie largitur, enumerat.” Julian, *Expositio libri Iob* V.9.42–44, CCL 88, 17, my translation.

providence are similarities which Pelagianism shares with Stoicism and which are especially evident in Julian's interpretation of Job.

2.5 Augustine and Jerome (Anti-Pelagian Interpretations)

In spite of the various Job commentaries handed down under his name,⁷³ Jerome never wrote a commentary on the book of Job. However, he does briefly mention Job in his *Dialogue against the Pelagians*. Augustine wrote a commentary on Job but it remained unfinished. In order to obtain an accurate picture of Augustine's Job exegesis, one must also investigate other works where Augustine deals with Job. Generally the anti-Pelagian interpretations of Job concentrate on Job's sinfulness and his need for salvation. Similar arguments are found in both Augustine and Jerome.

(a) *Augustine*

Especially significant for our study of Job commentaries is Augustine's *Adnotationes in Iob*, written around 399 but never completed.⁷⁴ Job also surfaces in Augustine's response to Pelagius in four works written between 411 and 413: *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo paruulorum*, *De spiritu et littera*, *De natura et gratia*, and *De perfectione iustitiae hominis*. Also of interest is his polemical exchange with Julian of Eclanum, namely, *Contra Iulianum* and *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum*, which were written after 420.

We proceed chronologically beginning with the *Adnotationes in Iob*. In 426 or 427, Augustine wrote his *Retractationes*, which is a catalogue of his works indicating revisions where necessary. He catalogued his books and treatises, although he never got to his letters and sermons. In the course of writing the *Retractationes*, Augustine identifies three types of incomplete works. An *opus imperfectum* was dictated to a certain point but never finished. An *opus inchoatum* was scarcely begun. *Adnotationes* were notes which Augustine made as the basis for a future book. This gives us insight into the various methods that Augustine followed when composing his writings.⁷⁵ Dictation was the norm. He would amend the dictated work later. However, when he was working on a biblical commentary, he often used a different method. He would make notes in the margin of the biblical text perhaps even utilizing the shorthand notation of the day known as Tironian notes. Then an assistant would copy these marginal

73 See above.

74 See Kenneth B. Steinhauser, "Adnotationes in Iob," in *Augustine through the Ages*, 8.

75 See Kenneth B. Steinhauser, "Manuscripts," in *Augustine through the Ages*, 525–533, at 525.

notes longhand into a continuous narrative. Later Augustine would expand the notes writing a complete commentary. The *Adnotationes in Iob*, as it has been transmitted, is the collection of Augustine's marginal notes on 39 chapters of the book of Job immediately after his assistant had written them out longhand. They are short cryptic remarks often in incomplete and grammatically incorrect sentences. They represent the first step in writing a biblical commentary. Augustine himself confesses in his *Retractationes* that he could scarcely understand what he had written.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, there is a modern critical edition of the *Adnotationes in Iob*,⁷⁷ but I am aware of no English translation.

As we have seen, both Pelagius and Julian paint a glowing picture of Job, who was virtuous and above all able to do good on his own without any external help of divine grace. Job was righteous before the law was written and before the gospel was proclaimed, so that his goodness could have been based on one thing only, namely, his human nature as created by God. To refute this position, Augustine has to prove that Job was a sinner. Augustine's demonstration of Job's sinfulness is substantially easier than Pelagius' and Julian's task of demonstrating his virtue. Augustine states that sin need not express itself in action. A sinful intention, publicly manifested to no one, is still a sin. This is abundantly clear in his *Adnotationes in Iob* where he writes: "[Job speaks:] 'It may be that my sons sinned and blasphemed God in their hearts' [Job 1:5]. It is good that he added 'it may be' because it is suspected that they blasphemed in their hearts."⁷⁸ In addition, when Job says, "but as it seems my words are evil [Job 6:3 Vulgate],"⁷⁹ Augustine explains that the words of Job signify an evil that is not limited to Job alone but shared by the entire human race.⁸⁰

Proving the sinfulness of Job is a relatively simple task exegetically because Augustine can rely on those passages where pious Job humbly confesses his sinfulness before God. Here we must refer to the anti-Pelagian works of Augustine because his *Adnotationes in Iob* is incomplete and therefore insufficient for presenting a complete picture of his interpretation of Job. In *De peccatorum*

76 Augustine, *Retractationes* II.13.39, (ed.) Almut Mutzenbecher, CCL 57 (Turnhout, 1984), 99–100, trans. Mary Inez Bogan, FOC 60 (Washington, D.C., 1968), 143.

77 Augustine, *Adnotationes in Iob*, (ed.) Joseph Zycha, CSEL 28/2 (Vienna, 1895), 509–628.

78 "Ne forte peccauerint filii mei, et maledixerint deo in cordibus suis' bene additum: 'ne forte' quia in corde eos maledixisse suspicabatur." Augustine, *Adnotationes in Iob* I, (ed.) Zycha, CSEL 28/2, 509, 11–13, my translation.

79 "Sed, ut uidetur, uerba mea sunt mala." Augustine, *Adnotationes in Iob* VI, (ed.) Zycha, CSEL 28/2, 518, 7–8, my translation.

80 "non enim uerba Iob de impatientia sunt flagellorum, cum significant dolorem, non peculiarem Iob, sed quem habuit de omni genere humano." Augustine, *Adnotationes in Iob* VI, (ed.) Zycha, CSEL 28/2, 518, 8–10.

meritis et remissione et de baptismo paruulorum (*The Punishment and Forgiveness of Sins and the Baptism of Little Ones*), Augustine points out that Job was “one who truly and humbly confesses his sins.”⁸¹ In the second book of this work, Augustine begins by seeking to answer two specific questions. First, can human beings be sinless in this life? Second, is there actually someone without sin? Augustine answers both these questions in the negative. He demonstrates his point with examples from the Scriptures. Citing Ezek. 14:14, he uses three Old Testament figures—Noah, Daniel, and Job—to show the righteousness of God and the sinfulness of human beings. These three servants of God are symbolic of righteous civil leaders, righteous celibates, and righteous married people respectively. Augustine dedicates several paragraphs to Job, citing the biblical book extensively, particularly Chapters 9 and 14. He writes:

See, even Job confesses his sins and says that he knows in the truth that no one is righteous before the Lord. And he knows this in the truth, because, if we say that we have no sin, the truth is not in us [see 1 John 1:8]. Hence, in terms of human conduct, God offers this great testimony to his righteousness. But Job himself, measuring himself by that rule of righteousness which he sees in God, as best he can, knows in the truth that it is so and adds, “For how will one be righteous before the Lord? If, after all, one wants to contend with him, he will not be able to obey him.”⁸²

JOB 9:2–3

In *Contra Iulianum*, according to Augustine, Job himself testified to the fact that no one is clean from filth, not even the infant whose life is just one day upon the earth:

81 “... suorum peccatorum uerax humilisque confessor.” Augustine, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo paruulorum* II.12.17, (eds.) Karl Franz Urbe and Joseph Zycha, CSEL 60 (Vienna, 1913), 89, 18–19, trans. Roland J. Teske, *Answer to the Pelagians* [1], The Works of Saint Augustine 1/23 (Hyde Park, 1996), 92.

82 “Ecce et Iob confitetur peccata sua et in ueritate se dicit scire, quia non est iustus quisquam ante dominum. et ideo iste hoc in ueritate scit, quia, si nos dixerimus non habere peccatum, ipsa ueritas in nobis non est. proinde secundum modum conuersationis humanae perhibet ei deus tam magnum iustitiae testimonium. ipse autem se metiens ex regula illa iustitiae, quam sicut potest conspicit apud deum, in ueritate scit, quia ita est, et adiungit: ‘quemadmodum enim iustus erit ante dominum? si enim uelit contendere cum eo, non poterit oboedire ei [Job 9:2–3].’” Augustine, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo paruulorum* II.10.14, (eds.) Urbe and Zycha, CSEL 60, 86, 3–12, trans. Teske, The Works of Saint Augustine 1/23, 90.

But since you also appealed with so many words to the testimony of the saintly Job, why did there not come to your mind what that same man of God said when he was speaking about human sins: “No one is clean from filth, not even an infant whose life has lasted one day on earth”?⁸³

JOB 14:5 LXX

The argument of universal sinfulness appears again in *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum*: “If the just God did not impute this kind of sin, the faithful would not ask to be forgiven for them. For this reason Job, the servant of God, also says, ‘You have sealed my sins in a sack and have noted if I have done anything against my will (Job 14:17).’”⁸⁴ The final step for Augustine is to establish the necessity of grace. Although he deals with Rom. 2:15, as did Pelagius, he interprets the law written in the hearts of the gentiles in a different way. Augustine carefully distinguishes between the two Testaments. In Romans, Paul is referring to the gentiles of the New Testament, who are justified not by nature but by grace, that is by their faith in Jesus Christ who has repaired nature. Augustine specifically refers to Rom. 1:19–25, where Paul states that God’s grace comes through Jesus Christ. Job in his patience foresaw and prefigured the sufferings of Christ that would be redemptive.

There are references to Job here and there in the works of Augustine which are not always in an anti-Pelagian context, for example in sermons like *De patientia* and *De symbolo ad catechumenos* (*On the Creed to Catechumens*), where he speaks of Job’s patience. The latter sermon is of particular interest due to the manner in which Augustine develops the theme of suffering while commenting on the creedal statement referring to Christ crucified. *De symbolo* III.10 is a digression on patience beginning with James 5:11: “You have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord.”⁸⁵ Augustine then

83 “Sed cum etiam sancti Iob testimonium tam loquaciter adhiberes, quare non tibi uenit in mentem quod ait idem ipse homo dei, cum de peccatis sermo ei esset humanis, ‘neminem mundum a sorde, nec infantem cuius est unius diei uita super terram’” (Job 14:5 sec. LXX)? Augustine, *Contra Iulianum* V.13.49, PL 44:811.50–55, trans. Roland J. Teske, *Answer to the Pelagians III*, The Works of Saint Augustine I/24 (Hyde Park, 1990), 464.

84 “Quod genus delictorum si non imputaret deus iustus, non ea sibi dimitti posceret homo fidelis. unde dicit et dei famulus Iob: ‘signasti peccata mea in sacco et annotasti, si quid inuitus commisi (Job 14:17 sec. LXX).’” Augustine, *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum* I.105, (eds.) Ernst Kalinka and Michaela Zelzer, CSEL 85/1 (Vienna, 1974), 122, 26–29, trans. Roland J. Teske, *Answer to the Pelagians III*, The Works of Saint Augustine I/25 (Hyde Park, 1990), 125.

85 “Patientiam Iob audistis, et finem domini uidistis.” Augustine, *De symbolo ad catechumenos* III.10, (ed.) Van der Plaetse, CCSL 46 (Turnhout, 1969), 192, 220–221, trans. C.L. Cornish, NPNF, 1st ser., vol. 3 (Grand Rapids, 1980), 372.

makes two points. First, Job lost his estate and his children but in return received twice as much as he had lost. Augustine cautions his listeners: "Let none say, 'Let me bear evils, and God will repay me as He repaid Job': that it be now no longer patience but avarice."⁸⁶ Job's patience was truly tried. He did not anticipate the twofold reward from God because that would have been greed. Christians should look forward in hope to the eternal goods of the future and not to a temporary reward in the present. Second, although Job lost estate and children, he did not lose his wife. She had an important role to play in the story. Job's wife remained to do the bidding of the serpent as Eve had done in the garden of Eden: "But even her who was left, the devil would have taken away long ago, but that he kept her to be his helper: because by Eve he had mastered the first man, therefore had he kept an Eve."⁸⁷ The cunning devil allowed Job's wife to survive in order to tempt him and thus to try his patience all the more. She urged him to curse God but he refused. In the end, the patience of Job, like the patience of Jesus, led to resurrection: "Christ rising from the dead henceforth does not die" (Rom. 6:9).⁸⁸

(b) *Jerome*

Jerome wrote his *Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos*,⁸⁹ his only anti-Pelagian work, around 415 as a literary dialogue involving two fictitious persons. Atticus took the Catholic position of Jerome while Critobulus was the Pelagian heretic. In one place in the dialogue, Job is mentioned first by Critobulus and then in response by Atticus.⁹⁰ Critobulus cites Job 1:1, where Job is identified as a true worshipper of God without fault of any kind. Critobulus links Job with Zacharias and Elizabeth, where Luke describes them as also blameless. Atticus responds by accusing Critobulus of quoting the Scriptures out of context. Then he cites multiple scriptural passages to demonstrate that all human beings are sinful. Some of these passages are directly taken from the book of Job, for example Job 9:20, 30–31:

86 "Ne quis dicat: 'Feram mala, et reddat mihi deus quemadmodum reddidit Iob,' ut nam non sit patientia, sed auaritia." Augustine, *De symbolo ad catechumenos* III.10, (ed.) Van der Plaetse, CCSL 96, 192, 227–229, trans. Cornish, NPNF, 1st ser., vol. 3, 372.

87 "Sed etiam ipsam quae remanserat, olim auferret, nisi adiutricem sibi seruasset, quia primum hominem per Euam debellauerat, Euam seruauerat." Augustine, *De symbolo ad catechumenos* II.10, (ed.) Van der Plaetse, CCSL 96, 193, 241–244, trans. Cornish, NPNF, 1st ser., vol. 3, 372.

88 "Christus exurgens ex mortuis, iam non moritur." Augustine, *De symbolo ad catechumenos* III.10, (ed.) Van der Plaetse, CCSL 96, 195, 306–307, trans. Cornish, NPNF, 1st ser., vol. 3, 373.

89 See CPL 615.

90 Jerome, *Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos* I.12.1–44, (ed.) Claudio Moreschini, CCL 80 (Turnhout, 1990), 14–15, trans. John N. Hritz, FOC 53 (Washington, D.C., 1965), 245–246.

If I should be just, my own mouth shall speak wicked things; if I would be blameless, I shall be found wicked; and if I be washed with snow and be clean of hands, you have plunged me sufficiently in filth. My garments have abhorred me.⁹¹

Other biblical references include Job 5:21 (Vulgate) and Job 31:35 and Ps. 142:2: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight no man living shall be justified."⁹² Jerome's argument is actually quite simple and straightforward. No human being is without sin. In spite of all the biblical references that the Pelagians bring forth to demonstrate Job's natural innate holiness, the defenders of grace have an equal number of biblical references to prove just the opposite.

Not all of Jerome's uses of the book of Job are explicitly anti-Pelagian. He wrote *Epistola 188* to a certain Julian (not to be confused with Julian of Eclanum mentioned above) as a consolation upon the death of his wife and two daughters.⁹³ Jerome explains to Julian that Job's sufferings were much more severe than his own because Julian's trials have not been greater than he can bear:

See how crafty the adversary is, and how hardened in sin his evil days have made him! He knows the difference between things external and internal. He knows that even the philosophers of the world call the former *adiaphora*, that is indifferent, and that the perfection of virtue does not consist in losing or disdaining them. It is the latter, those that are internal and objects of preference, the loss of which inevitably causes chagrin.⁹⁴

91 "Si fuero iustus, os meum impia loquetur, et si absque crimine, prauus inueniar; et si purificatus niue et lotus mundis manibus, satis me sorde tinxisti et exsecratum est me uestimentum meum." Jerome, *Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos* I.12.23–26, (ed.) Moreschini, CCL 80, 14, trans. Hritz, FOC 53, 246.

92 "Ne ingrediaris in iudicium cum seruo tuo, quia non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnino uiuens." Jerome, *Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos* I.12.42–43, (ed.) Moreschini, CCL 80, 15, trans. Hritz, FOC 53, 246.

93 See CPL 620; Jerome, *Epistola 118*, (ed.) Isidorus Hilberg, CSEL 55 (Vienna, 1996), 434–445, trans. W.H. Fremantle, NPNF, 2nd ser., vol. 6 (Grand Rapids, 1983), 220–224.

94 "Callidissimus aduersarius et inueteratus dierum malorum nouit alia esse, quae extrinsecus sint et a philosophis quoque mundi 'adiaphora,' hoc est indifferentia, nominentur, in eorumque amissione atque contemptu perfectam non esse uirtutem, alia, quae intrinsecus et de se data cogunt dolere perdentem." Jerome, *Epistola 118.3*, (ed.) Hilberg, CSEL 55, 437, 19–438, 3, trans. Fremantle, NPNF, 2nd ser., vol. 6, 221.

Jerome's reference to internal and external things, with the external being the indifferent *adiaphora* of the Stoics, offers a context for Job's plight not found elsewhere. Destitute Job is an example of virtue for the prosperous Julian. As we will see below, there are other exemplary interpretations of Job but none related to the Stoic *adiaphora*.

2.6 Miscellaneous Moral and Spiritual Interpretations

In this last section, I wish to present interpretations of Job which are documented not by a complete commentary but by references to Job in various homilies. Of course, I am unable to refer to each and every citation of Job in patristic literature. However, two themes do emerge in homilies or tractates which mention Job. The first is the universal sinfulness of humankind, already seen above in the writings of Augustine and Jerome against the Pelagians. The second is Job as a moral exemplar for contemporary Christians. Both themes are constructed upon biblical foundations. Regarding universal sinfulness, Joseph Ziegler cites Job 14:4–5a and beginning with Cyprian traces its use through the entire Latin patristic literature.⁹⁵ His thesis is clear and direct. Job 14:4–5a is the most important biblical text in the scriptures used by the fathers to demonstrate the universal sinfulness of humankind: “Can a man be found who is clean of defilement? There is none, however short his days.” Ziegler cites the *Vetus Latina* translation used by Cyprian: “quis enim mundus a sordibus? nec unus, etiam si unius diei sit vita eius in terra.”⁹⁶ “Indeed in guilt I was born and in sin my mother conceived me” (Ps. 50:7) and “If we say, ‘We are free of the guilt of sin,’ we deceive ourselves; the truth is not to be found in us” (1 John 1:8) are additional supporting biblical passages.

For Job as a moral exemplar, one must look initially to the New Testament, and specifically to James 5:7–11:

Be patient, therefore, my brothers, until the coming of the Lord. See how the farmer awaits the precious yield of the soil. He looks forward to it patiently while the soil receives the winter and the spring rains. You, too, must be patient. Steady your hearts, because the coming of the Lord is at hand. Do not grumble against one another, my brothers, lest you be condemned. See! The judge stands at the gate. As your models in suffering hardship and in patience, take the prophets who spoke in the name

95 See n. 5 above.

96 Ziegler, *Job 14,4–5a als wichtigster Schriftbeweis*, 17.

of the Lord. Those who have endured we call blessed. You have heard of the patience of Job and have seen what the Lord, who is compassionate and merciful, did in the end.

The expression “patience of Job” has become proverbial in English, but nowhere in the book of Job itself is Job called patient. His patience is praised in the letter of James, indicating a further development in the interpretation of the book of Job in a Christian context. Three examples of these themes in the fathers of the church follow.

Hilary of Poitiers wrote a tractate on Job, which is lost except for some fragments preserved by Augustine and in the *Acta Concilii Toletani IV*.⁹⁷ The fragments may be a translation of the lost Job commentary of Origen. The main theme of Hilary’s *Tractatus in Iob* is original sin.⁹⁸

Zeno of Verona wrote a series of sermons, one of which deals with Job.⁹⁹ The two parts of the sermon are distinct. In the first part, Zeno develops an exposition of the moral qualities of the suffering Job. In the second part, he presents Job as a type or prefiguration of Christ the Savior who suffered.¹⁰⁰

Ambrose wrote his *De interpellatione Iob et David* in four books, with books one and two on Job and books three and four on David.¹⁰¹ The sermons were probably preached between 387 and 389. One may ask why Ambrose united the biblical figures Job and David in the same work. The issue is hotly debated. Some would assert that these were originally four independent homilies which were united into a single work at a later date. Their order is diverse in

97 See CPL 429; Hilary of Poitiers, *Fragmenta minora: Ex Tractatibus in Iob*, (ed.) Alfred Feder, CSEL 65 (Vienna, 1916), 229–231; Jean Doignon, “Corpora Vitiorum Materies: Une formule-clé du fragment sur Job d’Hilaire de Poitiers inspiré d’Origène et transmis par Augustin (*Contra Iulianum* 2, 8, 27),” *Vigiliae Christianae* 35, no. 3 (1981): 209–221.

98 See Jean Doignon, “Versets de *Job* sur le péché de notre origine selon Hilaire de Poitiers,” in *Le Livre de Job chez les Pères*, Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 5 (Strasbourg, 1996), 13–21.

99 See CPL 208; Zeno of Verona, *Sermones seu Tractatus* I.15, (ed.) Bengt Löfstedt, CCL 22 (Turnhout, 1971), 60–62.

100 See Pierre Maraval, “Job dans l’oeuvre de Zénon de Vérone,” in *Le Livre de Job chez les Pères*, 23–30.

101 See CPL 134; Ambrose, *De interpellatione Iob et David*, (ed.) Karl Schenkl, CSEL 32 (Vienna, 1897), 211–296, trans. Michael P. McHugh, FOC 65 (Washington, D.C., 1965), 325–420; Hervé Savon, “L’ordre et l’unité du *De Interpellatione Iob et David* de Saint Ambroise,” *Latomus* 46 (1987): 338–355; also helpful is the introduction to the Italian edition: Gabriele Banterle, “Introduzione,” in *Sant’Ambrogio: Opere esegetiche IV: I patriarchi, La fuga del mondo, Le rimostranze di Giobbe e de Davide*, Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis Opera 4 (Milan, 1980), 13–15.

the manuscript tradition, yet most scholars consider the four sermons a unity. The title of the work is also interesting and not without problems. The word *interpellatio* may be translated prayer, complaint, or plea. All these translations of the word are faulty because necessarily implied in *interpellatio* is a legal case brought before a tribunal by a plaintiff. Ambrose's work records the complaint of Job and David before God in a juridical sense. Allan D. Fitzgerald has advanced the hypothesis that the two biblical books—Job and Psalms—interpret one another.¹⁰² This is true, but I would add the importance of the kingly character of their authors. A colophon in the Septuagint identifies Job with Jobab, king of Edom. There is also an iconographic tradition of presenting images of Job as a king. I would speculate, although there is no direct evidence in the text, that Ambrose united his homilies on Job and David because they were both kings. Ambrose uses these two kings as examples of the wretchedness of the human condition. Because of their miserable state as humans they make their *interpellatio* to God. Even their exalted status as kings could not keep them from sin. Ambrose cites the *locus classicus*, Job 14:4–5a, in several places¹⁰³ as he describes Job's plight: "Truly his condition is wretched! He is forced to give an accounting of his sin and yet cannot avoid sin. He is compelled to enter into judgment, to go into the sight of the Lord almighty to declare the reasons for his actions; yet these have taken place over the entire span of his life, when no one could be clean of sin."¹⁰⁴ Ironically, in spite of his sinful condition Job is also the moral exemplar of virtue.¹⁰⁵ Since the suffering of Jesus, the God-man, was unique, Ambrose absolutely denies that Job is a type of Christ.¹⁰⁶ Rather, Job is for Christians an example of the virtuous life. Wisdom stands in stark contrast to what Ambrose considered to be the chief temptation faced by Job, namely, wealth. Ambrose alludes to the corrupting influence of wealth in his

102 Allan D. Fitzgerald, "Ambrose of Milan on the Christian in the World: Job's Plight and David's Psalms Interpret One Another," Address to the Annual Meeting of the North American Patristics Society, Chicago, Illinois, 24 May 2012, unpublished.

103 For example, see Ambrose, *De interpellatione Iob et David* I.7.22 and IV.2.6.

104 "Uere miserabilis condicio, ut peccati sui, quod uitare non possit, rationem praestare cogatur, iudicium intrare, in conspectum subire domini omnipotentis compellitur, edere causas gestorum suorum, quae tot uitae suae aetatibus percurrerit, cum mundus a peccato quiuis esse non possit." Ambrose, *De interpellatione Iob et David* I.7.22, (ed.) Schenkl, CSEL 32/2, 225, 17–21, trans. McHugh, FOC 65, 344.

105 J.R. Baskin, "Job as Moral Exemplar in Ambrose," *Vigiliae Christianae* 35, no. 3 (1981): 222–231.

106 *Ibid.*, 227; see Ambrose, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam* IV.38–40, (ed.) Marcus Adriaen, CCL 14 (Turnhout, 1957), 119–121.

De officiis.¹⁰⁷ Its opposite, poverty, brings one closer to God. At the end of both sermons on Job, Ambrose turns his attention toward wisdom. I cite the final sentences of the second sermon:

But if a man wishes to search out wisdom, let him not seek it in the abyss, like the philosophers who think they can know its depths by their own initiative and their own ability. And let them not seek it in the sea—for indeed where there is tempest and windstorm, there wisdom cannot be—but let him seek it there where there is tranquility of heart and the peace that is beyond all understanding.¹⁰⁸

This wisdom, found in the prophets, goes beyond the wisdom (*sapientia*) and knowledge (*disciplina*) of the Stoic philosophers. The ending of the first sermon is even stronger where Ambrose cites Job 28:28: “The fear of God is wisdom and to abstain from evil knowledge.”¹⁰⁹

2.7 Conclusion

Among the Latin fathers before Gregory the Great’s *Moralia in Iob*, there are four extant commentaries on the book of Job, all of which were written between 380 and 420. First, the anonymous Arian commentary centers upon Job, the worshipper of the one true God, as opposed to the Nicene Christians who worship three gods. Second, Philipp the Presbyter’s commentary manifests a dual methodology including both allegory and typology. Nevertheless, the theme of Job as a type of the suffering Jesus, who brought salvation to the world, dominates this lengthy work. Third, the prosaic commentary of Julian of Eclanum emphasizes Job’s sinlessness in the face of tribulation. Pelagius’ letter to Demetrias makes the same point more dramatically indicating a unified Pelagian approach. Job lived before the law and before the gospel, yet he did not sin. Because he harnessed the power and virtue of his human nature,

107 Baskin, “Job as Moral Exemplar,” 225.

108 “Sed qui uult sapientiam inuestigare, non in abyso eam quaerat sicut philosophi, qui arbitrantur quod ipsi sua sponte suo ingenio profunda eius possint cognoscere, non in mari eam requirat—etenim ubi tempestas, ubi procella uenti est, non potest ibi esse sapientia—sed ibi quaerat, ubi est tranquillitas mentis, et pax, quae super omnem intellectum est.” Ambrose, *De interpellatione Iob et David* II.23, (ed.) Schenkl, CSEL 32, 247, 13–19, trans. McHugh, FOC 65, 367.

109 “Timere deum sapientia est, abstinere autem a malis disciplina est.” Ambrose, *De interpellatione Iob et David* I.31, (ed.) Schenkl, CSEL 32, 232, 19–20, trans. McHugh, FOC 65, 351.

he had no need of additional divine grace. Fourth, Augustine in his unfinished commentary on Job and elsewhere held that Job was not so sinless after all: "Can a man be found who is clean of defilement? There is none, however short his days" (Job 14:4–5a). Jerome in his dialogue against the Pelagians reiterates the same theme that all human beings have sinned. In various sermons and tractates by Latin patristic authors both before and after Augustine, Job is presented as a man who shares in the universal sinfulness of humankind, and in some cases they affirm the existence of original sin. Finally, in Ambrose's sermons on the complaint of Job and David, Job is a moral example to be imitated.

The common element in all these writings is *theological* in a strict sense. Nowhere in patristic literature do we find the anthropological problem of theodicy or the mythological problem of God. Nowhere do we find a treatment of what most modern scholars consider to be the actual theme of the book of Job. How does one reconcile evil in the world with the existence of a providential God who is completely good? Where does evil come from? Why is there suffering in the world? The Latin fathers did not ask these questions. Rather, for them, the book of Job was a vehicle for presenting their own theological agendas, whether that agenda be the unity of God, the salvation brought by Christ, the self-sufficiency of human nature, the necessity of divine grace, the sinfulness of human beings, or the moral example of Job. God's justice is never questioned.

Job's Sin in the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great

Carole Straw

3.1 Introduction

The *Moralia in Iob* of Gregory the Great (590–604)¹ is the first line-by-line commentary on the Book of Job in the Christian tradition, East or West. In large measure, its popularity accounts for Henri de Lubac's notion of "*le moyen âge Grégorien*" when, "Pour la plupart de nos exégètes, en effect, Grégoire est le premier des maîtres."² Gregory's exegesis left a mark on virtually every writer of note in the medieval Church and its schools.³ What drew their interest was less Gregory's literal exegesis of the book than his allegorical, and especially his moral, interpretations. Gregory's opinions on such topics as the principal vices

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- 1 On Gregory's life, see especially Robert Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge, 1997); and Jeffrey Richards, *Consul of God: The Life and Times of Gregory the Great* (London, 1980). On Gregory's thought, see Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 14* (Berkeley, 1988); Claude Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le Grand: culture et expérience chrétiennes* (Paris, 1977); and Leonard Weber, *Hauptfragen der Moralthologie Gregors des Grossen* (Freiburg, 1947). Space in this essay allows only for selective citations of secondary literature; for further information on specific points, see Robert Godding, *Bibliografia di Gregorio Magno (1890–1989)* (Rome, 1990); idem, "Tra due anniversari: Gregorio Magno alla luce degli studi recenti (1991–2003)," in *Gregorio Magno: nel XIV della Morte*, Atti dei Convegni Lincei 209 (Rome, 2004), 89–106; and Francesca Sara D'Imperio, *Gregorio Magno: Bibliografia per gli anni 1980–2003*, Archivium Gregorianum 4 (Florence, 2005).
 - 2 Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale: les quatre sens de l'écriture*, vol. 1:2 (Paris, 1959), 538.
 - 3 Girolamo Arnaldi, "Gregorio Magno e la circolazioni delle sue opera," in *Gregorio Magno: nel XIV della Morte*, Atti dei Convegni Lincei 209 (Rome, 2004), 55–65; René Wasselynck, "L'influence des *Moralia* in Iob de S. Grégoire le Grand sur la théologie morale entre le VII^e et le XII^e siècle," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Lille: Fac. de Thèol., 1956; idem, "La part des *Moralia* in Iob de Saint Grégoire le Grand dans les miscellanea victorins," *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 10 (1953): 287–94; idem, "Les compilations des *Moralia* in Iob du VII^e au XII^e siècle," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 29 (1962): 5–32; *Rome and the North: the early reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe*, (eds.) Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., Kees Dekker, and David F. Johnson, Mediaevalia Groningana, n.s. 4 (Paris, 2001); E. Ann Matter, "Gregory the Great in the Twelfth Century," in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, (ed.) John C. Cavadini (Notre Dame, 1995), 216–26.

and virtues, temptation, sin, and penitence were cited as authoritative not only by moralists, but even by canon lawyers.⁴

The *Moralia* is a lengthy work of 35 books and is much more than a commentary on the Book of Job.⁵ Encyclopedic and synoptic, it is a cornucopia brimming with odd bits of information about the natural world, medicine, human nature, and society mixed unpredictably with sober analyses of guilt and sin, disquisitions on Christology, and reflections on the Church's place in the world, along with the unfolding of Job's story. To add another layer of complexity, the *Moralia* is multivocal; Gregory assumes several traditional roles that intensify its complexity and widen its scope. As the Gospel suggests, the preacher is the pastor, the shepherd, willing to lay down his life for his sheep, and in this self-sacrifice, he is like Christ or a parent. But, as preacher, he also has debts directly to the classical orators and lawyers, Cicero and Quintilian, a legacy reinforced by Ambrose and Augustine. When illuminating God's providential order, Gregory may sound like a Stoic philosopher-teacher explaining the harmonious nature of providential order, or the philosopher-therapist, teaching self-control, a "physician of the soul" in the ancient tradition. Like Epictetus or Seneca, Gregory focuses on Stoic practices of self-examination, self-restraint, and moderation, and he addresses moral questions of virtue, vice, and the perfect life much as they did. Like them (and other Christians influenced by Stoicism), Gregory sees life as a contest (*certamen*, the Latin translation of the Greek *agon*) in which Job is the athlete or the wrestler determined to defeat his opponents, the devil and his demons. Alternatively, he can be a soldier (*miles*) fighting battles whose intensity only increases as the End approaches. Here, Gregory is the general or trainer, chastising or consoling his charges as necessary. Training them rigorously, he describes the enemies' weaknesses and devises strategies to defeat them, all in preparation for the decisive moment of truth, which will bring victory or defeat. All these activities are summed up in the *rector*, who rules subjects with discretion and offers them whatever is appropriate to their circumstances.⁶ Passages of the *Moralia*

4 Jean Gaudemet, "L'Heritage de Grégoire le Grand chez les Canonistes Médiévaux," in *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo*, *Studia ephemeridis "Augustinianum"* 34, vol. 2 (Rome, 1991), pp. 199–221; René Wasselynck, "Présence de Saint Grégoire le Grand dans les recueils canoniques (X^e-XII^e siècles)," *Mélanges de science religieuse* 22 (1965): 205–19.

5 For essays on the *Moralia*, see the "Introductions" to the volumes of the Sources chrétiennes editions of *Grégoire le Grand, Morales sur Job*, esp. Livres I et II, 2nd ed. SC 32 (Paris, 1975, repr. 2011), 7–113 by Robert Gillet; Livres XI–XIV, SC 212 (Paris, 1974), 7–33 by Aristide Bocognano; and Livres XXVIII–XXIX SC 476 (Paris, 2003), 11–69 by Carole Straw.

6 *Discretio* is of central importance to Gregory. It is both discernment, the power to distinguish an ideal, as well as the ability to moderate behavior to attain that ideal. In that sense, it is

detail, step-by-step, the procedures and techniques of self-discipline: how to balance activity and contemplation, examine one's conscience, control one's response to temptation, and cleanse one's soul with penitence. The *Moralia* is an "all-you-need-to-know" manual for Christian life, folded within the exegesis of Job. In teaching methods of self-examination, self-control, and penitence it serves as a self-help manual. Full of practical advice, psychological insight, and moral prescriptions, the *Moralia* serves also as a roadmap for the soul. Offering exhaustive directions, it warns everyone of treacherous hazards and seductive detours, while pointing out contemplative rest stops along the way and flagging short-cuts for the ambitious.

In being so wide-ranging, the *Moralia* is something of a loose, baggy monster. Modern scholars have complained that it is "diffuse and meandering" (Henry Chadwick), a "scarcely penetrable jungle" (Robert Markus), and, most harshly, "an arbitrary piling up of random texts" (Robert Wilken).⁷ But readers should not conclude that the *Moralia* is the work of a disorganized mind—indeed quite the opposite. Gregory addresses the questions of theodicy broached by the Book of Job in their widest context by illuminating how God has ordered the universe fittingly and justly through his providence. These were times troubled by natural and man-made disasters and such questions were in the minds of his audience. Gregory was keen to reassure them of God's care for the world, lest they conclude that they suffer so miserably because God has abandoned the world to the devil and his demons.⁸ Woven through the *Moralia* is Gregory's demonstration that the universe has an order, indeed, such a marvelous, paradoxical order that it could only be the work of an omnipotent God.⁹

Gregory is God's interpreter and impresario. Indeed, *all* preachers are God's instruments: the Lord speaks to human weakness "through the voice of his

basically self-control. See E. Dekkers, "'Discretio' chez Benoît et saint Grégoire," *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 46 (1984): 79–88; Dagens, *Saint Grégoire*, 117–24; André Cabassut, "Discretio," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 9, cols. 1311–30; Fr. Dingjan, *Discretio: les origines patristique et monastique de la doctrine sur la prudence chez saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Assen, 1967), 87–102; and Adalbert de Vogüé, "'Discretionem praecipuam': A quoi Grégoire pensait-il?" *Benedictina* 22 (1975): 325–27.

7 As noted by Katharina Greschat, *Die Moralia in Job Gregors des Grossen: Ein christologisch-ekklesiologischer Kommentar*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 31 (Berlin: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 9.

8 Cf. *Moralia in Job* 27.17.34 (ed. Marc Adriaen, 3 vols.: CCSL 143, 143A, and 143B [Turnhout, 1979–1985]), CCSL 143B:1356. Hereafter cited as follows: *Mor.* 27.17.34 (CCSL 143B:1356).

9 For a summary of Gregory's moral theology, see Carole Straw, "Gregory's Moral Theology: Divine Providence and Human Responsibility," in *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, (eds.) Bronwen Neil and Matthew Dal Santo (Leiden, 2013), 177–204.

preachers.”¹⁰ Still, Gregory speaks with peculiar authority in the *Moralia*, as if he were an expert in the twists and turns of the divine dispensation. He has a sense of a divine mission: “And perhaps it was the plan of Divine Providence that I, one afflicted, should explain the afflicted Job; and that through my whippings, I should better understand the mind of one whipped.”¹¹ He makes apophatic declarations as if he were somehow privy to God’s plans. At first overwhelmed by the book, Gregory soon surrendered his fears, convinced that God would take over, for “divine inspiration supplies the answers, so that even the ‘lips of babies speak eloquently’” (Wisdom 10:21).¹² Like Christ (or a pagan oracle), the preacher is a mediator between divinity and humanity. Gregory even writes optimistically of the preacher’s eternal reward, when Leviathan is conquered.¹³ Such an authoritative persona gives the *Moralia* a *gravitas* that might well have impressed later readers, but it is also evident that Gregory’s office was inherently dangerous. Who dares presume to speak for God?

3.2 The Context of the *Moralia*

While the Book of Job deals with the universal problem of theodicy, Gregory’s answers reflect the larger historical context, as well as his own temperament and personal experience. Like Augustine’s *Confessions*, the work grows from a personal crisis leading him to sort out his—and humanity’s—relationship to God. Like Augustine’s classic, Gregory’s work is an exposition of God’s greatness and human weakness, an admission of the inevitability of sin and the need for humility: “Every man, in so far as he is a man, ought to serve the Creator the more willingly, the more he realizes that he himself is nothing.”¹⁴ Like Augustine, Gregory beseeches God for mercy and asks the audience for their intercession: “I believe it worthwhile to disclose to the ears of my brothers without hesitation all which I secretly blame in myself. As in my exposition I have not concealed what I thought, so in my confession I do not hide what

10 *Mor.* 30.4.17 (CCSL 143B:1502): “praedicatorum suorum uoce locutus est.”

11 *Ad Leand.* 5 (CCSL 143:6): “Et fortasse hoc diuinae prouidentiae consilium fuit, ut percussus Iob percussus exponerem, et flagellati mentem melius per flagella sentirem.”

12 *Ad Leand.* 2 (CCSL 143:3).

13 *Mor.* 34.7.15 (CCSL 143B:1743).

14 *Mor.* Prae.2.4 (CCSL 143:10): “Omnis homo eo ipso quo homo est, suum intellegere debet auctorem cuius uoluntati tanto magis seruiat, quanto se quia de se ipso nihil sit pensat.”

I suffer... I pray that everyone who reads these books may confer the solace of their prayers on me before the strict Judge.”¹⁵

Gregory did expect the imminent arrival of that strict Judge, at times imbuing his writing with an apocalyptic urgency.¹⁶ Various signs convinced him the End had begun. Wars, earthquakes, famines, plagues, and other secular disasters made death a constant companion. But more alarming was the infestation of everyday life with demons who subverted the work of the good, when caterpillars savaged a garden, buildings fell to ruin, or illness struck a community.¹⁷ Demons could take possession of soul, and they could appear in the guise of an unexpected visitor.¹⁸ Moreover, the Church had been infiltrated, suffering evil even within itself from heretics and hypocrites. While living saints, relics, and the Eucharist could fight the forces of evil, only the final battle would defeat them decisively and shake out the hypocrites hiding under the garb of sanctity. With the forces of good and evil amassing for final battle, one had to choose one side or the other. Gregory tends to see the world in sharp binary oppositions manifesting the fundamental division of the carnal and spiritual realms of experience, of letter and spirit, of body and soul. One could take no chances in this world and Gregory takes none. Ever vigilant, he recommends refusing even legitimate pleasures and being penitent even when just.¹⁹ One can never be too penitent, given that “they become the more blameless, the more they blame themselves daily and without ceasing.”²⁰ With Gregory, supererogation

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- 15 *Mor.* 35.20.49 (CCSL 143B:1810–11): “Sed hoc mihi operae pretium credo, quod fraternis auribus omne quod in me latenter ipse reprehendo, incunctanter aperio. Quia enim exponendo non celavi quod sensi, confitendo non abscondo quod patior.... Orationis autem atque expositionis uirtute collata, lector meus in recompensatione me superat, si cum per me uerba accipit, pro me lacrimas reddit.”
- 16 On Gregory’s apocalypticism, see Claude Dagens, “La fin des temps et l’église selon saint Grégoire le Grand,” *Recherches de science religieuse* 58 (1970): 273–88; René Wasselynck, “L’orientation eschatologique de la vie chrétienne d’après saint Grégoire le Grand,” *Assemblées du Seigneur* 2 (1962): 66–80; Cristina Ricci, “Profezia e prospettive escatologiche in Gregorio Magno,” in *Gregorio Magno e le origini dell’Europa* (Florence, 2014), 307–326; Paulo Siniscalco, “Le età del mondo in Gregorio Magno,” *Grégoire le Grand, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Chantilly 15–19 September 1982*, (eds.) Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet, and Stan Pellestrandi (Paris, 1982), 377–87; and Carlo Nardi, “Gregorio Magno interprete di Apocalisse 20,” in *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo*, vol. 2, 267–83.
- 17 *Dial.* 1.9.15 (SC 260:88); see Sofia Boesch Gajano, “Demoni et miracoli nei Dialogi di Gregorio Magno,” in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés: iv–xii siècles* (Paris, 1981), 263–81.
- 18 *Dial.* 1.10.7 (SC 260:98).
- 19 *HEv.* 2.34.5 (CCSL 141:303).
- 20 *Mor.* 21.5.10 (CCSL 143A:1072): “tanto fiant irreprehensibiles iudici, quanto semetipsos cotidie et sine cessatione reprehendunt.”

is not the exception, but the rule; it is the best way to counter uncertainty and fend off despair.

Gregory's premonition of the End only grows stronger over time. In fairness, an old world *had* begun to end.²¹ Decades of war with Byzantine and barbarian armies, famines, and cycles of plague led to economic dislocation, political decay, and rapid social change. The Rome of the senate and the caesars gave way to the city of saints and their churches. While Gregory was cushioned against personal hardship, he was shaken deeply by events and always dogged by a sensitive conscience. His was a wealthy family of the old senatorial aristocracy whose ancestors had assumed roles of leadership in the Church. In accordance with his manner of birth, Gregory entered public service, rising to the office of urban prefect. But by 574, he was overwhelmed by a personal crisis, which very much affected his treatment of Job. Gregory writes about it in a letter to Leander of Seville in 595, dedicating the *Moralia* to him. The letter is a revealing autobiographical document essential to understanding the *Moralia*.

Gregory confesses to Leander that he "put off the grace of conversion" (*conuersionis gratiam distuli*) for a long time, staying in secular office. Even when it was clear what he needed to do for love of eternity, he struggled; custom (*consuetudo*) chained him. He tried to compromise, attempting to serve in appearance only (*quasi specie*), but found himself serving inwardly as well.²² He was a shipwreck (*naufragium*), and he resigned from the office of urban prefect in 574. To find safety, he sought the port (*portus*) of the monastery, dedicating buildings on the family estate to St. Andrew, where he enjoyed the happiest years of his life living in common with several brothers. Then in 579, he was torn away from this tranquility, ordained, and made a deacon. Now, burdened with pastoral care and the ministry of the altar, the unstable ship was again tossed by the waves (*undae*) of secular affairs. To make Gregory's service even more onerous and perilous, Pope Pelagius II made Gregory his legate to the Imperial Court, sending him off to a distant land and a foreign culture and language in Constantinople, albeit accompanied by brothers from St. Andrews. The *Moralia* was written at the behest of the brothers who

21 Recent historians have emphasized change rather than continuity and transformation in late antiquity: see Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford, 2005); Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (Oxford, 2006); and Adrian Goldsworthy, *How Rome Fell: Death of the Superpower* (New Haven, 2009). See also T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554–800* (Rome, 1984); and Peter Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (London, 1970).

22 *Ad Leand.* 1 (CCL 143:1–2), which is *Ep.* 5:53 of July 595 and is reprinted at the beginning of the CCL 143.

accompanied him in 579. The first parts were preached in Constantinople, shortly after their arrival; the later parts were dictated directly to a stenographer. Returning to Rome in 586, Gregory undertook revisions, but he did not publish it until 596.²³

Only five years after his escape to the safety of the monastery, Gregory's life had taken another radical turn back to the very world he had fled for the sake of his soul. This last change proved traumatic. Certain themes from the *Moralia* suggest why. Power is dangerous. Worldly involvement means the authority to command others, which belongs properly to God alone. Rulers receive their subjects' obedience in fear, if not their service in love; either one exalts them, and they can become blind to their own faults. Leadership fosters the dangerous delusion of being in control, and worse, the presumption of being worthy of deference, or even being entitled to exercise one's own will. This very *libido dominandi* (the desire to be in charge of things) had been the devil's downfall and Adam's sin, a desire to imitate God, who alone has the right to be in command and arrange things as he pleases.²⁴ This insolent step out of bounds is pride (*superbia*), injustice and unrighteousness (*iniustitia*), a defiance of the right order of things, hubris to the ancients. Pride doomed the soul because it unleashed the chain of other vices that brought utter ruin.²⁵ Job, too, will step out of bounds and incur the sin of *iniustitia*, as we shall see.

An effective administrator and leader, Gregory feared that being in charge would be his downfall as well. His struggle with conversion betrays his attraction to worldly life—not to its baser, sensual gratifications, but to the heady elation of power. The dangers of power, the flattery and praise of others, the pleasure of giving orders and the freedom from obeying them are frequent

23 Living again with his brothers in the monastery, Gregory resumed the office of deacon. He tightened the first parts of the *Moralia*, which had been preached to the monks and recorded by a stenographer in Constantinople. He had dictated the latter parts directly to the stenographer there and these he expanded to make their style more consonant with that of the earlier parts. The work is divided into six tomes: books 1–5; 6–10; 11–16; 17–22; 23–27; and 28–35. The *terminus post quem* for publication is 596. In *Mor.* 22.11.21, he mentions the conversion of the English; Augustine of Canterbury's mission to Britain did not begin until 596.

24 On the Fall and our post-lapsarian condition, see *Mor.* 9.5.5 (CCSL 143:458); *Mor.* 29.7.15–29.8.18 (CCSL 143B:1444–46); *Mor.* 8.10.19 (CCSL 143:395); *Mor.* 26.44.79 (CCSL 143B:1325–26); *Mor.* 34.21.40 (CCSL 143B:1761–62); and *Mor.* 34.21.40 (CCSL 143B:1761–62); *Mor.* 26.17.28 (CCSL 143B:1286); *Mor.* 8.6.8 (CCSL 143:386).

25 See *Mor.* 31.45.87–90 (CCSL 143B:1610–612); see Carole Straw, "Gregory, Cassian, and the Cardinal Vices," in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, (ed.) Richard Newhauser, *Papers in Mediaeval Studies* 18 (Toronto, 2005), 35–58.

themes in Gregory's works, along with those of humility, obedience, and the proper exercise of power with discretion. Above all, Gregory needed to find a way to accept leadership in the world and engage in the active life without losing his soul. On the moral level of his exegesis, he worked out the reconciliation of the active and the contemplative life by stressing their complementarity. Of necessity, this entailed the wider resolution of things spiritual and carnal and the elaboration of their general complementarity according to God's paradoxical, providential order.

Even as the *Moralia* was dedicated to Gregory's close friend Leander, so the work was written at the behest of intimate friends who were the "cable of the anchor" (*funis anchorae*) binding him to the tranquil shore of prayer when he was tossed by the waves of secular affairs.²⁶ Deeply introspective and harried by a ruthless conscience, Gregory blamed himself for his changing fortune. Just as a ship moored negligently is torn from its safety by the waves of a storm, so he was plunged again into a sea of secular cares as punishment for his dereliction. Too late, he learned what he had lost.²⁷ He had resisted conversion, but finally had chosen the monastic "grave" (*sepulcrum*) for its safety; there, monk and world were dead to each other.²⁸ Now he found himself among the living, surrounded again by the burdens and the temptations he had fled in fear of hell. He was all the more anxious from the guilt of bringing it on himself. Gregory's obedient submission to the active life sacrificed the ascetic virtue of the contemplative life that had been, and still was, his ideal.

Gregory would never overcome the dramatic reversals of his life. Like Job, he was enduring a painful test of his virtue;²⁹ he felt disciplined and afflicted by the whips of God (*flagella dei*)—beaten and cast down by adversities.³⁰ He had a personal stake in why God would cause a just man to suffer such bitter and confusing alternations of fortune. But while Job's losses tempted him to curse God impatiently, Gregory's ordeal was more subtle—a spiritual challenge to repeat a test of self-control he had once nearly failed. With salvation at stake, he had good reason to identify with Job's trial and to seek an answer.

26 *Ad Leand.* 1 (CCSL 143:2).

27 *Ad Leand.* 1 (CCSL 143:1–2).

28 *Mor.* 6.37.56 (CCSL 143:325–26); see Jean Leclercq, "Otia Monastica." *Études sur le vocabulaire de la contemplation au Moyen Âge*, Studia Anselmiana 51 (Rome, 1963), 13ff.

29 *Ad Leand.* 5 (CCSL 143:6); see also *HEz.* 2.10.24 (CCSL 142:397–98).

30 Gregory felt that temporal events—adversities—such as the Lombard invasions were punishments for his own sins and those of others: see *HEz.* 2.10.24 (CCSL 142:397–98). He also felt that he suffered vicariously for the sins of others: see *Mor.* 20.5.14 (CCSL 143A:1012–13).

3.3 Gregory's Exegetical Method

The literal text of Job presents problems. If we fail to interpret the text in a way that sounds right to God's ears, we shall be caught in a tempest of doubt.³¹ Job's curses, protests, and suicidal wishes cannot be taken literally, for he would be sinful and God would lose his wager with the devil. Instead, they must be applied to Christ, to his body, the Church, or to the inner life of the soul (or otherwise neutralized). If they are not at odds with reason, they are inconsistent with the one who confessed humbly that 'the Lord gives and the Lord takes away' (cf. Job 1:21).³² Most often, Gregory allegorizes problematic passages. But particularly in the first parts of the *Moralia*, when Gregory cannot escape a literal interpretation, he is keen to interpret Job's protests in ways that do not assert his innocence. These attempts can be quite feeble and unpersuasive. When Job asked God sarcastically (Job 10:3), "Is it good to you that you should calumniate and oppress the poor and the work of your hands, and help the counsel of the wicked?" Job is not protesting his innocence, but his human weakness because he refers to his poverty, Gregory claims.³³ At times Gregory uses what politicians call a "kitchen-sink" approach, using virtually everything available to make an argument. In Job's string of curses in Chapter 2, Job said nothing according to the letter (*ixuta litteram*).³⁴ He did not curse, nor did he speak negligently, or in passion, grief, anger, or impatience.³⁵ But if he did curse, he did so in justice, not revenge, so Job is actually cursing our mortal state.³⁶ Conveniently, moral or tropological interpretations have an ascetic bias that easily disposes of almost any danger. Job's choice of "strangling and death rather than life" actually expresses his desire for ascetic death through contemplation.³⁷

31 *Mor.* 7.1.1 (CCSL 143:334). On Gregory's exegesis in general, see especially Giuseppe Cremscoli, *Lesegesi biblica di Gregorio Magno* (Brescia, 2001); Stephan Ch. Kessler, "Gregory the Great (c. 590–604)," in *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, (ed.) Charles Kannengiesser (Leiden, 2004), vol. 2, 1335–1368; idem, *Gregor der Grosse als Exeget: eine theologische Interpretation der Ezekielhomilien*, Innsbrucker theologische Studien 43 (Innsbruck, 1995); and Vincenzo Recchia, *Gregorio Magno papa ed esegeta biblico* (Bari, 1996).

32 *Mor.* 4.Prae.3–4 (CCSL 143:161–62).

33 *Mor.* 9.46.70 (CCSL 143:506).

34 *Mor.* 4.Prae.3 (CCSL 143:161).

35 *Mor.* 4.1.1 (CCSL 143:163–64).

36 *Mor.* 4.1.2–4 (CCSL 143:164–66).

37 *Mor.* 8.25.44 (CCSL 143:415).

When necessary, a deft exegetical legerdemain can virtually reverse the literal meaning. When interpreted morally, Job's defiant assertion, *I shall not restrain my mouth* (Job 7:11) becomes instead a desire for confession. Since he who is afraid to confess restrains his mouth, not restraining becomes self-blame and confession to forestall judgment.³⁸ Symbols are invitations to the imagination (though traditional associations also appear): Job's pained reproach, *Am I a sea or a whale that you have compassed me with a prison?* (Job 7:12) applies to restraint of the body. We are encased in the flesh and surrounded by its temptations, but the divine dispensation makes it possible to regulate these temptations—to imprison the flesh—so that we are not overwhelmed by temptations.³⁹ If all else fails, the audience should remember the beginning and the end of the book do affirm Job's righteousness.⁴⁰ His reward proves "that there was nothing of evil, but only virtue in all that he said";⁴¹ Gregory affirms that "even in the midst of pain he did not burst out against the decree of the Afflictor."⁴²

Gregory is master of the text's meaning, even if the logic of his argument is nothing more than assertion. He can be, and is, inconsistent, and never acknowledges changing his mind. For Gregory, texts are suggestive, inclusive, and open-ended. Preachers, being inspired by the Holy Spirit, are free to draw whatever moral lessons they can from the text, provided, of course, that they sound right to God's ears. His theory of exegesis is flexible, expansive, and surprisingly relaxed; his practice, more so. Given that the declarations of truth are food for the mind, lest readers find something distasteful, each level of discourse offers a different dish, so that readers, like invited guests, can choose the most appealing.⁴³ To understand the Scriptures properly, Gregory wrote to Leander, one should follow them as if they were the meandering channels of a river, digressing willingly to explore some edifying offshoot when given the chance.⁴⁴ The Scriptures have lessons for everyone, being shallow enough for the lamb to find his footing, and deep enough for the elephant to float freely.⁴⁵ The moral instruction of the audience is Gregory's goal and he claims that it shapes the order he will give to his analysis of a passage.⁴⁶ Despite this mention of an *ordo*

38 *Mor.* 8.20.36 (CCSL 143:407).

39 *Mor.* 8.23.39 (CCSL 143:410).

40 *Mor.* 7.1.1 (CCSL 143:334).

41 *Mor.* Prae.3.8 (CCSL 143:13–14).

42 *Mor.* 2.16.29 (CCSL 143:78).

43 *Ad Leand.* 3 (CCSL 143:4).

44 *Ad Leand.* 2 (CCSL 143:4).

45 *Ad Leand.* 4 (CCSL 143:6).

46 *Ad Leand.* 2 (CCSL 143:4).

expositionis, one should not expect a linear argument or a systematic exposition of a verse. Gregory outlines it to Leander, but only after explaining that he will not always use it:

But it should be known, that some we shall hasten through with a historical explanation, and some we shall examine with a typological inquiry through allegory, some we shall discuss only through moral allegory, but several we explore more carefully searching out all three at the same time. For first we set down the historical foundation, then through the typological meaning, we establish the workshop of faith in the fortress of the mind, and finally we dress the building with a color covering, so to speak, through the grace of moral interpretation.⁴⁷

While Gregory's debt to Augustine is never forgotten,⁴⁸ modern scholars have noted Gregory's debt to Origen, seeing here Origen's triad of literal, spiritual, and mystical senses corresponding to the body, mind, and soul of classical anthropology. Gregory clearly favors the Alexandrian school's preference for allegorical interpretations in contrast to the Antiochene school and their preference for the literal, historical meaning of the text.

Although Gregory notes three levels of interpretation, the categories are not discrete in practice. Throughout the *Moralia*, Gregory signals the different ways he is going to treat the text, and such signals provide a good way to track what he is really doing. While the terms *iuxta historicam*, *iuxta litteram*, and *iuxta historiae textum* are more or less predictive for Gregory, the remaining terms are elastic: *historica expositione transcurrere*, *narratione historica per significationem dictari*, *mystica dei uerba cognoscere*, *mystica interpretatio*, *per significationem typicam*, *figurata expositio transcurrere*, *impleri prophetico spiritu*, *sub textu litterae uelata moralis allegoria*, *allegoriae mysteria indagare*, *iuxta allegoriae mysterium*, *per allegoriam quaedam typica inuestigatione perscrutari*, *per sola allegoricae moralitatis instrumenta discutere*, *moralitatis inclinarem*, *ea*

47 *Ad Leand.* 3 (CCSL 143:4) "Sciendum uero est, quod quaedam historica expositione transcurrimus et per allegoriam quaedam typica inuestigatione perscrutamur, quaedam per sola allegoricae moralitatis instrumenta discutimus, nonnulla autem per cuncta simul sollicitius exquirentes tripliciter indagamus. Nam primum quidem fundamenta historiae ponimus; deinde per significationem typicam in arcem fidei fabricam mentis erigimus; ad extremum quoque per moralitatis gratiam, quasi superducto aedificium colore uestimus." See Marc Doucet, "L'Ordo expositionis dans les *Moralia* de Saint Grégoire le Grand," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 100 (2001): 499–509.

48 For this debt, see Vincenzo Recchia, "La memoria di Agostino nell'esegesi biblica di Gregorio Magno," *Augustinianum* 25 (1985): 405–434.

*moraliter tractanda replicere, moraliter retractare, sensuum moraliter inquirere, moraliter historiae uerba, moralitatis intellegentia, intellectus spiritualis.*⁴⁹ The terms do not reliably predict a consistent treatment of the text.

As noted above, sometimes a text has no literal or historical sense except as allegory, even though Gregory insists that the historical level is the basis of allegory.⁵⁰ On the other hand, the historical text, like other levels of interpretation, has an implicit, if not an explicit, moral meaning in the broad sense of moral or ethical lessons. In book 20, the moral meaning of history is so obvious that Gregory dismisses the need for a moral interpretation of the text, lest it impeach the truthfulness of the historical text recounting Job's virtuous deeds.⁵¹ But a moral interpretation can refer narrowly to the inner life of the soul (i.e., Origen's sense of tropology), and here Gregory analyzes temptation, sin, and penitence, as well as explains the nature of contemplation and virtue (moderation and self-control). But the moral meaning can be drawn from Job as symbolizing the Church in the present or at the end of time (i.e., ecclesiological and anagogical interpretations),⁵² although the latter can be *mystica*, or *mysterium allegoriae*, or *allegoria*, categories that also include Job as prefiguring or symbolizing Christ in a specific role as mediator, as redeemer or teacher, as a symbol of the elect, or of the Church in any era, or of the Church as a corporate body of different members.⁵³ The mystical sense can also refer to typology in the strict sense of the Old Testament "shadows" prefiguring New Testament "truths," which Gregory also calls a typological sense.⁵⁴

By the end of the third book (*Mor.* 3.7.70), Gregory realizes that he is unable to adhere to his announced three-fold plan, and signals his departure from it. He begins to skip from level to level and digresses frequently. When he returns, he may not resume the thread of his exegesis, but may pick up a different one instead. Having salted his work with additional citations from Scripture, he may occasionally pursue one at some length to snare an additional point. Consequently, each chapter will yield several disconnected, discrete lessons,

49 Gregory's use of these terms can be found easily in the Brepols data base of Latin Texts A.

50 *Ad Leand.* 10.21 (CCSL 143:5); cf. *Mor.* 22.4.7 (CCSL 143A:1096).

51 *Mor.* 20.41.79 (CCSL 143A:1061–62).

52 E.g., *Mor.* 26.42.77 (CCSL 143B:1324).

53 Some sense of the overlap is suggested by *Mor.* 6.1.2 (CCSL 143:285): "Haec itaque superius latius dicta, nunc breuiter studui ex mystica designatione succingere, ut lector meus ex ipsa hac replicatione meminerit me in hoc opere spiritali intellectui deseruire. Et tamen cum utilitatis usus postulat, subtiliter quoque studeo historiae uerba discutere. Cum uero necesse est, simul utrumque complector ut spiritalis fructus allegoria germinet, quos tamen ex radice historiae ueritas producit."

54 *Mor.* 27.1.1–2 (CCSL 143A:1331).

rather than one continuous narrative with a beginning, middle, and end. This means that the continuity of plot as it unfolds in its complexity tends to be overshadowed by the more vivid, isolated lessons drawn from the striking imagery of individual verses. (And this is clever pedagogy. It is easier to learn a lesson about the conversion of secular powers when it is couched as the virgin taming a rhinoceros than listening to a lecture on the Edict of Toleration.) Ultimately, two senses of Scripture prevail: a literal or historical text is the carnal or external symbol of the internal reality, the spiritual or moral meaning. What matters most is that Job is a type (*typus*) or symbol (*figura*) prefiguring or symbolizing something else. Gregory generally refers to Job as the holy man (*uir sanctus*), or the righteous or just man (*iustus uir*).⁵⁵ He can stand for the righteous individual, the soul, the elect, the preacher, human nature (especially at Creation and the End), Christ, the Church as individual Christians (an exegesis equivalent to the righteous individual), the Church of the elect (in contrast to heretics, hypocrites, Jews, and pagans), or the Church in the world (against secular powers). This duality of the external carnal letter and its internal spiritual meaning is of a piece with the greater division of carnal and spiritual realms ubiquitous in Gregory's thought: sin and virtue, body and soul, irrational and rational, outward and inward, visible and invisible, temporal and eternal, earlier and later, low and high, earth and heaven, letter and spirit, Old Testament and New Testament, the active life and the contemplative life. These oppositions go back to Paul and are traditional in Christian thought.⁵⁶

With Gregory comes a critical breakthrough in dealing with the dualities of carnal and spiritual aspects of life, seemingly arising from events in his own career. Forced back into the world from his contemplative retreat, he needs to integrate and balance the opposing demands and consequences of active and contemplative lives. Throughout the *Moralia*, Gregory works out the complementary opposition of these two lives on both a practical and metaphysical level, converting various spiritual and carnal oppositions into complementarities.⁵⁷ God's providential design unifies and transcends these many apparent divisions to bring about a concord and harmony.⁵⁸ God and the devil are absolute opposites, good and evil, respectively; nevertheless, the devil is God's *exacto*r carrying out God's will in his own wickedness.⁵⁹ Body and soul pull in

55 The CETEDOC data base has 217 hits for *uir** + *sant** and 31 for *uir** + *iust**.

56 See the excellent description of these relationships in Gerard Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis: Origen and the Two Swords* (Berkeley, 1979), 17; see also 11–39.

57 This is documented throughout Straw, *Gregory the Great*.

58 *Mor.* 4.35.69 (CCSL 143:214).

59 *Mor.* 4.35.69 (CCSL 143:214).

opposite directions, toward earth or heaven, but each needs the other to survive, and the health of one can affect the other both directly and inversely.⁶⁰ Even sin and virtue are complementary.⁶¹ These complementarities cut “vertically” through the various “horizontal” levels of exegesis to give a unified message: such a design has a marvellous paradoxical logic, which proves that it is not accidental, but planned by God, and is evidence of his providence, rationality, and justice. Despite the chaos and misery of earthly life, God cares. Would it make sense for God to destroy a world he so mercifully created? Christians should have hope and persevere.

3.4 The Moral Meaning of History

When Gregory deals with the historical text, and often when he treats Job as representing Everyman, he addresses what we would call the “real meaning” of the Book of Job, its exposition of universal and timeless problems of theodicy, justice, and human suffering. He deals with these questions throughout the *Moralia*, not just when he reaches the climax beginning with Job 38. The extent to which Gregory accepts or denies the meaning of the literal text reveals as much about early medieval Christianity as it does about his own character, and it is sobering. Gregory struggles with the text. He is inconsistent and never acknowledges that he has changed his mind. The first 14 books defend Job’s righteousness and unmerited suffering. In book 15, Job admits that his protests have offended God. At the end of book 31, Gregory begins to explain how and why Job’s protests were culpable. He understands God’s reward of Job by doubling his gifts as Job’s restoration after penitence, rather than as a vindication of his innocence.

Gregory places Job in a contest against the Adversary in an arena surrounded by angels, who witness his ordeal.⁶² Yet, the contest is really between God and the devil, as Gregory realizes. The devil has challenged God—indeed, insulted him—by alleging that Job’s piety only depends on his gifts. Many love God in prosperity (*prosperitas*), but in adversity (*aduersitas*) withdraw their love when he delivers the whip.⁶³ “Touch all that he has,” the Adversary dares

60 For the direct connection of body and soul, see *Ad Leand.* 5 (CCSL 143:6–7); for the inverse, see *Mor.* 8.30.50 (CCSL 143:421).

61 See *Mor.* 33.12.25 (CCSL 143B:1695).

62 *Mor.* 1.3.4 (CCSL 143:27); *Mor.* 10.1.1 (CCSL 143:534).

63 *Mor.* 2.17.29 (CCSL 143:78), also *Mor.* 2.9.15 (CCSL 143:69); see Carole Straw, “Adversitas’ et ‘Prosperitas’: une illustration du motif structurel de la complémentarité,” in *Grégoire le*

God, “and he will curse you to your face” (Job 1:11). Job is in the middle, as the “subject contested” between God and the Adversary.⁶⁴ He is God’s champion (or surrogate), given that God “makes himself a pledge for Job,” so that if Job had sinned, “he would have been the loser.”⁶⁵ God puts his own honor on the line. Of course, being omnipotent, God is in charge of the whole game, raising the question of why God devised the contest with the Enemy when he knew his champion was just.

God agrees to try Job; the truth is contingent upon the whip. Adversity exposes what is hidden in prosperity, both strength and weaknesses. Unless Job were stricken, his virtues would not be known or imitated,⁶⁶ just as a mustard seed must be bruised or its power is unknown.⁶⁷ Job is proved, purified, instructed, and refined by the ordeal, “like gold passed through fire” (Job 23:10).⁶⁸ The trial will prove whether Job is God’s faithful servant, and whether he possesses the virtues God boasts about to the devil.⁶⁹ The whip reveals three basic virtues—patience, obedience, and humility—not just for Job, but for all of us.⁷⁰ So it is by providential order that the enemy’s wickedness is permitted to rage in order mercifully to bring forth God’s goodness;⁷¹ and the devil inflicts numerous misfortunes—adversity—to overthrow Job’s prosperity, all the gifts and blessings God has given him of wealth, family, health, honor, power over others,⁷² as well as the grace to do good works.⁷³ Adversity is the loss of all these gifts, when God’s whip (*flagellum*) afflicts Job in his wrath and Job fears his permanent abandonment: a house overturned, death, poverty, illness, loss of honor and reputation—every imaginable misery. Spiritually, adversity is the

Grand, 277–88; also treated throughout Straw, *Gregory the Great*, especially Chapter 10.

64 *Mor.* 2.8.13 (CCSL 143:68): “Praecedenti iam sermone tractatum est quia diabolus non contra Iob, sed contra Deum proposuit; materia vero certaminis beatus Iob in medio fuit.”

65 *Mor.* 23.1.1 (CCSL 143B:1144): “[deus] in seipso eius intentionem certaminis accepit. Quisquis ergo beatum Iob deliquisse in suis sermonibus queritur, quid aliud quam deum, qui pro illo proposuit, perdidisse confitetur?”

66 *Mor.* Prae.2.6 (CCSL 143:12).

67 *Mor.* Prae.2.6 (CCSL 143:12).

68 *Mor.* 16.32.39 (CCSL 143A:822–23).

69 E.g., *Mor.* Prae.2.6–8–2.3.8 (CCSL 143:12–15); *Mor.* 23.1.1 (1145–46).

70 *Mor.* 28.4.13 (CCSL 143B:1403).

71 See *Mor.* 33.14.28 (CCSL 143B:1698).

72 *Mor.* 5.2.2 (CCSL 143:219–20); *Mor.* 23.26.52ff. (CCSL 143B:1185ff.); *Mor.* 10.10.16–19 (CCSL 143:549–51).

73 *Mor.* 14.13.15 (CCSL 143A:706–7); *Mor.* 8.64.91–92 (CCSL 143:453–55); *Mor.* 30.10.38 (CCSL 143B:1518).

soul's loss of God, whether through temptation, sin, or rebounding from contemplation (*reuerberatio*).⁷⁴

What disturbed Gregory and his monks in the 6th century perplexes modern readers who are troubled by God's perverse cruelty toward an innocent and good-hearted man. When the brothers from the monastery persuaded Gregory to preach, they implored him specifically to explain how Job could be considered just when he had protested against God. Gregory agrees with them: no one is righteous who curses under the whip;⁷⁵ no one who reproaches God can be considered just.⁷⁶ Implicit is a paramount concern for order in society—socially, politically, economically, etc. This means hierarchical subordination, what Gregory calls the “order of heavenly government” (*superni moderaminis dispositio*).⁷⁷ It is God's ordinance, the law of nature, and justice, *iustitia*, the way things are and should be.⁷⁸ The universe depends on each keeping his or her proper place; otherwise there is chaos. This is the lesson of the Fall. Both the devil and Adam have proved what disaster results when subjects rebel against their rightful masters.⁷⁹

Interestingly, Gregory does not deny Job his anger. As early as book two, he admits that Job's anger was justified. When the *fire of God* (*ignis dei*) rains from the heaven and consumes his sheep and the servants of his household, only a messenger escapes to deliver the devastating news (cf. Job 1:12, 16). Gregory explains that Job might well have been angry, considering his own great sacrifices to God had been recompensed by wrathful afflictions:

For note how craftily it is said, “the fire of God,” as though it were said, “You suffer the visitation of him whom you desired to appease by so many sacrifices; you are undergoing the wrath of him in whose daily service you wearied yourself.” For in signifying that God, whom [Job] had served, had brought on his misfortunes, [the messenger] mentions a wound about which [Job] might burst forth—he might recall his past services,

74 *Mor.* 2.3.22ff. (CCSL 143:73ff.); *Mor.* 8.2.2 (CCSL 143:382–83); *Mor.* 8.8.15 (CCSL 143:392–93); *Mor.* 14.7.8 (CCSL 143A:702); *Mor.* 20.22.48–49 (CCSL 143A:1038–39); *Mor.* 6.12.14 (CCSL 143:293–94); *Mor.* 26.46–47.84–85 (CCSL 143B:1328–29).

75 *Mor.* 14.31.36 (CCSL 143A:19–20).

76 *Mor.* Prae.3.7 (CCSL 143:13).

77 *Mor.* 9.5.5 (CCSL 143:458).

78 These ideas go back to Plato's *Republic*, 4.427C–445D, and were adopted by Stoics and Christians. See Michel Spanneut, *Le Stoïcisme des Pères de l'Église de Clément de Rome à Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1969).

79 *Mor.* 9.5.5 (CCSL 143:458).

and reckoning that he served in vain, be lifted up against the injustice (*iniuriam*) of the Creator.⁸⁰

This is no mean offense. God violated the principle (of reciprocity or distributive justice) that lies at the foundation of all order. Job has given pious service, but received only punishment in return. God leaves Job with a wound that festers and quite naturally might burst, but it does not. Job submitted, not once but twice, even blessing and praising God, first in Job 1:21 (*The Lord has given and the Lord has taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord*) and then in Job 2:10 (*Shall we receive the good at the hand of God, and not receive the bad?*). The point is that patience like Job's comes at the cost of self-sacrifice.

It is not, however, Job's place to protest: mere dust cannot "reply against God."⁸¹ Job would be damned for his insubordination and insolence—for his pride. For Job to protest raises the possibility of his innocence, casting doubt on God's justice, profaning and blaspheming him.⁸² Furthermore, God's judgment of Job's righteousness would be wrong and the devil would win his wager against God—an impious impossibility.⁸³ But near the end of book nine, Gregory does concede that it is as if Job were saying, "I know it is not unjust that I suffer, but I am the more grieved that I cannot tell the causes of its justice."⁸⁴ At least Gregory can entertain the possibility that Job is grieved and perplexed by God's incomprehensible actions, a step beyond blessing the cause of his misery.

Is Job innocent? He cannot justify himself; he is not perfect, as Job 9:20 reveals: *If I desire to justify myself, my own mouth shall condemn me; if I say I am perfect, it shall also prove me perverse.*⁸⁵ No one can call himself pure, innocent, who confesses that.⁸⁶ Gregory makes a logical distinction in his exegesis of Job 17:3. Job denies that he is guilty of sin, but this does not mean that he is innocent. Job says, *I have not sinned and my eye abides in bitterness* (Job 17:3). It is as if Job had said plainly:

80 *Mor.* 2.14.23 (CCSL 143:74): "Intuendum quippe est, quam callide dicitur: ignis dei, ac si diceretur: illius animaduersionem sustines quem tot hostiis placare uoluisti: eius iram toleras cui cotidie seruiens insudabas. Dum enim deum cui seruierat, aduersa intulisse indicat, laesum commemorat, in quo excedat; quatenus anteacta obsequia ad mentem reduceret et frustra se seruasse aestimans, in auctoris iniuriam superbiret."

81 *Mor.* 9.14.21 (CCSL 143:471).

82 *Mor.* 2.19.33 (CCSL 143:80).

83 *Mor.* Prae.3.8 (CCSL 143:14); *Mor.* 2.8.13 (CCSL 143:68); also *Mor.* 14.31.36 (CCSL 143:719–20).

84 *Mor.* 9.46.70 (CCSL 143:506).

85 *Mor.* 9.24.36 (CCSL 143:481).

86 *Mor.* 10.2.2 (CCSL 143:534–35).

“I have not been guilty of sin, and I have undergone the whip.” But on this point, seeing that in many passages of this history he confesses himself to have been guilty of sin, the mind is moved to ask why he now denies himself to have committed sin. But the reason quickly occurs: neither did he sin to such an extent as to deserve the whips, nor yet was he capable of being without sin.⁸⁷

Job is not innocent, but neither is he guilty enough to deserve his punishment. Gregory follows Augustine’s reasoning that original sin means that no one is innocent.⁸⁸ But ultimately, original sin is not critical in solving the question of God’s justice, as it was for Augustine. Gregory frames it differently: did Job’s sins deserve such punishment as he suffered? In *Mor.* 14.31.36 (an exegesis of Job 19:6, *Know now at least that God has afflicted me with no just judgment*), Gregory surprisingly acknowledges that Job’s punishment was not just, nor does he deny that Job is protesting; on the other hand, he does not condemn Job’s protest as pride. Job measures his life against his suffering, and concludes that it was not just that such a life be given such affliction. Gregory glosses, “And when [Job] says that he was not afflicted by a just judgment, he spoke that with an unreserved voice, which God in his secrecy had said concerning him to his adversary, ‘You moved me against him without cause’” (Job 2:3). Job did not sin in this protest; he simply repeated what God said to the devil and did not speak an untruth. He remained righteous because he was not at odds with the judgment of his maker.⁸⁹ Job did not defy his rightful master, but not without Gregory’s cleverness.

Nevertheless, this is a stunning admission, given Gregory’s insistence that Job’s defense of his righteousness would impugn God’s justice. Gregory now affirms the paradoxical truth (indeed, paradox is generally a sign of divine agency) that God acted rightly *and* Job was stricken unjustly.⁹⁰ Job is both afflicted with and without cause: “without cause” because God admitted as much to the devil in Job 2:3, and “with cause” because he rewarded Job for suffering in excess of that needed to expunge his sins.⁹¹ The problem is that Job is ignorant

87 *Mor.* 13.30.34 (143A:687): “Ac si aperte dicat: culpam non feci et flagella suscepi. Sed hac in re animum mouet quia in multis se huius historiae locis peccasse confitetur, qua ratione nunc peccasse se abnegat? Sed ad haec ratio celeriter occurrit, quia nec tantum peccauit ut flagella mereretur, nec tamen esse sine peccato potuit.”

88 *Mor.* 9.26.40 (CCSL 143:484); *Mor.* 12.32-33.37-38 (CCSL 143A:650-51).

89 *Mor.* 14.31.36 (CCSL 143A:720). The passage repeats much of *Mor.* 3.3.3; see below n. 90.

90 *Mor.* 14.31.46 (CCSL 143A:726).

91 God’s original admission is explained in *Mor.* 3.3.3 (CCSL 143:116): “Ex eisdem flagellis creuit uirtus patientiae atque ex dolore uerberis aucta est gloria remunerationis. Vt ergo

of the divine plan. He does not know that God is increasing his merits with his beating (*percussio*),⁹² nor does anyone else. Like Job, his friends and his wife assume that he is being punished as retribution for sin, so they continue to torment him with their calumnies and malicious accusations. Job's anguish only intensifies as the beatings continue without sight of an end, and the persistence of these beatings also troubled Gregory.

Job continues to maintain his righteousness. When stricken, Job recalls his good deeds: has he not fed the hungry, sheltered the orphan and the widow, etc.? This is not Job's defense of himself, or self-praise, but rather a means of restoring hope and keeping his soul balanced and stable.⁹³ Nor did he speak in conceit, which is what the unrighteous think when they hear Job's defense. He simply spoke the truth openly. His righteousness cannot be impeached, because his motives are pure.⁹⁴ Job's eulogies extol only the virtue that God himself acknowledges. "[J]ust as it is a great sin for a man to ascribe to himself what does not exist, so also it is not sin at all if he speaks with humility of the good that does exist," Gregory declares.⁹⁵ When Job says, "If I shall be judged, I know that I will be found just" (Job 13:18), Job is only relaying what God has declared to the devil.⁹⁶

All along, Job's friends have insisted that he must have somehow offended God to merit such wrathful adversity. In principle, Gregory rejects this. Central to Gregory's moral theology is his teaching that prosperity and adversity are ambiguous: that both good fortune and bad fortune can both harm and improve the soul and that both gifts and temptations, good fortune and misfortune, can precede either salvation or damnation.⁹⁷ God may strike in two ways: to correct a son in discipline, or to punish an enemy in indignation.⁹⁸ The sons may be stricken by adversity as a salutary discipline that restores sinners or prevents their future sins.⁹⁹ As temporal punishment, adversity clears the way

in dicto domini ueritas, rectitudo autem teneatur in facto, beatus iob et non frustra percutitur quia augetur meritum; et tamen frustra percutitur quia nullum punitur admissum. Frustra enim percussus est cui culpa nulla reciditur; et non frustra percussus est cui uirtutis meritum cumulat. On rewards, see *Mor. Prae.*6.14 (CCSL 143:19).

92 *Mor. Prae.*6.14 (CCSL 143:19).

93 *Mor. Prae.*3.8 (CCSL 143:14–15).

94 See *Mor.* 12.31.36 (CCSL 143:649).

95 *Mor.* 12.31.36 (CCSL 143A:649): "Sicut enim grauis culpa est sibi hoc hominem arrogare quod non est, sic plerumque culpa nulla est, si humiliter bonum dicat quod est."

96 *Mor.* 11.38.51 (CCSL 143A:615).

97 *Mor.* 9.13.20 (CCSL 143: 470–71). See *Mor.* 5.1.1 (CCSL 143:218–19); *Mor.* 4.6.7 (CCSL 143A:701–1); *Mor.* 24.18.44 (CCSL 143B:1221–22); cf. *Mor.* 12.25–26.30–31 (CCSL 143A:647–48).

98 *Mor.* 14.37.45 (CCSL 143A:725).

99 *Mor. Prae.*5.12 (CCSL 143:17–18).

to heaven for the elect. For the wicked, adversity will tempt them to curse God and otherwise sin. They despair of salvation in anticipation of their eternal abandonment in hell. God's enemies will only be tempted to sin by the blandishments of prosperity, which is the only good fortune they will ever know. For the good, prosperity offers temptations that can be overcome, increasing their merit, as well as being temporal rewards to comfort them when fortune changes. In any case, temporal prosperity must not be taken as a sign of God's hidden election, nor adversity of his abandonment. That was the error of Job's friends, who upbraided, insulted, and reproached him, insisting he had somehow incited God's wrath. (Considering that Gregory believes that one can never be too penitent, given one's secret sins, unconscious thoughts, and the Judge's unknown severity, this is a predictable, though erroneous, response.¹⁰⁰) The truth is that God's gifts as well as his punishments are not necessarily connected to human merits or the want of virtue; and as such, they all glorify God by manifesting his power.¹⁰¹

Like Augustine, Gregory sees God's dispensation as mysterious. His visitations cannot be discerned easily, at least not by us:

Therefore, the entry and departure of God from our mind cannot at all be known, and we do not know of the final end of these alternating states, since it is uncertain whether temptation proves us or kills us in our trial, and we can never discern whether gifts remunerate those abandoned, or whether they nourish along the way those who are returning to the fatherland.¹⁰²

Because the ultimate meaning of life's alternating fortunes remains a mystery, fortune itself is not the issue: fortune is not the fault, but rather the feeling toward it.¹⁰³ Self-control and discretion can make either adversity or prosperity advance the soul, even as lack of discipline makes both destructive. The mind should be a "fortress" (*arx*),¹⁰⁴ stable (*stabilis*) and constant (*constans*), balanced in adversity and in prosperity, as if a scale in equilibrium.¹⁰⁵

100 *Mor.* 12.17.21 (CCSL 143A:641); *Mor.* 1.36.53–55 (CCSL 143:53–57).

101 *Mor.* Prae.5.12 (CCSL 143:17–18).

102 *Mor.* 9.13.20 (CCSL 143:471): "Accessus igitur recessus que dei a mente nostra minime cognoscitur, quousque rerum alternantium finis ignoratur; quia et de temptatione incertum est utrum probet an trucidet et de donis nequaquam deprehenditur utrum hic desertos remunerent, an in uia nutriant, ut ad patriam perducant."

103 *Mor.* 10.30.49 (CCSL 143:572).

104 See *Mor.* 20.33.65 (CCSL 143A:1052); *Mor.* 8.49.85 (CCSL 143:450). This imagery goes back to Plato's *Republic* 8.560.B.

105 *Mor.* 26.44–45.81–82 (CCSL 143B:1327); *Mor.* 19.6.12 (CCSL 143A:964).

Gregory is less puzzled that things go poorly for the good and well for the wicked. It is far more mysterious when things go well on earth for the good and poorly for the wicked.¹⁰⁶ In other words, Gregory does not expect the state of one's life to reflect one's virtue or one's vice. Still Gregory wonders, "Who can understand what is the secret reason that a just man returns from the trial not only unavenged, but even punished, and that his wicked adversary not only returns without punishment, but even victorious?"¹⁰⁷ These are secrets of God's dispensation we shall never learn. Job was stricken "that the whip might redound to the praise of God's glory."¹⁰⁸ Gregory cites Jesus's response when asked why a man was born blind (John 9:2–3): "Neither has this man sinned nor his parents, but that the works of God should be manifest in him."¹⁰⁹

Augustine also quoted John 9:2–3 to explain Job's suffering. God afflicted Job for no other reason than the gratuitous display of his omnipotence. As we see in his *Confessions*, Augustine stresses the Creator's transcendence, inscrutability, arbitrariness, and omnipotence: his distance from his creatures makes his grace all the more awesome. Gregory's concerns are different. Certainly, creatures must be humble and obedient to the Creator, but he stresses the reciprocal relationship of God and Christians. Because Christ settled our debt with God, he has won a hearing for us before God, so that we may be judged on our own merits.¹¹⁰ Grace and free will work in complementary and reciprocal ways.¹¹¹ Certainly, all good originates with God, and Christians have not received grace as a result of their own merits.¹¹² But human will *chooses* to cooperate with divine grace, so Christians can be given due credit: "The good that we do is both God's and our own; God's through prevenient grace, and ours through the free will that follows."¹¹³ Both matter: if it is not God's, why do

106 *Mor.* 5.1.1 (CCSL 143:218).

107 *Mor.* 29.33.77 (CCSL 143B:1395–96).

108 *Mor.* Prae.5.12 (CCSL 143:18).

109 *Mor.* Prae.5.12 (CCSL 143:17); *Mor.* Prae.4.9 (CCSL 143:15).

110 See *Mor.* 9.38.60—9.38.61 (CCSL 143:499–501); see Straw, *Gregory the Great*, 157–61.

111 For discussions of Gregory's doctrine of grace and free will, see especially Weber, *Hauptfragen*, 174–93; and Dagens, *Saint Grégoire*, 272ff., 446ff. In stressing human duties, he echoes Cassian; see especially *Conlatio* 13.6–18, and Owen Chadwick, *John Cassian*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1968), 110–36.

112 *Mor.* 18.40.63 (CCSL 143A:929); *Mor.* 23.6.13 (CCSL 143B:1153–54); *Mor.* 20.4.11 (CCSL 143A:1009).

113 *Mor.* 33.21.38 (CCSL 143B:1708): "Bonum quippe quod agimus, et dei est et nostrum; dei per praeuenientem gratiam, nostrum per obsequentem liberam uoluntatem. Si enim dei non est, unde ei in aeternum gratias agimus? Rursum si nostrum non est, unde nobis retribuui praemia speramus? Quia ergo non immerito gratias agimus, scimus quod eius munere

we give thanks? If it is not our own, why do we hope for reward? By the compliance of free will, we have chosen to perform good deeds.¹¹⁴ Christians can now “give back” (*reddere*) and “repay” (*repensare*) God’s gifts with their own works and earn reward.¹¹⁵ Similarly, sinners can pay back the price of their redemption, offering confession and praise, as well as works in compensation.¹¹⁶ Penitence allows sinners to punish their own sins and by this payment remove the need for God’s vengeance.¹¹⁷ This is merciful because at the Last Judgment those who are “debtors” will have to pay every last coin.¹¹⁸

Reciprocity is distributive justice, even as punishment of sin is retributive justice, and justice lies at the foundation of God’s providential order. God’s affliction of Job has a logic and purpose, beyond the mere display of his power. Quoting John 2:3, Gregory says that the mightiness of God’s power is that God increased Job’s merits with his beatings, given that Job had no sins to cleanse.¹¹⁹ God *chose* to be just, to increase Job’s merits, and to recompense Job for his unmerited suffering. Evil is really not evil, but instrumental to the good, a part of God’s providential plan.¹²⁰ God did not unjustly afflict Job; it was actually a gift of his mercy.¹²¹ This ingenious solution to theodicy preserves God’s omnipotence, while vindicating his justice, and it also affirms Job’s righteousness. Compared to Augustine’s, Gregory’s God has a fairness and predictability. Providence is ultimately understandable, despite its complex, paradoxical logic. God’s order is evident in the world around us; it just needs to be illuminated, and this is Gregory’s brief as preacher.

From the very beginning, Job’s problem has been his ignorance of God’s plan. By book 15 of the *Moralia*, Gregory begins to reconsider his original positions. While Job has maintained his innocence steadfastly, God’s afflictions have been unrelenting, and this raises the question whether his previous

praeuenumur, et rursum, quia non immerito retributionem quaerimus, scimus quod subsequente libero arbitrio bona elegimus quae ageremus.” See also *Mor.* 33.21.40 (CCSL 143B:1710); *Mor.* 16.25.30 (CCSL 143A:816); *Mor.* 24.10.24 (CCSL 143B:1204); *Mor.* 18.40.63 (CCSL 143A:929); *Mor.* 24.7.13 (CCSL 143B:1196–97).

114 *Mor.* 33.21.40 (CCSL 143B:1710).

115 *Mor.* 9.41.64 (CCSL 143:503).

116 *Mor.* 13.23.26 (CCSL 143A:682–83); *Mor.* 33.12.24 (CCSL 143B:1694); *Mor.* 9.43.95 (CCSL 143:524); *Mor.* 12.51.57 (CCSL 143A:662–63).

117 *Mor.* 4.15.27 (CCSL 143:181), citing 1 Cor 11:31: “Si nos metipsos diiudicemus, non utique a Domino iudicemur.”

118 *Mor.* 15.33.39 (CCSL 143A:773).

119 *Mor.* Prae.5.12 (CCSL 143:17–18).

120 *Mor.* 26.37.68 (CCSL 143B:1317–18).

121 *Mor.* 14.31.38 (CCSL 143A:720–21).

defense of his life had somehow offended God. Even though he was justified in recalling his good deeds, he was never quite certain that he was not somehow to blame for his suffering.¹²² When he cries out, *As for me, is my dispute against man, that I should not justly be sad?* (Job 21: 4), Gregory does not consider this to be Job's complaint against the asymmetry of his struggle with God, but finds another reason for Job's sadness: "Now blessed Job believed he had displeased God during his whips, and was sad."¹²³ Worse, Job fears that he has permanently alienated God: he wonders if his life will be followed with lasting torments. If he has been afflicted with suffering after performing good works now, what might await him after his whole life is over?¹²⁴ His innocent suffering should be a terrifying example to others who feel secure in their good works. The burden of guilt and uncertainty builds slowly until it overwhelms Job—and Gregory.

Previously, Job protested that he was unjustly stricken and Gregory affirmed that he did not merit God's punishment. Nor did Job sin "under the whip," but *in all this, Job did not sin or charge God with wrongdoing* (Job 1:22).¹²⁵ In the first books of the *Moralia*, Gregory uses every possible strategy to interpret Job's laments and protests as anything but a reproof of God. But Gregory changes his mind along the way. Finally, in *Mor.* 31.54.107, he begins to explain how Job sinned. To murmur at God's blows is to "reprove" and "contend with" him, an attempt to convict him of injustice by justifying himself.¹²⁶ Gregory's new position is that Job was "afflicted for the sin of injustice" (*pro iniustitiae peccato*).¹²⁷ Gregory ignores that it is at odds with his earlier insistence that Job suffered

122 *Mor.* 15.36.42 (CCSL 143:775).

123 *Mor.* 15.36.42 (CCSL 143:775).

124 *Mor.* 13.49.55 (CCSL 143A:697–98).

125 *Mor.* 2.19.33 (CCSL 143:80): "Qui enim stultum locutus non est, culpam a lingua compeccit; sed cum praemittitur: non peccavit, constat quod murmurationis uitium etiam a cogitatione restrinxit. Nec peccavit ergo nec stulte locutus est, quia nec per conscientiam tacitus tumuit nec linguam in contumaciam relaxavit. Stulte autem contra deum loquitur qui inter diuinae animaduersionis flagella positus, iustificare semetipsum conatur. Si enim innocentem se asserere superbe audeat, quid aliud quam iustitiam ferientis accusat?"

126 Job 39:31–32: "*et adiecit Dominus et locutus est ad Iob. Numquid qui contendit cum Deo tam facile conquiescit utique qui arguit Deum debet respondere ei*" in *Mor.* 31.54.107 (CCSL 143B:1623), triggers Gregory's conclusion that Job is guilty: "percutsum iniuste se credidit; et percutientem prorsus arguere est de percussione murmurare... '*numquid qui contendit cum deo tam facile conquiescit?*' [Ac si Deus diceret] Me enim fuit arguere, de percussione mea an fuerit iusta dubitare." Cf. *Mor.* 32.4.5 (CCSL 143B:1631): "Si ergo ex tuis meritis contra mea flagella disputas, quid aliud quam me de iniustitia addicere te iustificando festinas?"

127 Cf. *Mor.* 32.4.5 (CCSL 143B:1630).

without complaint. Job's suffering was not unmerited. He was guilty.¹²⁸ Gregory explains:

Whoever struggles to defend himself against the whips tries to vacate the judgment of the one whipping. For when he denied that he was punished on account of sin, what else did he do than accuse the justice of the punisher? And so the heavenly whips beat the blessed Job not to extinguish sins in him, but rather that they should increase merits, so that he who shined in such great sanctity in a time of tranquility also might expose the virtue of patience hidden within him. And he, not finding his sin during the whips, and not detecting that the whips themselves were the means of increasing his merits, believed himself unjustly punished, since he did not find anything in himself he ought to have corrected. But lest that very innocence be inflated in a swelling of pride, he is corrected by the divine voice, and his mind freed from iniquity, but pressed down by the lashes, he is recalled to secret judgments, so that the heavenly sentence, even if not understood, nevertheless is not believed to be unjust, but as it is undisputed that he suffers because of God, the Creator, at least he believes all that he suffers is just.¹²⁹

Gregory now concludes that Job had sinned. His protests had impeached God's justice, nor was he patient. The root cause was not pride, but rather ignorance and misunderstanding. He assumed that the whips were punishment, and given his own innocence, he protested their injustice, failing to see that they were intended to increase his merits by providing the chance to manifest patience in adversity.

¹²⁸ *Mor.* 31.52.107 (CCSL 143B:1623).

¹²⁹ *Mor.* 32.4.5 (CCSL 143B:1630): "Quisquis contra flagella semetipsum defendere nititur, flagellantis iudicium euacuare conatur. Nam cum sua culpa feriri se denegat, quid aliud quam iniustitiam ferientis accusat? Beatum itaque iob non idcirco flagella caelestia percusserunt, ut in eo culpas exstinguerent, sed potius ut merita augerent, quatenus qui tranquillitatis tempore in tanta sanctitate claruerat; etiam ex percussione patesceret quae in eo etiam patientiae uirtus latebat. Qui quidem culpam suam inter flagella non inueniens, nec tamen flagella eadem causam sibi esse augendi meriti deprehendens, iniuste feriri se credidit, cum quid in se debuisset corrigi non inuenit. Sed ne ipsa innocentia in tumore elationis infletur, diuina uoce corripitur; et mens eius ab iniquitate libera, sed uerberibus pressa, ad iudicia occulta reuocatur, ut superna sententia, etsi non est cognita, non tamen credatur iniusta; sed eo saltim iustum credat omne quod patitur, quo nimirum constat quia deo auctore patiatur."

Yet, Job has a deeper fault. He failed to submit to God completely; he did not trust that God, being God, could never be unjust.¹³⁰ He should have revered God's whips and submitted to them in silence;¹³¹ but, more importantly, God's external rebuke of adversity should have led Job inward to examine his soul. When God corrects us with his whip—the external discipline of adversity—we should turn to examine our souls for sins. By replicating God's blows inwardly in penitence, we are cleansed of sin and restored to him. As Gregory explains:

For when we are stricken for the sin of injustice (or unrighteousness), if our will is joined to the divine will in the beating, immediately we are freed from our injustice by this conjunction. For whoever bears the beatings, but is still unaware of the reasons for the beatings, if he embraces this very judgment against him, believing it just, he is at once corrected of his unrighteousness, just as he rejoices that he has been justly beaten. For by associating himself with God in his own punishment, he rises up against himself, and great already is his righteousness, because he agrees with the will of God in his punishment, from which he disagreed in sin.¹³²

The afflictions of adversity free us from unrighteousness, provided that we agree that what we suffer is just punishment for sin. To accept this judgment is to agree with God's will, cancelling out our disagreement in sin. But Job found it very hard to do this. Since he had not disagreed with God through any sin, how could he agree with God in his punishment? Nevertheless, when stricken, Job should have turned inward, examined his soul, and blamed himself, rather than blaming God.

God speaks from the whirlwind to teach Job just that lesson—to 'put him in his place,' or, as Gregory says, to educate him "more highly on knowing himself."¹³³ Job "makes progress through the rebuke of the divine voice" and

¹³⁰ *Mor.* 32.4.5 (CCSL 143B:1631).

¹³¹ *Mor.* 32.1.1 (CCSL 143B:1626).

¹³² *Mor.* 32.4.5 (CCSL 143B:1631). "Nam cum pro iniustitiae peccato percutimur, si in percussione nostra diuinae uoluntati coniungimur, mox a nostra iniustitia ipsa coniunctione liberamur. Quisquis enim iam percussione tolerat, sed adhuc causas percussione ignorat si iustum credens hoc ipsum contra se iudicium amplectitur, eo ipso ab iniustitia sua iam correctus est, quo percussus se iuste gratulatur. In uindicta enim sua deo se socians, sese contra se erigit, et magna est iam iustitia, quod uoluntati iudicis concordat in poena, cui discrepauit in culpa."

¹³³ *Mor.* 32.1.1 (CCSL 143B:1626); "loquente deo, sublimius eruditus, semetipsum cognoscendo reticuit."

his self-reproach grows.¹³⁴ Interestingly, at the beginning of book 28, Gregory thinks the whirlwind speech reproves Job with strict justice (though as prophylaxis rather than cure, so to speak). “He who, even when prostrated by wounds, had remained stable in virtues, needed to be humbled,” lest pride succeed in ruining the soul when affliction had failed.¹³⁵ Job was so virtuous in all his afflictions that God had to strike him again to keep him humble, lest pride begin to take root. And he was so virtuous that God could only humble him with his own works, a victory Gregory affirms. Here, Job is again virtuous, and stricken to prevent his possible pride.

Later, Gregory decides that the speech is a gentle reproof teaching Job to submit to him who is highest.¹³⁶ God asks Job a series of rhetorical questions whether he can do the impossible, e.g., *walk the recesses of the sea* (38:16), *make the ground put forth grass* (38:27), *send for lightning* (38:35), and so forth. The images in each verse inspire various moral, christological, or ecclesiological lessons, which take up most of the text. Nevertheless, one can trace the literal meaning folded within, or intertwining, his other interpretations. The speech is intended to humble Job—to break him, and make him cry ‘uncle’—and it did.¹³⁷ If subjected to God’s searching examination, humanity cannot answer God’s questions: “All pity being laid aside, even the righteous sink under his scrutiny.”¹³⁸ All human beings die; but God is eternal; and even our most earnest efforts dissolve under God’s piercing examination. As Job 9:22 reads, *The Lord destroys the perfect and the wicked*. Whatever purity we might have had is swallowed up in the illimitable purity of God. Job confesses, humbly acknowledging his weakness compared to God’s greatness, accepting his obligation to submit to God’s will.

Turning inward and “weighing himself on the scale of finest examination,” Job now confesses that he had sinned. Quoting Job 39:35, *One thing I said that*

134 *Mor.* 32.3.4 (CCSL 143B:1629): “Quia igitur duplex in paenitentia gemitus debetur, beatus iob diuinae uocis increpatione proficiens, atque in sua reprehensione succrescens, dixisse se unum et alterum paenitens fatetur. Ac si aperte dicat: et erga bona per neglegentiam torpui, et ad mala per audaciam prorupi.”

135 *Mor.* 28.1.1 (CCSL 143B:1394): “Sed humiliandus erat iste qui, prostratus ulceribus, sic uirtutibus stabat. Humiliandus erat, ne tam robustissimum pectus elationis tela confoderent, quod constabat certe quia et illata uulnera non uicissent.”

136 *Mor.* 32.4.5 (CCSL 143B:1631).

137 See *Mor.* 28.9.20 (CCSL 143B:1411); *Mor.* 29.15.30 (CCSL 143B:1454); *Mor.* 29.22.42 (CCSL 143B:1463); *Mor.* 29.23.47 (CCSL 143B:1466).

138 *Mor.* 9.14.21 (CCSL 143:471): “si remota tunc pietate discutitur, in illo examine etiam iustorum uita succumbit.”

*I should not have said, and another to which I will add nothing further,*¹³⁹ Gregory glosses, “As if he were saying, ‘I believed myself upright among men, but as you were speaking, I found myself to be both wicked before the whipping and stubborn afterwards. *To which I add nothing more*, since the more subtly I understand you speaking, the more humbly I examine myself.’”¹⁴⁰ He first sinned by saying things that merited the whips, and then by murmuring against the whip and being “far from patient.” He confesses that he erred in speaking of “what [he] did not understand” (cf. Job 43:3).¹⁴¹ After all, human wisdom is only folly before God (1 Cor 1:21).¹⁴² Job cannot penetrate the mysteries of God’s secret dispensation—why the evil prosper and the good suffer; he will never know why things are as they are, nor have the power to do much of anything. Seeing God, he despises himself and *does penance in dust and ashes* (Job 42:6). Marvelously, Job is healed by penitence: “God is merciful as well as just: he neither leaves sins without reproof, nor guilt without conversion. For our physician is internal: first, he makes known the corruption of the wound, and after,

139 Gregory has difficulties with Job 39:35. He assures his audience that Job only spoke the truth freely in his self-defenses, he did not speak in pride; if he had, he would have been guilty of many sins. Despite this disclaimer, he goes on to lay out the secret meaning to the audience, and speaking to the ears of God. In *Mor.* 32.3.4, he says the lesson applies to the Church, that is, to the elect and to their daily penitence, purging away present and past deeds and the shortcomings in loving God and neighbor. To this Job adds “two groans”: “Per hoc tamen quod beatus iob de duobus se paenitendo redarguit, liquido ostendit quod peccator omnis in paenitentia duplicem habere gemitum debet, nimirum quia et bonum quod oportuit non fecit, et malum quod non oportuit fecit.”

140 *Mor.* 32.3.4 (CCSL 143B:1629): “te loquente, et ante flagella prauum, et post flagella me rigidum inueni...nunc quanto te loquentem subtilius intellego, tanto memetipsum humilium inuestigo.” See also *Mor.* 32.3.3 (CCSL 143B:1627–28); *Mor.* 32.4.5 (CCSL 143B:1631); *Mor.* 31.54.107 (CCSL 143B:1623).

141 Job’s confession is in *Mor.* 32.3.3 (CCSL 143B:1628): “Vnum locutus sum, quod utinam non dixissem; et alterum, quibus ultra non addam [Job 39:35]...beatus iob ad libram se subtilissimi examinis pensans, locutione sua secundo se deliquisse confitetur. Vnum enim loqui illicite est res flagello dignas agere, aliud loqui est etiam de flagello murmurare. Qui ergo ante increpationem dominicam in omni opere hominibus praelatus fuit ipsa in altum increpatione proficiens; et minus se rectum prius in opere, et minus se patientem post in uerbere agnouit. Vnde semetipsum redarguit, dicens: unum locutus sum, quod utinam non dixissem; et alterum, quibus ultra non addam. Ac si dicat: rectum quidem me inter homines credidi, sed te loquente, et ante flagella prauum, et post flagella me rigidum inueni. Quibus ultra non addo, quia iam nunc quanto te loquentem subtilius intellego, tanto memetipsum humilium inuestigo.”

142 *Mor.* 35.2.3 (CCSL 143B:1775).

points out the remedies bringing health.¹⁴³ Penitence is a gift of mercy, like the rebuke found in adversity. By using them, the soul can be converted from sin, cleansed, and restored to God. Job's reward is contingent upon this change of heart and God's forgiveness.

Meeting God in the whirlwind, Job learns the pitiful helplessness of creatures before the Almighty Creator. But precisely because God has all the power, everything begins and ends with him. It would be illogical for him to work against himself. Rationality defines providence, which itself embodies justice (*iustitia*)—Gregory's Stoicism tempers the transcendent arbitrariness of Augustine's God. This changes, or rather, clarifies the situation. Since we are unable to propitiate the strict judge, and "our works are not worthy of display, we can only offer God his own works to propitiate him."¹⁴⁴ No one can contend with God. When Job says, *There is none who can deliver me out of your hands* (Job 10:8), it is as if Job had said, "What is left to you, saving to spare, whose power no man can resist? For as there is no one who can check your punishments by the merits of his own virtue, so let your mercy demand more easily to spare him."¹⁴⁵ It is fitting that God be merciful to his own creation. "Since under just examination what I have done is not worthy of propitiating you, weigh mercifully, lest what you have made should perish."¹⁴⁶ Would God destroy the 'work of [his] hands' (cf. Job 19, 3)? Gregory declares to God, "You cannot ever, wanting mercy, oppress him whom you remember to have created from your mere grace."¹⁴⁷ Nor would God "unjustly spurn" what he has "mercifully created": he who made the world from nothing would never desert unjustly that

143 *Mor.* 35.8.11 (CCSL 143B:1781): "Ecce iustus et misericors deus nec culpas sine increpatione deserit, nec reatum sine conuersione derelinquit. Quia enim internus est medicus, prius putredinem uulneris innotuit, et post remedia consequendae salutis indicauit."

144 *Mor.* 9.48.73 (CCSL 143:508): "*cum sit nemo qui de manu tua possit eruere* (Job 10:7). Ac si aperte dicat: quid tibi restat nisi parcere, cuius uirtuti nullus ualet obuiare? Quo enim nemo est qui animaduersionem tuam ex merito suae uirtutis retineat, eo a se facilius tua pietas exigit ut parcat. Quia autem nos in delicto concepti, in iniquitatibus editi, aut noxie praua perpetramus, aut incaute etiam recta agendo delinquimus, districtus iudex unde nobis fiat placabilis, non habemus. Sed cum nostrum opus eius obtutibus dignum exhibere non possumus, restat ut ad placationem illius suum ei opus offeramus. Vnde et subditur: [9.49.74]: *manus tuae plasmauerunt me et fecerunt me totum in circuitu; et sic repente praecipitas me?* (Job 10:8) Ac si humiliter dicat: quia sub iusto examine dignum non est tuae placationi quod feci, pensa misericorditer, ne pereat quod fecisti."

145 *Mor.* 9.48.73 (CCSL 143:508). See note 143.

146 *Mor.* 9.49.74 (CCSL 143:508). See note 143.

147 *Mor.* 9.46.70 (CCSL 143:506): "impie opprimere non potes quem te fecisse gratuito recordaris."

which exists.¹⁴⁸ Providence is very logical, as Gregory explains it. At least, one has reason to hope.

The Book of Job ends with God's reward of Job, but Gregory does not see this as a vindication of Job's innocence. Job is rather the sinner restored to righteousness by God's forgiveness. He is rewarded for having suffered more than was needed to expiate his "sin of injustice" (*iniustitiae peccatum*)—his stepping out of bounds. He has done penance in "dust and ashes" and is forgiven. Now, his friends are chastened, and he is preferred to them. Gregory wonders, "How is it that [Job] is praised to the enemy, and reproved in his own person, and yet preferred to his friends?"¹⁴⁹ He offers an answer. Job surpassed others in virtue, but he was still to blame before God for mistaking God's whip as punishment for sins, instead of trusting God and realizing that it was a gift of grace.¹⁵⁰ This is a mysterious judgment "[w]hence it is plainly seen how great Job's righteousness is in establishing the innocence of his actions against the criticism of his friends, for he is preferred in divine judgment even to those very persons who defended the divine judgment."¹⁵¹ By God's fiat and forgiveness, Job is now innocent. Gregory strives to reassure his audience that what might seem sinful to them—Job's protests against God—may not be so in God's eyes, just as virtue in men's eyes may mean nothing to God. In God's eyes, Job is victorious and this alone is what matters. The opinion of mere human beings is very often wrong.¹⁵² This is God's dispensation, his almighty judgment, and this is answer enough.

3.5 Conclusion

For Gregory, the literal meaning of Job teaches lessons about the inescapable necessity of penitence, and the need for absolute obedience and submission to

148 *Mor.* 26.20.35 (CCSL 143B:1292–93): "Sciendum que quia deus hominem quem benigne condidit, inique non spernit."

149 *Mor.* 35.7.9 (CCSL 143B:1779): "Sed quid est hoc, quod et laudatur hosti et in seipso reprehenditur; in se autem ipso reprehenditur et tamen amicis loquentibus antefertur, nisi quod sanctus uir cunctos meritorum suorum uirtute transcendit, sed eo ipso quo homo fuit, ante dei oculos esse sine reprehensione non potuit?"

150 *Mor.* 35.7.9 (CCSL 143B:1779): "Beatus igitur iob pro culpa se credit et non pro gratia flagellari; resecari in se aestimauit uitia, non autem merita augeri."

151 *Mor.* 35.7.9 (CCSL 143B:1779): "Vnde aperte colligitur quantae iustitiae fuerit in eo quod contra amicorum uerba innocentiam suae operationis astruxit, qui diuino iudicio etiam ipsis eiusdem diuini iudicii defensoribus antefertur."

152 Cf. *Mor.* 35.9.10 (CCSL 143B:1781).

God. One can be more righteous than others, as Job was, but one is never perfect. One must always scrutinize the soul for hidden sins and repent of them, even if one does not know what they are. Job's sin was assuming he was not guilty. When afflicted with such terrible losses, he ignored the opportunity—indeed, the obligation—to repent. This is also a harsh lesson and legacy. Speaking practically (and bluntly), when something bad happens, blame yourself, confess, and do penance.

Like the martyr and monk, Job is an “imitation of Christ.” As Christ lived practically, Job is a model accessible to all Christians living in the world, buoyed and enlivened by the joys of good fortune, and depressed and anxious when it is lost. Uncertain of the future, Gregory warns them to be more uncertain of themselves—of their sins, known and unknown, and the adequacy of their penitence. This grim but heroic Everyman teaches that life is an unending struggle, like the sufferings of Christ. Whether fortune be good or evil, it is a trial to be overcome, and a contest requiring enormous strength and perseverance. The challenge to keep equanimity, despite alternations of fortune, is not easy, nor is it simple to counter-balance the opposing demands of serving God and serving neighbor. Caution, self-control, and penitence form the discipline that Christians need to face life's various temptations and hardships. If Christians view life so somberly, they can at least be consoled that suffering purifies the soul of sins¹⁵³ and is rewarded in heaven.¹⁵⁴

153 *Mor.* 24.11.34 (CCSL 143B:1213); *Mor.* 14.33.40 (CCSL 143A:22).

154 *Mor.* Prae.6.14 (CCSL 143:19); *Mor.* 26.10.15 (CCSL 143B:1276).

Job in the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the Bible

Lesley Smith

4.1 The Gloss and Its Importance¹

The Gloss, or *Glossa ordinaria*, has its origins at the early-12th-century cathedral school of Laon, run by a cleric and renowned teacher named Anselm (d. 1117) and his younger brother Ralph (d. ?1133).² “Secular”—that is, clerical but not monastic—schools such as Laon were at the forefront of teaching the Bible and theology outside the monastery, and to students who were not monks. Teaching the Bible in a secular setting may have been new, but as far as we can tell Anselm’s syllabus was not. Traditionally, most medieval teaching of the Bible seems to have begun with the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles: together, they constituted two complementary handbooks for Christian life and belief, encompassing both Testaments and—in comparison to much of the rest of the Bible—easy to understand.

Anselm’s teaching method also had antecedents. Anselm had taught the liberal arts as well as the Bible, and *artes* teaching, from at least Roman times, was based on the exposition of authoritative texts. The teacher sat with the set text—Donatus’ *Ars minor* or Priscian’s *Institutiones* for grammar, for example—and lectured on (or “read”, in medieval terminology) it, line by line, explaining difficulties and noting points of interest as he went along. Rather than a written-out lecture, as we might envisage today, a teacher would have his own copy of the text, marked up with notes and comments in the margins; these could be sketchy or incomplete—just enough to remind the teacher of what he already knew.³ Anselm applied this same treatment to the Bible; he

1 Throughout, I use upper case “Gloss” to refer to biblical books containing the text of the commentary known as the *Glossa ordinaria*, laid out in characteristic format; lower case “gloss” refers to the individual comments of which the Gloss consists.

2 For the history of the Gloss, its production and use, see Lesley Smith, *The Glossa ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Biblical Commentary* (Leiden, 2009); see also Beryl Smalley, “Gilbertus Universalis, Bishop of London (1128–34) and the Problem of the *Glossa Ordinaria*,” *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 7 (1935):235–62; 8 (1936): 24–60; and eadem, “La Glossa Ordinaria. Quelques prédécesseurs d’Anselme de Laon,” *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 9 (1937): 365–400.

3 Manuscripts of glossed arts texts by individual masters grow increasingly common from the mid-11th century: as the saying went, “*tot glosae quot magistri*” (“as many glosses as masters”):

was not the first to do this, but it seems to have become something of a trademark of his school. Taking the Psalter as his textbook, Anselm made himself a teaching manual with the text of the Psalms written out continuously in the centre of each page, leaving wide margins on all sides. In this space he added short explanations and comments (“glosses”) for the biblical text, prompting his memory as he went along. The glosses were not made up from whole cloth. On the contrary, almost everything was drawn from the commentaries of acknowledged experts, for the medieval taste for authoritative texts did not stop at the Bible; it encompassed the works of the Church Fathers, as well as later writers such as Bede and Rabanus Maurus whose commentaries had been proven over time to be fruitful. In the case of the Psalter, Anselm took the Psalms’ commentaries of two scholarly giants, Augustine and Cassiodorus, excerpting and re-phrasing until he had a synthesis of his own. His sources for the Pauline Epistles were more varied, because the commentary history of the Epistles was more varied than that of the Psalms. To a solid base drawn from Augustine and Ambrosiaster (a 4th-century interpreter whose Epistles commentary was thought in the Middle Ages to be by Ambrose), he added comments by earlier authors such as Origen and Jerome, with the occasional use of more “modern” scholars, even to those almost contemporary with Anselm himself, such as Lanfranc. Whereas the glosses drawn from the older writers are rarely given attributions to their authors, those from the newer scholars generally are: their opinions needed to be pointed out to students because they had not yet acquired the unquestioned authority which came with age and tradition.

Anselm’s teaching proved popular. He and his Laon school gathered an international reputation.⁴ His method of teaching the Bible with glossed texts appears to have been taken up and continued by pupils and colleagues at Laon and nearby, including his brother Ralph. Glossed versions of other books of the Bible began to appear. Although our understanding of the development of the Gloss at this early period is conjectural, early sources suggest that books glossed in and around Laon at this time include:

Psalter, Pauline Epistles, Gospel of John; possibly, Gospel of Luke: Glossed by Anselm of Laon.

see Beryl Smalley, “Les commentaires bibliques de l’époque romane: glose ordinaire et gloses périmées,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 4 (1961): 15–22, at 15.

4 See Smith, *The Glossa ordinaria*, 24–25. Anselm’s teaching was famously belittled by his pupil Peter Abelard, but his is an almost-lone voice.

Gospel of Matthew; possibly Luke, possibly the Minor Prophets: Glossed by Ralph of Laon.

Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Lamentations; probably Genesis, Joshua, Judges, Kings, the Major Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel); possibly the Minor Prophets: Glossed by Gilbert of Auxerre.

Possibly Acts; possibly Revelation: Glossed by Alberic (of Reims?).

Job, the Song of Songs, Revelation: Glossed in the scholarly circle of Laon.⁵

And here our story might end; for like most cathedral schools, Laon was made famous by its leading schoolmaster and its reputation did not long outlive him. The teaching culture of the early part of the 12th century was still a mostly oral one, and once a master could no longer be *heard* by his pupils, it was rare for his influence to be sustained.⁶ Anselm was a man of particular renown, but like other contemporary teaching masters, he left behind little written output; it would have been easy for him and his Glossed teaching books to be forgotten. How he and they survived is not at all clear, though a confluence of circumstances, rather than a single reason, was involved. The most important of these was the emergence of Paris as a centre for study, especially Bible study, in the first half of the century. The growth of Paris as a city enabled and encouraged a number of schools to flourish alongside the cathedral school of Notre Dame, including the important free school run by the Augustinian canons at the abbey of St. Victor.⁷ Schools and students became an influential part of the local economy and helped sustain the growing commercial booktrade, which provided a secular alternative to the monastic production of books. As numbers of masters and students grew, so the organization of curriculum and teaching began to solidify. We do not know who introduced “Anselm’s” Glossed books into Paris schools, but we do know that the Bible was being taught there with Glosses in the 1140s. At first, the Gloss seems to have been the preserve only of teaching masters; having a common reference point was a prerequisite for a common scholarly conversation—a textual community that went beyond the “plain” Bible text. A couple of decades later, when the Gloss had

5 For a more detailed explanation of this history, see Smith, *The Glossa ordinaria*, ch. 1.

6 Michael Clanchy and Lesley Smith, “Abelard’s Description of the School of Laon: What might it Tell us about Early Scholastic Teaching?” *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 54 (2010): 1–34.

7 For a history of the early schools see R W. Southern, “The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres,” in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, (eds.) R.L. Benson and G. Constable (Oxford, 1982), 113–37; and C.S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), with bibliography.

been expanded to cover all but Maccabees and Baruch, some of the earlier Glosses were revised, and the Glossed Bible was being used as a reference work by teachers and students alike, outside the classroom, in support of the work they did there.

This embracing and expansion of the Gloss by the Paris schools gave it the life and influence that warrants this essay. From being a provincial schoolmaster's notebook, the Gloss became the preferred medium for teaching at the most important centre for Bible study in Europe, during arguably the most vibrant hundred years in the history of universities. Moreover, working from a Bible surrounded by commentary, rather than from the "plain text", set a pattern that continued at least until the Reformation. The Gloss itself was a cutting-edge research tool until the 1230s, when Hugh of St Cher at the new Dominican house of study in Paris produced his *Postilla in totam bibliam*, a revision and updating of the concept of a complete biblical commentary.⁸ Thus for at least four generations of the most influential biblical scholars of the day, the way to understand the Bible—including the Book of Job—was to read it as it was found in the Gloss. For many of those outside the hothouse research of Paris, the Gloss continued to be the way they interpreted Scripture for much longer: 13th-century libraries were full of new copies of the Gloss, which continued to be reproduced—if in decreasing numbers—until the invention of printing, when the Gloss gained a new lease on life by being printed alongside Nicholas of Lyra's magisterial biblical *Postillae*.⁹

The popularity and usefulness of the Gloss is attested by the survival even today of thousands of manuscript copies. This embarrassment of riches is one of the reasons no modern edition exists, and the more we learn about the history of the Gloss text, the more the idea of a single, definitive edition seems to recede. For the sake of consistency, and because it is now relatively easily available in facsimile, I take as my standard Gloss text for Job that printed in the *editio princeps* by Adolph Rusch of Strasbourg, 1480/1.¹⁰ Rusch seems to have

8 Lesley Smith, "Hugh of St. Cher and Medieval Collaboration," in *Transforming Relations: Essays on Jews and Christians throughout History in Honor of Michael A. Signer*, (ed.) Franklin T. Harkins (Notre Dame, 2010), 241–64.

9 From the 1495 Venice edition of Paganinus de Paganinis, the Gloss was printed in a number of editions which comprised the biblical text, surrounded by the Gloss and with Nicholas' commentary added on the same page, e.g., Basel: Johannes Froben and Johannes Petri, 1498; Basel: Johannes Froben, Johannes Petri and Johannes de Amerbach, 1502; and Lyon: Jacques Maréchal, 1520.

10 *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria: facsimile reprint of the editio princeps Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81*, (eds.) with introduction K. Froehlich and M.T. Gibson, 4 vols.

worked from good later-12th-century Gloss manuscripts and to have included as many of the helpful extras (such as author or “type” attributions) that subsequent readers had added. I have compared the Rusch edition to about two dozen manuscripts, and the texts they present have proved crucial in reconstructing the history of the Job Gloss, as we shall see in Section 3. But for the content of the Gloss as it circulated to later-12th century readers, Rusch is an adequate substitute, and it is that to which we turn next.

4.2 The Content of the Job Gloss

As we have seen, each biblical book was Glossed separately, and the history of no two books is quite the same. Even so, the Job Gloss has a number of characteristics that make it stand out amongst others. First of all, it is exceptional in that its content is drawn exclusively from Gregory’s *Moralia*. Other biblical books use more than one source, even though those sources may be taken at second-hand (or more) from a florilegium or other compilation. The reason for this is clear: Gregory’s exposition of Job was an inescapable landmark of interpretation that was impossible to ignore and which stifled other scholarship. In effect, the Gloss text is a very skilful abbreviation of Gregory’s text.

Excerptions and abbreviations of Gregory’s considerable text were not unusual. René Wasselynck has studied ways in which the *Moralia* was made more manageable.¹¹ Before the Gloss, these included the *Ecloga* of Lathcen (d. 660), Odo of Cluny’s 10th-century *Epitome Moraliūm*, and the *Speculum* of Adalbert of Metz (late-10th-century).¹² The question for the Gloss scholar is whether the Job glossator worked directly from a copy of the *Moralia* or via one or more of these selection boxes drawn from the text—or from both. We know that by the 10th century the library at Laon had copies of at least Gregory and of Lathcen.¹³

(Turnhout, 1992). Cited here as “Rusch facsimile” with references to page number and column (a/b).

- 11 R. Wasselynck, “Les compilations des ‘Moralia in Job’ du VIIe au XIIe siècle,” *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 29 (1962): 5–32; idem, “L’influence de l’exégèse de S. Grégoire le Grand sur les commentaires bibliques médiévaux (VIIe-XIIe s.),” *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 32 (1965): 157–204.
- 12 Odo of Cluny, *Epitome*, PL 133:107–512; Lathcen, *Ecloga*, CCSL 145; Adalbert, *Speculum* is still unedited.
- 13 J.J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850–930. Its Manuscripts and Masters*, Münchener Beiträge Zur Mediävistik- und Renaissance-Forschung 29 (Munich, 1978).

Wasselynck has considered the issue and concludes: “C’est un problème que nous n’avons pu résoudre ... et la consultation des autres compilations ou de commentaires antérieurs ne nous a rien apporté.”¹⁴ Having taken a number of soundings of the Gloss text in comparison to the *Moralia* itself and a number of the shortened versions, it seems to me most likely that the glossator worked directly from the original. Not only does the Gloss use the *Moralia* verbatim much of the time, it also follows the structure of Gregory’s text quite closely. The Gloss corresponds more closely to the *Moralia* than to any of the excerpted versions I have checked. The simplest solution in this case seems to be the most likely: the glossator worked from a copy of Gregory’s text.

This statement is not entirely accurate, however, for my soundings have made it clear that there was not one glossator for Job, but two, each with his own working method, each working from Gregory’s text, and changing over at Chapter 11 verse 13, *Tu autem firmasti*. The reasons for this switch will become clearer in the next section, when we examine the manuscripts; for now we will confine ourselves to observing them at work.

We begin with the glossator who covers the majority of Job, from 11:13 to the end of the book. To get some idea of his glossing technique, let us follow him through the first few verses of Chapter 17:

GREGORY. 17:1, *Spiritus meus attenuabitur*. Attenuatur spiritus timore iudicii, quia electorum mentes quo amplius extremo iudicio propinquare se sentiunt, eo ad discutiendas semetipsas terribilius contremiscunt; et si quas in se carnales umquam cogitationes inueniunt, paenitentiae ardore consumunt, nec cogitationes suas dilatari carnali uoluptate permittunt, quia eo semetipsos diiudicantes subtilius feriunt, quo districtum iudicem praestolantur uicinum. Vnde fit ut propinquum sibi semper exitum suspicentur. Nam reproborum mentes idcirco multa nequiter agunt quia se hic uiuere diutius arbitrantur. Iustorum ergo attenuatur spiritus sed crassescit iniquorum. Quo enim per elationem tument, eo attenuationem spiritus non habent. Iusti uero dum breuitatem suae uitae considerant, elationis et immunditiae culpas declinant.¹⁵

14 R. Wasselynck, “L’influence de l’exégèse de S. Grégoire le Grand,” 185–86.

15 *Moralia*, vol. 1, 686. I have used the Latin text in: *Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Iob*, (ed.) M. Adriaen, CCSL, 3 vols. (143, 143A, 143B) (Turnhout, 1979) [cited as *Moralia*]; and the English translation in *Morals on the Book of Job by S Gregory the Great*, Library of the Fathers, 3 vols (Oxford and London, 1844) [cited as *Morals*]. I have used (with occasional slight changes) this elderly and occasionally baroque translation because of its easy availability, so that readers may read further around the examples I cite.

GLOSS (MARGINAL).¹⁶ *Spiritus meus at. Attenuatur spiritus electorum timore iudicis et si quas in se carnales cogitationes inueniunt paenitentiae ardore consumunt. Spiritus autem iniquorum per tumorem elationis crassescit.*

GLOSS (INTERLINEAR). *Ut electi spiritum attenuent propinquum sibi exitum suspiciantur considerantes breuitatem vite.*¹⁷

[GREGORY. *My spirit shall be wasted to thinness.* 'The spirit is wasted to thinness' by the fear of judgment; in that the minds of the Elect, the more they feel themselves to be approaching the final Judgment, tremble so much the more fearfully in the searching of their own selves; and if they ever find in themselves any carnal thoughts, they consume them by the fervour of their penance; nor do they suffer their thoughts to expand with carnal delight, in that they pass sentence and inflict punishment on themselves more rigorously in proportion as they are awaiting the strict Judge close at hand; whence it comes to pass, that they look upon their departure as always near. For the minds of the lost do many things wickedly on this account, because they suppose themselves living here for long; and so 'the spirit of the righteous is wasted to thinness,' but the spirit of the wicked is thickened. For in proportion as they swell out in self-elation, they have not the wearing down of the spirit: but the righteous, whilst they consider the shortness of their life, eschew the sins of pride and impurity.

GLOSS (MARGINAL). *My spirit shall be wasted to thinness.* The spirit of the Elect shall be wasted to thinness by the fear of the Judge, and if they find carnal thoughts in themselves, they consume them by the fervour of their penance. The spirit of the lost, however, is thickened by the swelling of the self-elation.

GLOSS (INTERLINEAR). So that the elect of spirit shall be wasted to thinness, because, considering the shortness of life, they look upon their departure as near.]

The thirteen lines of the printed Latin text are reduced to two short sentences of marginal gloss, with a short elaboration in the interlinear gloss.

16 As we shall discuss later, the difference between the marginal and interlinear glosses is not as straightforward as these bold appellations suggest, but I use them here so that readers may more easily find the glosses in Rusch.

17 Rusch facsimile, 407b.

The gloss uses Gregory's words, either verbatim or slightly re-phrased and re-ordered. It utilises mostly the beginning and end of Gregory's comments on this passage. On the second half of the verse, the glossator puts together Gregory's first and last phrases verbatim to make the interlinear gloss. The marginal gloss is a verbatim phrase from the middle of Gregory's comment. I have underlined the text the Gloss chooses, to give a sense of the glossator at work:

17:1b, *My days shall be shortened and the grave only is left me. For he that bethinks himself what he will be in death, is always rendered fearful in practice, and from the very cause that henceforth he does not as it were live in his own eyes, he does genuinely live in the eyes of his Creator; he goes after nothing of a nature to pass away, he withstands all the desires of the present life, and views himself as almost dead, in that he is not unaware that he is destined to die. For a perfect life is an imitation of death, which while the righteous diligently enact, they escape the snares of sins. Whence it is written, *Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember thy latter end, and thou shalt never do amiss.* And hence blessed Job, because he sees that his 'days are shortened,' and reflects that 'the grave only is left him.' fitly adds, *I have not sinned...**

The middle of the three quotations is the marginal gloss in Rusch, but it is clear that there is no distinction between the marginal and the interlinear glosses, and that they could, as here, follow on from one another. We shall consider the interlinear glosses in more detail later, but in fact the Gloss never raises an impermeable barrier between marginal and interlinear glosses, and manuscripts of the Job Gloss show even more movement between the two than many other biblical books. In terms of content, the glossator has retained the text that best supplies trenchant advice to the faithful Christian reader.

Although he has jettisoned the exegesis of the story *per se*, the glossator returns to it in the next verse, 17:2, *I have not sinned*. Taken together, the glosses neatly give the kernel of Gregory's explanation of how Job, by definition a sinner even though he was a good man, could say that he had not sinned. Once again, the method is to use Gregory's first sentence verbatim (minus its introductory phrase) as the interlinear gloss, adding a phrase to summarise Gregory's third sentence. The marginal gloss is a shortened verbatim quotation of Gregory's third and fourth sentences. For the next point, however, the method is more creative. Gregory writes, "But I think that we shall make out these words the better, if we understand them as spoken in the voice of the Head" (i.e., God), and the marginal gloss is written from just that point of

view: "Or rather, the Head says this..."¹⁸ The glossator takes Gregory at his word, and makes his own gloss more direct and arresting as a result.

The verses that follow continue to be glossed similarly, with a notable tick that is observable throughout the Gloss, which is that the glossator often retains the conjunctive phrases Gregory uses to link his own glosses. Between "*Non peccavi*" (17:2) and "*Libera me*" (17:3a), for instance, both Gregory and the glossator use "*cuius voce subditur*" ("in whose voice it is added..."); and between "*Cuius vis manus*" (17:3b) and "*Cor eorum*" (17:4a), both use "*de quibus adhuc subdit*" ("Concerning whom it is further added"). The repetition of such tiny details seems to me to make it more likely that the glossator was using Gregory directly, rather than through an intermediary.

Finally from this chapter, verse 17:4, *Therefore they shall not be exalted*. The Gloss lifts parts of two sentences verbatim from the middle of the Gregory comment, reversing their order and altering the syntax a little to make a full sentence. Here is the *Moralia* text with the Gloss borrowing underlined:

Therefore they shall not be exalted. For if the heart were under discipline, it would seek after things above, it would not be openmouthed to obtain transitory good things. Of those, then, whose heart is not under discipline, it is rightly said, *Therefore shall they not be exalted*, in that while let go at large in the lowest enjoyments, they are ever longing for the good things of earth, they never lift the heart to the delights of heaven; for they would be exalted, if they lifted their minds to the hope of the heavenly country; but they, who do not make it their business to guard their way by discipline, ever in their desires lie grovelling in things below, and, what is more grievous, in lying low set themselves up, in that they are uplifted on the ground of things transitory. And they may be uplifted, but they cannot be exalted, in that they are sunk the deeper below, by the very act by which they are rendered higher to themselves; and so the heart that is without discipline cannot be exalted, in that the human mind, as when elevated amiss it is forced down below, so forced down aright is lifted up on high.¹⁹

The marginal gloss reads:

Therefore they shall not be exalted. They who do not make it their business to guard their way by discipline, ever in their desires lie grovelling

18 "Vel caput hoc dicit qui sine culpa...": Rusch facsimile, 407b; *Moralia*, vol. 1, 687; *Morals*, vol. 2, 106.

19 *Morals*, 107–8.

in things below: nor do they lift their minds to the hope of the heavenly country.

The Gloss takes the rather rambling and repetitive *Moralia* exposition and excerpts, in a single sentence, the most important moral message for the individual Christian reader: your fate lies in your own hands; think and act well! Indeed, for these four verses overall, the glossator has taken 88 lines of *Moralia* in the printed edition and reduced them to:

Fear God. Remember that Judgement is at hand and do not sin. Train yourself to want spiritual not worldly things, and act accordingly.

The key message, according to the Gloss, is Gregory's moral reading.

These verses from Chapter 17 are a typical example of how this glossator deals with the *Moralia* commentary. He picks out one or two verbatim phrases or sentences with a definite "lesson", and reproduces them, re-phrased for syntax, as a simple message. The interlinear gloss is used to add to or repeat the point, again often with a verbatim borrowing. Gregory's frequently very long text is cleverly distilled to a memorable moral teaching. Yet for all the drastic cutting, the Gloss faithfully follows the structure and tenor of Gregory's original.

We can see this again in the Gloss to Chapter 38, when God reappears in the story. Job is unusual among Glossed books in that the amount of glossing does not diminish as the book progresses. For most Glosses (and indeed most biblical commentary) the exegesis becomes less and less frequent as the text goes on, as the commentary has said most of what it needed to already. But Job is different, because it is at the end of the book that God reappears and has his greatest speeches. The last part of the Gloss is, if anything, more substantial than the middle, to reflect the pattern of the *Moralia*, but it has still to find a way to cut down Gregory's massive text. The *Moralia* text for 38:1, *But the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind*, is 207 lines of Latin text in the printed edition. The Gloss reduces this to five lines of marginal and one of interlinear glossing. Its method is to copy, verbatim or nearly so, the beginning and end of Gregory's comments, while radically shortening the rest—more than eight sections of *Moralia* text—by removing the biblical examples that Gregory employs to illustrate how God might speak to humans. Gregory needs to explain why and how God might speak to Job out of a whirlwind, and in doing so he reminds his readers of God sending the Holy Spirit as fire in Acts 2; of Peter hearing God in Acts 10; of Baruch hearing the prophet Jeremiah in Jeremiah 36; of angels carrying messages in John and in Genesis; of Ezekiel seeing amber in the fire in Ezekiel 1; and of voices and clouds and burning bushes and dreams

and inner visions: all the ways that Gregory can use to show that it was neither unusual nor impossible for God to speak to Job this way. For an audience of monks, these examples provided material for meditation and the refreshment of their biblical knowledge, and to highlight links between various parts of the Bible. Contemplation on the ways of God was their business, and they had both the time and inclination to meditate on the *Moralia* at length. The schools' students who were the Gloss's audience were on a tighter schedule; they needed rather more direct replies. The glossator turns Gregory's extensive text into this:

GLOSS (MARGINAL). Because He speaks to one who has been scourged, He is said to have spoken out of the whirlwind. However, it is disputed whether He spoke Himself or through an angel. For commotions of the air could have been made by an angel, and these words which come next could have been delivered by him. Or again, both an angel could agitate the air in an exterior whirlwind, *and* the Lord could sound into his heart the force of His sentence by Himself, without words.

GLOSS (INTERLINEAR). Sometimes God speaks gently, that He might be loved; sometimes terribly, so He might be feared.²⁰

This is a very good piece of glossing in terms of conveying the basic problem addressed by the exegesis: what does it mean to say that God speaks out of the whirlwind? But it does miss out the flavour of Gregory, with his slow and dilated style. The interlinear gloss, for example, is a distillation of seven sentences, saying more directly what the *Moralia* takes a roundabout route to achieve. The glossator's method here is one of his typical strategies when dealing with large, discursive sections of *Moralia* text: the first two sentences of the marginal gloss are taken verbatim from the *Moralia*'s first section on the phrase, the last two sentences verbatim from the last. This summary top-and-tail method, quoting verbatim and leaving out the additional scriptural examples and excurses, is commonly employed. Comparing the Gloss text with the *Moralia* in sections like this one adds to the case for the glossator having worked from the original text. It must have been quite quick to execute, but, done with intelligence as it is here, his method sums up well what Gregory wishes his readers to absorb.

Verse 2 of Chapter 38 (*Who is this?*) confirms the glossator's method and illustrates another typical strategy. He begins with a verbatim quotation of Gregory's first sentence (ignoring Gregory's conjunctive phrase, "*Sicut et superiori*

20 Rusch facsimile, 442.

parte iam diximus”), leaves out the short biblical reference to Elihu, one of the comforters, and continues with verbatim quotation. But the next Gloss sentence re-works Gregory by turning his interrogative sentence into positive form: where Gregory uses questions to draw in his readers or set up his own replies, the Gloss generally prefers the straightforward statement. Why might this be? If the original Job Gloss was made as a classroom aid for a teacher, the statement form is much easier to use “on the hoof.” It is easy to misread a question when it appears in a text without warning, leaving the teacher with the wrong tone of voice or with having given away the answer too soon. A statement simply conveys information to the teacher and he can use it as he wishes—turning it into a question or not, as he sees fit. Moreover, question and answer form takes up a lot of space—space that Gregory allowed himself, but which the Gloss did not have to give away.

The final two sentences of gloss on this verse are the next two sentences of Gregory, used verbatim; but whereas Gregory continues by discussing Elihu, the comforter, the Gloss leaves out all these specific references to the text, so that its remarks apply more generally to the reader. It ends (once again) with Gregory’s elaborate conjunction to the next verse: “Having then glanced with contempt on this man, His words are directed to the instruction of Job.” In the *Moralia*, “this man” refers to Elihu, but the Gloss has skilfully cut the text so that it refers to any arrogant man.

This glossator’s strategy is clear and effective, and I judge that it would have been reasonably quick to realise. The glossator of the chapters up to 11:13, however, used a different, more complex technique. He takes a section of Gregory’s text—his comments on a verse or two—and re-writes it in a more direct form, retaining Gregory’s words and phrases where he can, so that the overall gloss is reminiscent of the *Moralia*, but not quite the same: it is a paraphrase, rather than verbatim quotation. Just as in the previous illustrations, this glossator also ignores the biblical examples and turns Gregory’s interrogative sentences into direct statements, to sharpen up the text. Nonetheless, he follows Gregory’s structure as far as possible, even to the extent sometimes, in longer comments, of re-phrasing and shortening sentence by sentence. Again, this suggests (but does not prove) a glossator working from the original *Moralia* and not through an intermediary text. However, whereas in the Gloss after 11:13 there seem to be no (or few) comments written by the glossator himself, here, when shortening Gregory in his own words proves too difficult, some of the short glosses are the glossator’s own.

Our discussion so far has mostly concerned the marginal glosses; but the interlinear gloss in Job is unusual and worth attention. In most Glossed biblical books, the interlinear glosses seem to have been placed between the lines

of the scriptural text largely because they are short. However, in saying this we need also to ask why the interlinear glosses are short. Interlinear glosses are often explanations of difficult words, alternative readings, meanings of Hebrew names, and succinct Christological interpretations of the text. The interlinear glosses on the book of Ruth, for instance, give the allegorical meanings of the characters' names, showing at a glance that this is not just a story of a Moabite woman in a foreign land but one of Jews, Gentiles, and converts turning to Christ—tiny allegorical readings of single words or phrases, such as would be useful for a preacher planning a sermon. This is not the case with Job. There are occasional one-word explanations, but the majority are much more substantial, stretching to two or three lines. In fact, the length of these glosses means that it is not unusual for them to move into the margins: certainly at the beginning of the book, when there is much to fit in, keeping track of whether glosses are present or missing is particularly difficult because they are likely to have been switched to the margins—and sometimes the other way round.

The reason for the length of these interlinear glosses is that the earlier glossator has used the space as the location for his selection from Gregory's historical exegesis. In his introductory letter to the *Moralia*, Gregory explains that he intended to interpret Job according to three types or senses of exegesis—historical, allegorical, and moral; and for about the first four or five chapters he does this, taking a small group of verses of the biblical text and reading them according to each of the senses, one after the other.²¹ The glossator's plan seems to have been to reserve the margins for the allegorical and moral exposition, with the historical between the lines. This does not always work, especially at the beginning of Job, because Gregory has so much historical commentary that it has to spill over into the margins. In fact, in some manuscripts, a small group of historical glosses from Job 1:1 (*Simplex: Necessesse est*) are given their own marginal space which has been fitted in as a short column between the biblical text and the usual marginal glossing: it was just too much to fit between the

21 “...there are some parts, which we go through in a historical exposition, some we trace out in allegory upon an investigation of the typical meaning, some we open in the lessons of moral teaching alone, allegorically conveyed, while there are some few which, with more particular care, we search out in all these ways together, exploring them in a threefold method. For first, we lay the historical foundations; next, by pursuing the typical sense, we erect a fabric of the mind to be a strong hold of faith; and moreover as the last step, by the grace of moral instruction, we, as it were, clothe the edifice with an overcast of colouring”: Introductory Letter to Leander, *Moralia*, vol. 1, ll. 106–14; *Morals*, vol. 1, 7. Gregory pursues this three-strand approach (interpreting each of the senses in turn) for about the first half-dozen chapters, before turning to a more streamlined “single-strand” method, where he incorporates the different senses of each chapter in one sweep.

lines.²² Most of these interlinear glosses, as far as I can judge, are not quoted verbatim, but re-phrased by the glossator. On the other hand, some short allegorical interpretations of Job 1:2 which we might normally expect to find in the interlinear gloss, are placed in the long allegorical marginal gloss that comes at the beginning of the Job Gloss. For example, passages such as, “Seven sons: this number signifies perfection. Strong sons: apostles. Weak daughters: faithful men, or those holding to the faith of the Trinity. Three daughters: that is, three orders of faithful people in the Church—pastors, the celibate, married people,” would normally be the sort of comments to fit neatly between the lines without the need for lemmata.²³

Here are two examples of the sort of abbreviation the first glossator achieves:

Job 1:8, *Timens deum et recedens a malo*

GREGORY. Sed antiquus aduersarius cum quae accuset mala non inuenit, ipsa ad malum inflectere bona quaerit. Cum de operibus uincitur ad accusandum uerba nostra perscrutatur. Cum nec in uerbis accusationem reperit, intentionem cordis fuscare contendit; tamquam bona facta bono animo non fiant et idcirco perpendi a iudice bona non debeant. Quia enim fructus arboris esse et in aestu uirides conspicit quasi uermem ponere ad radicem quaerit.²⁴

GLOSS (INTERLINEAR). Diabolus quia non inuenit mala que accuset bona in malum vertit quasi non bono animo fiant.²⁵

[GREGORY. *Fearing God and shunning evil*

But the old adversary when he fails to discover any evil of which he might accuse us, seeks to turn our very good points into evil, and being beaten upon works, looks through our words for a subject of accusation; and when he finds not in our words either ground of accusation, he strives to blacken the purpose of the heart, as though our good deeds did not come of a good mind, and ought not on that account to be reckoned good in the eye of the Judge. For because he sees the fruit of the tree

22 E.g., Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Rawl. G. 17 and Auct. D. 1. 15.

23 Rusch facsimile, 375b, at “*Allegorice. Job dolens...*”.

24 *Moralia*, 68–9, Section 14.

25 Rusch facsimile, 377a. An addition to the gloss in Rusch, “quod dicit non sua virtute sed tua a me defenditur et ideo frustra timet” (“because he says ‘he [Job] was protected from me not by his own virtue but by yours [God’s]’, and therefore he fears [God] in vain”) is in no manuscript I have yet seen.

to be green even in the heat, he seeks as it were to set a worm at the root.²⁶

GLOSS. Because the devil does not find any evil of which he might accuse [him], he turns good deeds into evil, as if they do not come from a good heart.]

Job 1:16, *Cumque adhuc ille loqueretur uenit alius et dixit: Ignis dei cecidit de caelo*

GREGORY. Ne rebus perditis minorem audienti dolorem moueat, eius animum ad excedendum etiam ipsis nuntiorum uerbis instigat. Intuendum quippe est, quam callide dicitur: *Ignis dei*, ac si diceretur: Illius animaduersionem sustines quem tot hostiis placare uoluisti: eius iram toleras cui cotidie seruiens insudabas. Dum enim Deum cui seruierat, aduersa intulisse indicat, laesum commemorat, in quo excedat; quatenus anteacta obsequia ad mentem reducere et frustra se seruuisse aestimans, in auctoris iniuriam superbiret.²⁷

GLOSS (INTERLINEAR). Non modo rebus perditis sed uerbis nuntiorum instigat, dum callide dicitur. *Ignis dei* quasi vindictam eius sustines, quem tot hostibus placabas ut frustra seruissse se estimans in deum superbiret.²⁸

[GREGORY. *While he was yet speaking, there came also another, and said, The fire of God is fallen from heaven...*

Lest the loss of his property might not stir up sufficient grief at the hearing, he urges his feelings to exceed by the very words of the messengers. For it is to be remarked how craftily it is said, *the fire of God*, as though it were said, thou art suffering a visitation of Him, Whom thou desired to appease by so many sacrifices: thou art undergoing the wrath of Him, in Whose service thou didst daily weary thyself. For in signifying that God, Whom he had served, had brought upon him misfortunes he mentions a sore point on which he may break forth; to the end that he might recall to mind his past service, and reckoning that he had served in vain, might presume against the injustice of the Author.²⁹

GLOSS. He stirs him up not by the loss of his property but by the words of the messenger, as he says craftily, *the fire of God*, as if to say "you, who desired to appease Him by so many sacrifices, are suffering His

26 *Morals*, 78.

27 *Moralia*, 74, Section 23.

28 Rusch facsimile, 378a.

29 *Morals*, 84.

punishment”, so that, thinking he had served in vain, he might presume against God.]

In the same way as the glossator of the later text, this glossator also takes a ruthless knife to Gregory’s expansive style, but in these interlinear glosses he almost always re-phrases, rather than quoting verbatim. Although he retains much of Gregory’s vocabulary, he does make some substitutions (here and elsewhere, for instance, he changes “devil” [*diabolus*] for “old adversary” [*antiquus adversarius*/ *antiquus hostis*]), both to save space and to ensure the meaning is clear to all readers. Although the gloss remains an exegesis of the text, the glossator focuses less on exegesis *per se* and more on using the person of Job to provide advice for his readers on how to live a good life (*moralia*, rather than just *litteraliter* between the lines). So, for instance, the interlinear gloss to Chapter 1 tells readers that Job was a good man among bad (showing readers this was possible); that fearing God means never leaving undone any good deed; that you cannot serve good and evil; that wealth is dangerous; that you should not judge other men’s motives rashly; that you should persevere in holy conduct; and so on: Gregory’s cogent advice distilled for the classroom.

Although Gregory’s historical exegesis forms the basis for the interlinear gloss, for Chapter 1 at least there is too much of the historical for it not to stray into the margins. Overall, however, a rough count seems to confirm that the Gloss reflects pretty faithfully Gregory’s ratio of historical, allegorical, and moral exegesis. In Chapter 1, this ratio is about 1:1:1, but by Chapter 3, Gregory has begun to concentrate on the moral sense. The Gloss follows suit—so that its focus, like Gregory’s, is on the moral lesson.

Unlike all other Glossed books, the Job Gloss never names its sources: it must have been obvious to any user that the material could only have come from the *Moralia*.³⁰ But the individual glosses regularly have notes about which of the “types” or senses of scripture they represent, although the Rusch edition tends to have more attributions of every sort than are found in the manuscripts. In general, both author and “type” attributions in most manuscripts would form a smaller subset of those found in Rusch, which incorporates later notes and additions and the attributions from more than one copy.

When a Glossed book notes attributions to authors or senses of scripture, it is usually because they have been given in the original source rather than because the glossator has added them as comment. The Job Gloss is no exception;

30 In two manuscripts I have examined (London, British Library, Harl. MS 5273 and Royal MS 2 D. xxxi), there are some additional marginal glosses which are attributed to Jerome, but this is unusual.

and indeed, because Gregory (at least in the earlier chapters) notes at the start of each section which type of exegesis he is about to undertake, the glossator's task is simple. In the first three chapters, where Gregory's historical, allegorical, and moral sections are strictly divided, we seem to see the glossator following Gregory's structure; but to be certain that he is doing so, we need to move further on in the book where the type divisions become less common. At the beginning of Job 6, for instance, the printed edition has more than 270 lines of text before Gregory gives any sort of type attribution. The Gloss is similarly devoid of type notes. Then, after Gregory's comments on Job 6: 7, as he returns for a second interpretation of 6: 4, we read, "Therefore, because we have spoken of these things in the figurative sense, it now remains to ask about the moral meaning."³¹ Immediately, the Gloss follows suit: "*Eadem. Moraliter*".³² Gregory continues without giving another attribution until 6:22–24 (loosely speaking, another 900 lines of printed text), when he announces, "... it remains to examine the words of the history in a moral sense."³³ The pattern of the Gloss follows exactly: no types for more than two columns of Gloss text, but then at 6:22, "*Moraliter*". Further evidence for the Gloss following Gregory, and using Gregory via the original, comes from a probable mistake. At Job 6:20, *Venerunt quoque*, the Gloss notes, "*Eadem spiritualiter*"—an unusual type attribution for Gregory and the Job Gloss, although one sometimes found in the Gloss on other biblical books.³⁴ Moreover, the *Moralia* on 6:20 has no such attribution. However, between the two comments on *Venerunt quoque*, we read: "Quae etiam beati Iob uerba amicis eius specialiter congruunt..." ("Which same words of blessed Job, moreover, are especially suited to his friends..."), and it seems to me likely that the glossator has misread an abbreviation for *specialiter*—which would be written as something like "sphr"—as *spiritualiter*, which could be shortened by the scribe in exactly the same way.³⁵ Grammatically, *spiritualiter* could be substituted in the sentence and still make sense as an adverb; the glossator could very reasonably read it as a type cue and note it accordingly in the Gloss. So again, we see the glossator following the structure of Gregory's text, as well as his meaning.

On top of historical, allegorical, and moral, the Gloss uses another type attribution—mystical (*mystice*). This is another name for the allegorical sense and is taken from some of Gregory's own conjunctions between his exegetical

31 "Quia igitur haec figuraliter diximus, restat nunc ut moraliter inquiramus": *Moralia*, 342, ll. 53–4.

32 Rusch facsimile, 389b, bottom of page.

33 "... restat ut moraliter historiae uerba perscrutemur": *Moralia*, 372, ll. 9–10.

34 Rusch facsimile, 391a, top of page.

35 *Moralia*, 370, ll. 18–19; *Morals*, 402–3.

sections: “iam nunc ad indaganda allegoriae mysteria expositionis se sermo conuertat” (“let us now turn the discussion of our exposition to investigate the mysteries of allegory”) or “Haec iuxta historiam breuiter tractata percurrimus, nunc ad allegoriam mysterium uerba uertamus” (“We have briefly run through these things according to the historical sense; now let us turn our words to the mystical sense of the allegory”).³⁶ In these examples, where there is a choice of type attribution, both with the same meaning, there seems to be no obvious pattern as to whether the Gloss chooses *Allegorice* or *Mystice*.

As we have noted, Gregory quickly simplifies his exegetical method, moving from a three-strand strategy (historical, allegorical, and moral interpretations made separately) to a combined, single-strand exposition. If the Gloss had changed *its* working method at these same points, we might have conjectured a single glossator, changing his approach to mirror Gregory. But the Gloss changes independently of Gregory’s working, and to see how this happens we now need to consider the manuscript tradition.

4.3 The Gloss on Job: Birth and Development

Working with the Gloss in the Rusch edition is convenient, but only a partial reflection of what the manuscripts contain. A reader who knows only the early printed editions of the text will have a much tidier, less fluid and full conception of the Gloss than is in fact the case. For Job, this is especially true. Although we have no contemporary evidence for who might have made the Job Gloss, we can, I think, be sure that it originated in the circle of scholars around the school at Laon. Patricia Stirnemann has searched for the earliest extant manuscripts of the Gloss.³⁷ She has identified a group of 23 manuscripts which she dates to before 1140 (after which the number of Glossed books produced expands enormously), and generally to between 1120 and 1140. Unfortunately, none of these manuscripts can be assigned a definite date from direct internal or external evidence, and Stirnemann has had to work from comparisons with other material which can be more precisely dated. She has further divided these early volumes into two groups: manuscripts whose manufacture can be associated with Laon, and those made elsewhere. She links 11 of the

³⁶ *Moralia*, on Job 1:22, 80, ll. 16–7; on Job 2:3, 130, ll. 79–80.

³⁷ P. Stirnemann, “Où ont été fabriqués les livres de la glose ordinaire dans la première moitié du XIIe siècle?”, in *Le XIIe siècle. Méditations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XIIe siècle*, (ed.) F. Gasparri, Cahiers du léopard d’or 3 (Paris, 1994), 257–301.

manuscripts to Laon, including three copies of the Gloss on Job.³⁸ The other biblical books represented in this group are Genesis, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, the Gospel of Matthew (two copies), John (two copies), the Canonical Epistles (two copies), and the Pauline Epistles. Although the existence of these very early copies associated with Laon is interesting, it cannot circumscribe our decisions about which Glosses were written at Laon and which were not, since the list has no copy of the Psalms, which early sources say was Glossed by Anselm himself.

This disconnection is underlined when we note that the second of Stirnemann's groups of early Glosses—those not associated with Laon—contains an almost identical set of biblical books: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (two copies), Job (two copies), the Song of Songs, Matthew (three copies), the Canonical Epistles (three copies), and Revelation (three copies).³⁹ Stirnemann's total of 23 early manuscripts contain ten Glossed biblical books in 29 copies. They show us that, even if the evidence of manuscript production alone cannot confirm that the Job Gloss was linked to the Laon circle, with five copies out of 29, it was a popular text. Medieval library catalogues also show that the Job Gloss was amongst the most common on the shelves, either by itself or alongside some or all of the Sapiential or Wisdom Books (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus), or with Revelation. We can see from Stirnemann's list that these, too, were amongst the earliest books to be Glossed.

What is the text that these manuscripts contain? For the Gloss as a whole this is a very difficult question to answer. At least some Glosses seem to have undergone a textual revision, or "second edition," some time in the 12th century. The only modern editor of a whole Glossed book, Mary Dove editing the Song of Songs Gloss, is careful to point out that she believes she has produced an edition of the text as it was at a particular time, and that other choices would have been equally possible. Dove thinks a revision of the Gloss on the Song of Songs text took place around 1170; Alexander Andrée, working on the Gloss on Lamentations, dates a second recension of this text to around 1140.⁴⁰ It does not seem unlikely that, as the "old" Glosses were taken up in

38 The Job MSS are: Laon, Bib. mun. 51, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. G. 17, and Paris, BnF, lat. 14781.

39 The Job MSS are: Avranches, Bib. mun. 16, and Oxford, Trinity College, 20.

40 M. Dove, *Glossa Ordinaria Pars 22 In Canticum Cantecorum*, CCCM 170 (Turnhout, 1997). A. Andrée has made a partial edition of the Gloss on Lamentations: *Gilbertus Universalis: Glossa Ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremie Prophete. Prothemata et Liber I. A Critical Edition with an Introduction and Translation*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 5 (Stockholm, 2005).

Paris and came to be used in the schools, they were given a “revised edition,” even as parts of the Bible were being Glossed for the first time. Beryl Smalley noted glossed texts that fell by the wayside—Neanderthals to the Gloss’s *Homo sapiens*—which she called *gloses périmées*.⁴¹ These are hard to classify, as they do not follow a single pattern. Are they *pre*-Anselmian glosses? Or are they trial or personal copies made by Anselm’s students or collaborators before the Gloss text stabilised? Or are they copies made bespoke by their owners, taking what they wanted from the Gloss, but adding and subtracting as well? These are complicated questions, made more perplexing by the individual nature of all manuscripts: two copies made even when the Gloss text was stable—say, in the last quarter of the 12th century—will nevertheless each contain minor idiosyncrasies.

Of the five early Job manuscripts identified by Stirnemann, two are on Smalley’s list of *gloses périmées*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. G. 17, and Oxford, Trinity College, MS 20. They exemplify how difficult it is to understand the Gloss’s early history, since neither is the Rusch text of Job, but each is not Rusch in a different way. Trinity 20 is the older and odder copy. Beryl Smalley dated the Job section of the manuscript “c. 1100”, and although Stirnemann thinks it later than this, it belongs to the first third of the 12th century. The layout of the Job section does not conform to the expected “simple” Gloss format, with the biblical text in a central column on the page, glossed (in a smaller script) between the lines and in two flanking columns (see Diagram 4.1).⁴² The page certainly seems to allow for this layout, with the biblical text written in a central column, but the glossing layout is different, starting in the top left corner of each page, filling the top margin and then continuing down the outer margin at the edge of the page (see Diagram 4.2). There is no interlinear glossing. Unlike the simple Gloss layout, the individual glosses do not begin with a paraph mark followed immediately by the gloss, but with a biblical lemma. These are often very long, and take the form of two or three words from the text followed by the initial letters of the next several words of the verse (e.g., “Nunquid habebunt f. v. v. a. a. t. m. e. s. l.”). The lemmata in Trinity 20 are particularly notable because in the Glossed Bible as a whole lemmata are comparatively unusual. In Trinity 20, a new lemma does not start on a new line; the whole gloss forms one continuous block on each page. What we see here looks more like a traditional “continuous” biblical commentary although written in the margins of the page—and indeed, we must be seeing the “continuous” layout of the

41 Smalley, “Les commentaires”.

42 For a fuller description of the varieties of Gloss layout see Smith, *The Glossa ordinaria*, ch. 3.

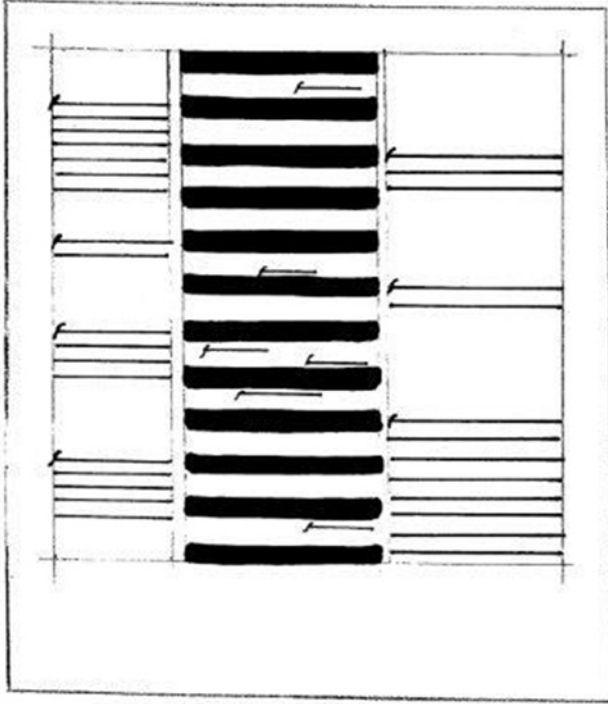


DIAGRAM 4.1 *Simple Gloss layout (not Job). Interlinear and short marginal glosses, preceded by paraph marks*

Moralia reproduced even as the text is transformed into the Gloss. So Gregory's influence on the Job Gloss extends beyond the content and structure of the text to the very layout of the glossing.

Smalley thought that Trinity 20's text was completely independent of the Gloss. Obviously, its glossator had also used the *Moralia*, because there is no other credible source for Job, and this can at times give his text a superficial similarity to the Gloss; but Smalley thought his choices were different and he worked alone.⁴³ Most unusually, she is not completely correct here. For the first few chapters, Trinity 20 does indeed present a completely different glossing text (leaving aside the lack of an interlinear gloss); but in the middle of Chapter 11 (verse 13: *Tu autem firmasti*), with no apparent break or change of any sort in the manuscript, its text suddenly becomes that of the Gloss, and continues as such to the end of Job. There are occasionally missing glosses or the text lacks short phrases or examples, and there is still no interlinear gloss;

43 Smalley, "Les commentaires", 15–17.

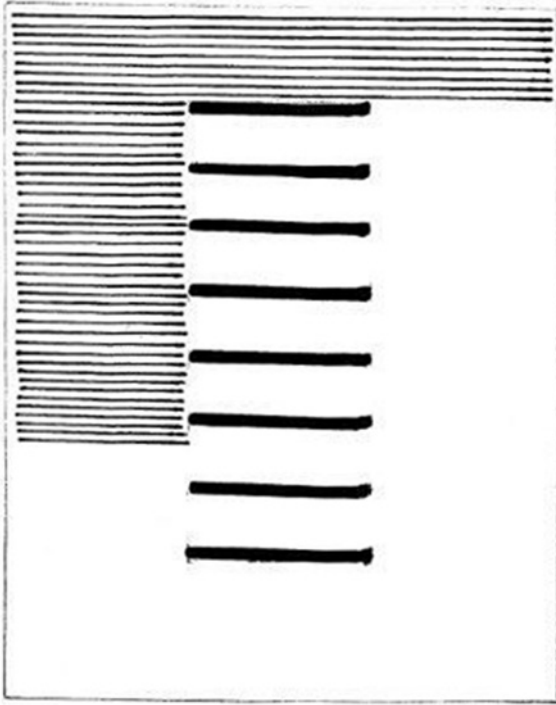


DIAGRAM 4.2 *Layout of MSS Trinity 20 and Laon 70. Gloss starts in top-left corner and continues in one solid block. Glosses preceded by lemmata without paraph marks. No interlinear gloss.*

but these aside, so far as I can judge, the rest of the book is the text as represented in Rusch.⁴⁴

Why does the manuscript copy parts of two separate texts? To answer this, I set about finding the first Trinity text. It can be identified with Stegmüller no. 10673, “*Anon. excerpta ex Gregorio*”.⁴⁵ Stegmüller lists three 12th-century manuscripts of the text, and I examined Laon, Bib. mun., MS 70, fols 57r–93r, which,

44 Smalley must have (very reasonably, given Job’s 42 chapters) worked from soundings, and she must have taken them from the first 10 chapters. Quite at random, I sampled Chapters 16 and 40, and when the results were so strikingly at odds with Smalley’s findings, I went back through the whole text, sampling from each chapter. I cannot claim to have read the entire text line by line, but the extensive samples I have taken do seem consistent.

45 Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 11 vols. (Madrid, 1940–1980), no. 10673.

like Trinity 20, dates from the first third of the 12th century.⁴⁶ I expected to find this text ending incomplete at Job 11:12, suggesting that the Trinity scribe, with this or a similarly partial exemplar, had turned to the Gloss to finish the job. However, not only was Laon 70 complete, but it contained exactly the Trinity 20 text throughout in the same layout. Could it be that, rather than Trinity 20 copying the latter part of the Job Gloss, it was the Gloss that incorporated the Trinity 20 text?

Analysis of the Trinity text shows that this is indeed the case. The Trinity glossator uses the same glossing strategy of verbatim excerption from the *Moralia* (as described in Section 2 above) all the way through his text. His text is consistently of a piece whereas, as we have seen, the Rusch text demonstrates two separate approaches. It, not Trinity 20, is cobbled together in two parts. The important question now is not why the Trinity text changed at Job 11:12—for it did not—but why the Rusch text stopped its revisions at that point. At present, I have no answer. The earlier question remains, however. Is the text and layout as we see it in Trinity 20 and Laon 70 a “pre-Gloss” gloss, or is it the original Laon school Gloss on Job?

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. G. 17, which Stirnemann links to Laon, is Smalley’s other *glose périmée* among pre-1140 Job manuscripts. According to Smalley, this has the Gloss’s marginal glosses (with eight short additions) but different interlinear glosses.⁴⁷ Once again I have taken different samples from Smalley and come to a different conclusion: Rawl. G. 17 has almost all the marginal and interlinear glosses of Rusch, although the interlinear glosses are often not written between the lines but in the margins.⁴⁸

46 Stegmüller’s three manuscripts are Paris, BnF, lat. 17959, fols 1r-33r; Laon, Bib. mun., 70, fols 57r-93r; and Tours, Bib. mun., 88, fols 1r-116r. The Laon catalogue (*Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1849]) records MS 70 as coming from the Premonstratensian abbey of Cuissy (founded 1114–1116), about 15 miles south of Laon. I would like to thank Patricia Stirnemann for discussing this manuscript with me. As ever, her unique blend of warm friendship and scrupulous scholarship are a boon to researchers in Paris.

47 Smalley, “Les commentaires,” 17–18.

48 All Gloss manuscripts show most variety at the start of the text, in part because the beginning of any biblical book is generally very comprehensively glossed; and so finding one’s way around the beginning can be difficult. Scribes solve the problem of where to put a mass of text in different ways. The Rawlinson manuscript (and others in the same copying family) creates a thin extra column at the beginning of chapter 1 which contains a number of glosses that in other manuscripts may be either interlinear or marginal. This instability—especially of short glosses which are easy to miss—means that checking the

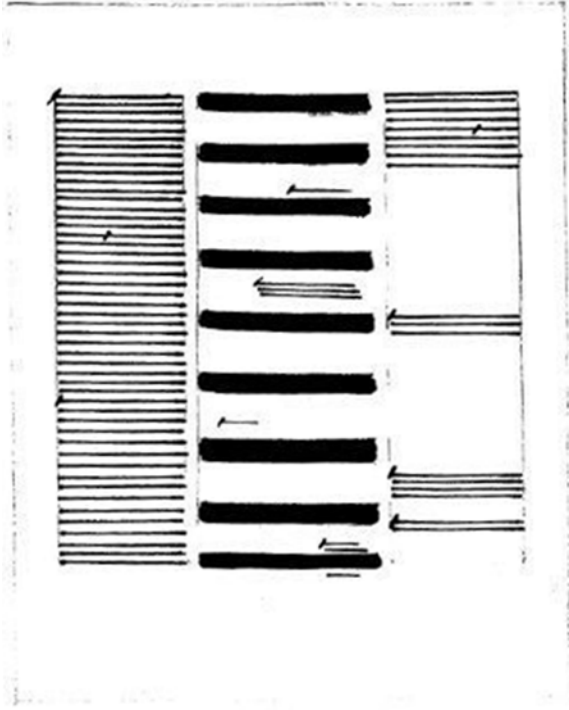


DIAGRAM 4.3 *Simple Gloss layout (Job). Majority of marginal gloss in one continuous block; additional short glosses and interlinear gloss. Glosses preceded by lemmata and paraph marks*

How, in the text common to both, does Rawl. G. 17 differ from Trinity 20? The most obvious addition is the interlinear gloss (although, at times, this is the marginal gloss re-sited). Beyond this, it has perhaps 10 percent more text than Trinity, but this is almost always in the form of individual, unintegrated short paragraphs, added outside the main run of the glossing, generally in the less-used inner margin of the page (see Diagram 4.3). As we have noted, the Job Gloss is unusual in that much of its glossing takes the form of long paragraphs encompassing more than one verse, rather than the shorter, single-verse glosses of other biblical books: it is reflecting the shape of Gregory's "continuous" commentary. This format is established in the Trinity and Laon manuscripts and is continued in simple format Gloss manuscripts, such as Rawl. G. 17, with the bulk of the glossing on any given page in a single block. Indeed, this

text of one manuscript against another, or against the Rusch standard, can seem a fool's errand; it is all too easy to make a mistake.

remains true even in later manuscripts which use the “complex” Gloss layout. Rawl., however, adds paraph marks within the glossing text to show where each verse begins, and it tried to leave the top margin free—both characteristics we would expect of Gloss layout.

Smalley focuses on Rawl. G. 17’s eight short additional glosses, some of which other manuscripts also contain; but it is the glosses which are missing in both Rawlinson and Trinity that seem to me to be more suggestive. Rawl. does not have all the text of Rusch, but neither is it only the text of Trinity 20. Moreover, its pattern of additions and omissions is common in other 12th-century copies, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Lat. 93 or Avranches, Bib. mun., MS 16. In fact, it is not until around the last quarter of the century that manuscripts with a text like the Rusch edition appear. Rawl. G. 17 and copies like it are not, I would say, *gloses périmées*, but examples of the Job Gloss text in the edition made for use in the Paris schools, and in general circulation by about 1140 onwards.

The version of the Gloss contained in Rusch differs from the text in this “1140” version only a little. The clearest textual difference between them is in the material which prefaces the scriptural text. The Rusch edition begins with two Jerome prologues, *Cogor* and *Si aut. fiscellam*, and an extra “argumentum” (*In terra quidem*), followed by a series of “prothemata” derived from the Letter to Leander and the Preface to the *Moralia*. They are numbered 1–13 by Stegmüller, but are usually grouped in the manuscripts to form ten separate paragraphs.⁴⁹ Manuscripts put together before the last quarter of the 12th century do not have the Jerome prologues, but contain the prothemata in the order in which they appear in the *Moralia*, which is different from that printed in Rusch: the late-12th-century revision would seem to have lost sight of Gregory’s text.⁵⁰

49 Rusch facsimile, 373–4; *Cogor* = Stegmüller, *Repertorium* no. 344; *Si aut.* = no. 357; *In terra quidem* = no. 349; the prothemata are no. 11800 (1–13).

50 Stegmüller uses the Rusch order to number the prothemata 1–13; in manuscripts before c. 1170, the order is: 1, 2, 6, 4, 3, 5, 7–13. *Pace* Stegmüller’s division, numbers 1 & 2, 7 & 8, and 12 & 13 are not separated, in my experience. The Trinity MS has only the *Cogor* prologue. A number of mid-12th-century manuscripts I have seen have been updated by the addition of extra prologues and the re-ordering of their prothemata. It is not only Job which re-orders text. Some 12th-century Glosses have been “corrected” to Rusch order using tiny lettrines alongside their prothemata to signal the new order, e.g., Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 2. 15 (Glossed Isaiah); MS B. 1. 33 (Glossed Matthew) also re-order their glosses in this way. Clearly, one cannot draw a firm line between manuscripts copied before and after 1170, since (even if one could date all manuscripts this precisely) there is always a question of a later manuscript copied from an earlier exemplar without a corrected text and with an older layout.

In late-12th-century manuscripts, the prologues and *argumentum* (though not always exclusively these three) are much more commonly present, the prothemata appear in “Rusch” order, and the text has all (or almost all) of the additions of the Rusch text. These changes seem to coincide with the change in the layout of the Gloss to the complex format, about 1170, and it makes sense to think that the format change gave the opportunity to freshen up the Gloss as a whole.

What do the manuscripts tell us about how the Gloss came to be? Trinity 20 (and Laon 70) presents only long paragraphs of lemmatized glossing, which reflect the layout of Gregory’s *Moralia* commentary. But this is not itself simply a continuous commentary: the glossing is laid out around a distinct and separate biblical text. Rawl. G. 17 and other mid-century manuscripts up to about 1170 retain these long paragraphs, with the addition of interlinear glossing and some other short glosses in the margins; they are laid out in simple or transitional Gloss format; they have the Rusch prothemata, but in *Moralia* order, not as it is in Rusch; they are closer to the Rusch text than Trinity 20, but they are not identical with it. Manuscripts made in the last quarter of the century have the Rusch text and prothemata order, along with at least two of Jerome’s prologues; they are laid out in complex Gloss format.

Do we have here (1) a *glose périmée*; (2) first edition circulating around the time the Gloss was taken up by the Paris schools, c. 1140; and (3) second, revised edition from around the date the complex format was introduced, c. 1170? Or is this (1) the original Laon-circle Gloss; (2) second edition revised for use in the schools; and (3) third edition revised again when the new format came into use? Which answer we prefer depends on our view of Trinity 20: is it Neanderthal or early *homo sapiens*? Both Trinity 20 and Laon 70 have the Job text alongside other “conventional” Glossed books. This, and the layout of their gloss around a central biblical text, incline me to think that what they present is indeed the first Laon Gloss on Job: the survival of so many early copies of Job means we are fortunate enough to observe the birth of a Glossed book.

One proviso remains. In Trinity 20 and Laon 70 I have seen two out of the four copies of Stegmüller’s *Anon. excerpta ex Gregorio*. It is possible that the Paris and Tours manuscripts hold texts which differ from Rusch at points other than Job 11:13, so reversing my reading of the evidence once more. It is the uniformity of glossing *style* in the Trinity/Laon text that makes me judge this unlikely, and believe that it is Rusch and not they that has the composite text. Nevertheless, whether we decide there were two versions of the Job Gloss or three, it is clear that, in line with the Gloss on the Song of Songs and on Lamentation, the text *was* revised: the users of the Gloss in Paris cared enough

about it to keep it up to date. And whereas Andrée puts the revision of the Lamentation Gloss at c. 1140, and Dove dates the Song of Songs revision to around 1170, the existence of these early manuscripts allows us to trace the Job Gloss as it is revised at both these times—to the text as we see it in Rawl., and the text presented in Rusch. Revision and change were key to the Gloss's longevity.

4.4 Shelf Life

By the early 13th century, however, what the Gloss had to offer looked dated to the new fashions of Paris, and Hugh of St Cher, of the new Dominican house of studies in the city, produced a revised and updated version in the form of his *Postilla in totam bibliam*. Initially for Dominican use, this was so deservedly popular that it was never confined to the Order.⁵¹ Hugh's is a continuous format commentary with biblical lemmata, not laid out in Gloss format. He includes commentary on the two Jerome prologues (*Cogor* and *Si aut fiscellam*) and the *argumentum* (*In terra quidem*), but does not keep the prothemata. Hugh's intention is to keep his commentary short and practical, in keeping with the needs of the Dominican audience for whom he writes. Although he does not use the "type" attributions, Hugh is careful to reference his sources. These are almost entirely "*Gregorius*" (suggesting that he had a copy of the *Moralia* to work from), and the Gloss, noted separately as "*Glossa*", "*Glos*" or "*Glo*"—the Gloss is now seen as an authoritative text in its own right. He draws from both the interlinear and the marginal glosses, using the Gloss much more regularly than he does Gregory. Hugh's commentary is very much his own and not any sort of *Moralia* abbreviation; indeed, his Job exegesis, like all his biblical work, is more of a conversation: "*Sed obiicit Gregorius... Respondeo...*"; "*Cui dixit dominus, forte per angelum. Sed Glos. dicit...*". Hugh is not concerned only to reflect Gregory's preoccupations, but he certainly uses Job to teach moral lessons.

4.5 Conclusion

What did the Gloss do for Job? As *the* textbook for biblical studies at the most influential schools in Europe, the Gloss was under the eyes of students for almost 100 years. Beyond these Paris schoolrooms, the number of copies—in

⁵¹ Smith, "Hugh of St Cher."

the thousands—and the extent of their distribution—across Europe and until the invention of printing—shows that manuscripts of the Gloss were pored over for centuries. We can tell they were used: for example, some readers have re-inserted marginal references to biblical examples that the Gloss removed. Even in the era of print, editions which combined the Gloss with Nicholas of Lyra's *Postillae* continued to make the Gloss available to wider audiences. Unlike some of the other reductions of the *Moralia*, the Gloss reflects all three of Gregory's exegetical strands: it uses the historical as well as the allegorical and moral interpretations. And beyond retaining the content and even the vocabulary of Gregory's text, the Gloss remains faithful to its structure. This, together with the intelligence of its abbreviation, means that the Gloss made the *Moralia*, and the Book of Job, accessible for many for whom reading the full text was not an enticing option. In fact, given the glossator's forthright style, we might even judge that the Gloss, though less enjoyably expansive and allusive, is rather better than Gregory himself at transmitting his blunt moral lessons. For students without the time or commitment to make their way through Gregory's original, it is perhaps not surprising that the Gloss on Job was such a popular and enduring text.

From the Fiery Heaven to the Fire of Hell: Job in the *Sentences* Commentaries of Albert the Great, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas

Franklin T. Harkins

5.1 Introduction

Central to the training and day-to-day work of the medieval scholastic theologian was lecturing publicly on two authoritative texts, namely, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and Sacred Scripture. Indeed, from the 13th until the 16th century, the *Sentences* served as the standard university text on which all aspiring masters of theology were required to comment formally.¹ It is hardly surprising, then, that Scripture and the Lombard's *Sentences* are the two most commented on Christian texts in history.² In spite of the fact that the scholastic theologian's official title was *magister in sacra pagina*, until relatively

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- 1 For a detailed study of the work of the theology faculty at Paris in the 13th century, see Palémon Glorieux, "L'enseignement au moyen âge. Techniques et méthodes en usage à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire de moyen âge* 35 (1968): 65–186. For a brief overview of how the *Sentences* became the standard textbook of the theology faculty at Paris and Oxford, see Philipp W. Rosemann, *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's Sentences* (Peterborough, Ont., 2007), 60–62. On the role of Alexander of Hales and his *Glossa* in this development, see Hubert Philipp Weber, "The *Glossa in iv libros sententiarum* by Alexander of Hales," in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 2, (ed.) Philipp W. Rosemann (Leiden, 2010), 79–109.
 - 2 Friedrich Stegmüller's 1947 *Repertorium* lists 1,407 commentaries on the Lombard's book, and numerous others have been uncovered in the decades since this publication. See Philipp W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford, 2004), 3; and Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1947). On the various efforts to update and correct Stegmüller, see Steven J. Livesey, "Lombardus electronicus: A Biographical Database of Medieval Commentators on Peter Lombard's Sentences," in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 1: *Current Research*, (ed.) G.R. Evans (Leiden, 2002), 1–23. It is noteworthy that quite apart from formal commentaries produced at the universities, the Lombard's book gave rise to various glosses and abridgments which seem to have been copied and used widely in the houses and *studia* of religious orders throughout Europe during the High and Late Middle Ages. See, e.g., Marcia L. Colish, "The Pseudo-Peter of Poitiers Gloss," in *Mediaeval Commentaries*, vol. 2, (ed.) Rosemann, 1–33; and Franklin T. Harkins, "Filiae magistri: Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and Medieval Theological Education

recently modern scholars of such scholastics as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas have overlooked their biblical commentaries in favor of their theological *summae*.³ Their *Sentences* commentaries have also been deemphasized as key sources of their theology, although for various reasons less so than their exegetical works. In his magisterial treatment of the person and work of Aquinas, Jean-Pierre Torrell noted the necessity of making a much deeper use of his “biblical commentaries in parallel with the great systematic works” if we wish to gain a more complete understanding of Thomas as a theologian.⁴ The related presupposition of the present essay is that a consideration of the scriptural exegeses found *in* the synthetic theological works of 13th-century masters promises to shed additional light on their assumptions, working methods, and conclusions. On the one hand, it must be borne in mind that the distinctive features of one or another scholastic master may be obscured more than they otherwise might be when the particular synthetic theological work of each that is being studied is his commentary on the *Sentences*, as the Lombard’s own questions, authorities, and conclusions certainly shape—to a greater or lesser degree—those of his commentators. On the other hand, precisely because the text of the *Sentences* determines at least the basic field of inquiry, analyzing how different commentators approach this field and utilize another authoritative text—here, that of Job—in their work within it promises to reveal not only their common debt to these authorities but also their theological and exegetical distinctiveness.⁵

Our aim in what follows, then, is to investigate how Albert, Bonaventure, and Thomas variously employ the book of Job in their respective commentaries on the Lombard’s book with an eye toward elucidating the textual and exegetical tradition inherited by all three as well as the theological concerns, methods, and conclusions particular to each. We will see that the text of Job serves as a remarkable scriptural authority enabling and assisting our scholastics as they

‘on the Ground,’” in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 3, (ed.) Philipp W. Rosemann (Leiden, 2015), 26–78.

3 See, for example, Nicholas M. Healy, “Introduction,” in *Aquinas on Scripture: An Introduction to his Biblical Commentaries*, (eds.) Thomas G. Weinandy, Daniel A. Keating, and John P. Yocum (London, 2005), 1–20; and Jean-Pierre Torrell, O.P., *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 2 vols., trans. Robert Royal (Washington, D.C., 1996, 2003), 1:54–55.

4 Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 1:55.

5 On Thomas’s work as a bachelor of the *Sentences*, see Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 1:39–45, who writes: “The theologians [who lectured on the *Sentences*] were not slow to abandon the servitude of a strict commentary and forcefully to introduce new considerations, sometimes quite distant from Lombard’s. This is why the commentaries on the *Sentences* may be considered theological works in their own right, revealing their author’s thought” (40–41).

grapple with a host of questions reflecting the wide range of systematic theology as it is presented in the *Sentences*, from the fiery heaven in which the angels were created (Bk II d. 2) to the nature of the fire of hell (Bk IV dd. 44, 50). Given the many divergent contexts in which various passages from Job appear in their vast *Sentences* commentaries (which run to between 4,000 and 5,000 pages in their modern editions), we will of necessity limit our investigation to a relatively small—but nevertheless characteristic—sample of questions in which Job plays a noteworthy role for our scholastics. We will see that for our masters-in-training, Job helps to frame the subject matter of the Lombard's book, offers seemingly divergent authoritative statements that require reconciliation, and makes crucial distinctions that enable points to be clarified and questions resolved. Such uses of Job illustrate well one of the fundamental presuppositions of 13th-century masters regarding canonical Scripture and its role in the theological enterprise: namely, that the sacred text is the divinely authored, certain and proper authority on which the theological science and its principles are based.

In order better to understand and appreciate the various theological uses our 13th-century scholastics make of Job in their *Sentences* commentaries, let us begin by surveying the structure of the Lombard's work and noting the range of loci within that structure where Albert, Bonaventure, and Thomas invoke Job.

5.2 Peter Lombard's Book and Job in the Commentaries

When Peter Lombard produced his collection of *Sentences*, in two major stages and corresponding editions during the years 1155–58, he gathered authoritative statements of the Fathers, most notably Augustine, and of more recent thinkers on the entire range of theological topics and divided them into four books.⁶ Book I, which the Lombard divided into 210 chapters, concerns the mystery of the Trinity. After an initial consideration of Augustine's distinctions between things and signs and between use and enjoyment, Book I treats such

6 On the date and sources of the Lombard's collection, see the prolegomena to Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, (ed.) Ignatius Brady, 2 vols. (Grottaferrata, 1971–1981), 1:118*–129*. See 1:5–53 for the chapter headings, original to the Lombard, for each of his four books. For a comprehensive study of Peter Lombard's own theology, particularly as set forth in the *Sentences*, see Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1994), particularly 227–778. The complete English translation of the *Sentences* is that of Giulio Silano, 4 vols. (Toronto, 2007–2010). Hereafter the *Sentences* will be cited thus: Peter Lombard, *Sent.* Prol. 1, 1:3; trans. Silano, 1:3.

topics as: God's threeness and oneness; the knowledge of the Creator enabled by creaturely vestiges; the divine essence; the distinction and properties of the Persons of the Godhead; theological language predicated of God (e.g., "person," "to generate"); God's knowledge, foreknowledge, providence, and predestination; and the divine power and will. Having considered the Trinity in Book I, the Lombard moves in Book II to the creation of things, both corporeal and spiritual, in 269 chapters. Following preliminary chapters on the principle of created things, the distinction between creating and making, and why rational creatures (i.e., angels and humans) were made, Book II treats: the angels, their creation, fall, characteristics, and orders; God's creation of corporeal realities in six days; the state of the first humans before sin; the devil's temptation, the original sin, and its transmission to Adam's posterity; free will and grace; actual sin and sin in general; and the seven principal vices.

Book III consists of 164 chapters on the Incarnation of the Word. More specifically, Peter Lombard here considers such questions and topics as: why the divine Son in particular assumed flesh and whether the Father or Holy Spirit was able to do so; the mode of the union of the Word with human nature; whether Christ was a creature; whether He was always human, even in death; whether God could have assumed human nature in the female sex; the wills of Christ vis-à-vis his natures; the nature of Christ's salvific work and whether Christ could have liberated humankind otherwise than through His passion and death; the theological virtues of faith, hope, and love; the four cardinal virtues; the nature of God's love and how God loves some things more or less; the gifts of the Holy Spirit; and the distinction between Law and Gospel.

Having treating things—both those to be enjoyed and those to be used—in Books I–III, Peter turns in Book IV to the doctrine of signs. Of his 290 chapters here, the first 243 are concerned with questions and issues pertaining to the Church's seven sacraments, including: the definition and nature of a sacrament; the institution, reception, and power of baptism; the form of the Eucharist and the manner of the change in the sacrament; the necessity of penance and the power of the keys; the institution and repetition of extreme unction; ecclesiastical orders and the status of those ordained by heretics; what constitutes a marriage; and whether there is marriage between infidels. The final 47 chapters of Book IV are taken up with the last things, treating such topics as: whether after the resurrection the elect will have any memory of their past sins; how Christ is understood to be the judge of the living and the dead; the age and size of those who rise again; whether the disembodied souls of the damned feel the corporeal fire of hell; the different places for the reception of souls; and whether the wicked will sin in hell.

Finally, it must be noted that whereas Peter Lombard divided his entire work into books and each book into chapters, it was Alexander of Hales who subsequently—while producing his *Glossa* in the 1220s—introduced “distinctions” into each book, according to which chapters on a unified theme were bundled together.⁷ Alexander bundled the 210 chapters of Book I into 48 thematic distinctions, the 269 chapters of Book II into 44 distinctions, the 164 chapters of Book III into 40 distinctions, and the 290 chapters of Book IV into 50 distinctions. When later scholastics—including Albert, Bonaventure, and Thomas—embarked on the work of commenting on the Lombard’s book, they did so using the method of *quaestiones*, which they posed and organized according to Alexander’s distinctions.

The Old Testament wisdom literature in general, and Job in particular, plays a key role in the *Sentences* commentaries of Albert, Bonaventure, and Thomas, as their respective prologues intimate. Indeed, whereas Albert uses Ecclesiasticus 24:5–6 to frame the subject matter of the Lombard’s entire work, Thomas and Bonaventure understand Job 28:11 as determinative of the *materia* of Book I and of the fourfold causality of the *Sentences*, respectively. Like his master, Thomas begins the prologue to his *Sentences* commentary with words from Ecclesiasticus 24: *I, wisdom, have poured out rivers. I, like a brook out of a river of mighty water; I, like a channel of a river, and like an aqueduct, came out of paradise. And I said: I will water my garden of plants, and I will water abundantly the fruit of my field* (vv. 40–42). The “rivers” that “wisdom” or the eternal Son of God has “poured out” (v. 40) are, in Thomas’s reading, “the flow of the eternal procession by which the Son proceeds from the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds from both in an ineffable way.”⁸ These rivers were formerly hidden and shut up in creaturely similitudes and the enigmas of Scripture “such that even wise persons scarcely held the mystery of the Trinity by faith.”⁹ But then the Son of God came and in a certain way poured out these enclosed rivers

7 See the Prolegomena to Peter Lombard, *Sent.*, 1:143*–144*; Weber, “The *Glossa*,” esp. 88–93; and Rosemann, *Story of a Great Medieval Book*, 62–64.

8 Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi Episcopi Parisiensis*, in I Prologus, 4 vols: vols. 1–2 (ed.) R.P. Mandonnet; vols. 3–4 (ed.) M.F. Moos (Paris, 1929–47), 1:2 (hereafter: Aquinas, *Scriptum* in I Prol., 1:2): “Flumina ista intelligo fluxus aeternae processionis, qua Filius a Patre, et Spiritus sanctus ab utroque, ineffabili modo procedit.” Because this edition of the *Scriptum* remains incomplete, concluding at d. 22 of Book IV, all citations of Book IV will be according to the Parma edition as it appears on the Corpus Thomisticum website (www.corpusthomicum.org).

9 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in I Prol., 1:2: “Ista flumina olim occulta et quodammodo infusa erant in similitudinibus creaturarum, tum etiam in aenigmatibus scripturarum, ita ut vix aliqui sapientes Trinitatis mysterium fide tenerent.”

by making the name of the Trinity known when He said, for example, *Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit* (Mt. 28:19). It is here, in his discussion of the incarnate Son's role as revealer of the divine nature, that Thomas first has recourse to the book of Job, citing 28:11: *He has probed the depths of the rivers, and has brought hidden realities out into the light*. These words from Job touch upon the subject matter of Book I of the *Sentences*, Thomas concludes.¹⁰

In Bonaventure's hands, these same words from Job 28:11 serve as the key to unlocking the fourfold Aristotelian causality of Peter Lombard's book, that is, its material, formal, efficient, and final cause.¹¹ Bonaventure reads each word or phrase of the verse as intimating one of these causes, with *fluviorum*, "of the rivers," pointing to the material cause. The fourfold quality of every earthly river (*fluvius materialis*) reflects four aspects of what Bonaventure calls the "spiritual river" (*fluvius spiritualis*), each of which is treated in one of the Lombard's four books.¹² First, an earthly river's length (*duratio*) corresponds to the eternal or everlasting nature of the "spiritual river," which pertains to the emanation of the divine persons, the subject matter of Book I of the *Sentences*. Second, an earthly river's span (*extensio*) corresponds to the width or spaciousness of its spiritual counterpart, which pertains to the production of creatures, the subject of Book II. Third, the movement (*motus*) of an earthly river corresponds to the circular course (*circulatio*) of the spiritual river, which pertains to the Incarnation of the Son of God, the subject of Book III. Here Bonaventure explains that just as in a circle the end is connected to the beginning, so too in the Incarnation the highest (i.e., divinity) was conjoined to the lowest (i.e., human nature, which was made from the "slime" of the earth) and the first (i.e., the eternal Son of God) was conjoined to the last (i.e., humanity, having been created on the sixth day). Finally, the effect (*effectus*) of an earthly river, namely, to wash, corresponds to the cleansing power of the spiritual river, which pertains to the sacraments, the subject of Book IV of the *Sentences*.¹³

Whereas Job 28:11 indicates the *materia* of Book I and of all four of the Lombard's books for Thomas and Bonaventure, respectively, Albert understands the subject matter of Books I and II (viz., Trinity and creation) as having been revealed in Job 26:14: *Since we have heard barely a drop of His word, who will be*

¹⁰ Aquinas, *Scriptum* in I Prol., 1:2.

¹¹ Bonaventure, *Commentaria in quatuor libros sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi*, Proœmium in I, vols. 1–4 of *Opera Omnia*, (eds.) Pp. Collegii a S. Bonaventura (Quaracchi, 1882–1889), 1:1–6. Hereafter: Bonaventure, *Comm. Procœm.* in I, 1:1–6.

¹² Bonaventure, *Comm. Procœm.* in I, 1:1.

¹³ Bonaventure, *Comm. Procœm.* in I, 1:1–3.

able to behold the thunder of His greatness? The poverty out of which the Lombard, in the opening line of his prologue, says he desires to contribute “something” (*aliquid*) to the Lord’s treasury calls to Albert’s mind the small “drop” of Job 26:14. “The small drop is the word about creatures,” Albert explains, whereas “the thunder of His greatness, which is hidden and bursts forth from the cloud of obscurity, is the word about Trinity and unity.”¹⁴ For Albert, then, Job’s words in 26:14 confirm and clarify what Peter Lombard described as “the difficult heights” that he “dared to scale” in compiling his *Four Books of Sentences*.¹⁵ Although, as Job relates in Chapter 26, God has performed such mighty deeds as hanging the earth upon nothing, binding up the waters in thick clouds, and determining the boundaries of the seas until the end of time, these constitute “barely a drop of His word.” Nevertheless, the incomprehensibility of even this small drop of divine power intimates, in Albert’s view, the difficulty of the subject matter that the Lombard treats. Indeed, as intertextual confirmation Albert invokes Ecclesiastes 1:8, *All things are difficult: the human cannot explain them with his discourse*.¹⁶

It is precisely because human words are inadequate to explain fully the theological mysteries set forth in the *Sentences* that Albert, Bonaventure, and Thomas have repeated recourse to divine discourse—the words of Job and other scriptural books—in their efforts to shed as much light as possible on these sacred truths. They invoke Job, whose authority, like that of all of Sacred Scripture, they understand as proper to the theological enterprise and absolutely certain,¹⁷ on a wide range of questions growing out of all four of the Lombard’s books. Albert, for example, calls on Job when grappling with such questions as: whether God enjoys Himself (Bk I d. 1); what a vestige is, and whether knowledge through a vestige is useful (Bk I d. 3); what the cause of the creation of the whole universe is (Bk II d. 1); whether angels praise God vocally (Bk II d. 2); how the sanctification of the blessed Virgin Mary differs from the sanctification of John [the Baptist] and Jeremiah (Bk III d. 3); whether Christ descended into the lower hell (Bk III d. 22); whether charity has an eye toward receiving something in return (Bk III d. 29); and whether the five modes of

14 Albert the Great, *Commentarium in libros sententiarum*, in prologum Magistri expositio, (ed.) A. Borgnet, vols. 25–30 of *Opera Omnia* (Paris, vol. 25: 1893; vols. 26–30: 1894), 25:7 (hereafter: Albert, *Comm.* in prol. Mag., 25:7): “Parva stilla est sermo de creaturis. Tonitruum obruens et emicans de nube obscuritatis, est sermo de Trinitate et unitate.”

15 Peter Lombard, *Sent.* Prol. 1, 1:3; trans. Silano, 1:3.

16 Albert, *Comm.* in prol. Mag., 25:7.

17 See, e.g., Albert, *Comm.* in I d. 1 A a. 2 sol., 25:17; and Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* Ia q. 1 a. 8 ad 2 (hereafter: *ST* I.1.8 ad 2).

scourging [as a punishment for sins] have been assigned and distinguished well (Bk IV d. 15).

Bonaventure too makes use of the book of Job in treating a wide range of questions spanning all four books of the *Sentences*; and, significantly, most of these questions are different from those for which Albert and Thomas invoke Job. They include: whether the outcome of predestination is certain (Bk I d. 40); whether God ought to permit evil (Bk I d. 47); whether angels fell into hell (Bk II d. 6); whether matter was produced in perfect actuality (Bk II d. 12); whether temptation of the flesh is more difficult for us than temptation of the devil (Bk II d. 21); whether anything is so evil that it contains no good (Bk II d. 34); whether the blessed Virgin was sanctified before her birth (Bk III d. 3); whether the passion or affection of anger was in Christ (Bk III d. 15); whether Christ, when He descended into hell, freed all the souls there (Bk III d. 22); whether having many wives is contrary to natural law (Bk IV d. 33); whether there will be a resurrection (Bk IV d. 43); whether the fire of hell is a true fire (Bk IV d. 44); and whether the power to judge is Christ's according to His humanity or according to His divinity (Bk IV d. 48).

Job plays an even more significant role in the thought of the young Aquinas, who invokes the blameless man of Uz and the sacred text testifying to him some 115 times in the *Scriptum*. Again, it is noteworthy that, in the vast majority of cases, the questions in the context of which Thomas appeals to Job are completely different than those of his Dominican teacher and of his Franciscan contemporary. Job appears as an authority, for example, when Thomas asks such questions as: whether the Son is invisibly sent into the mind (Bk I d. 15); whether the visible mission of the Holy Spirit occurs only in a corporeal appearance (Bk I d. 16); whether power is fittingly attributed to the Father, wisdom to the Son, and goodness to the Holy Spirit (Bk I d. 34); whether angels foreknew their own misery or beatitude (Bk II d. 4); whether guardian angels grieve on account of the damnation of the humans whom they protect (Bk II d. 11); whether temptation by the devil is a sin (Bk II d. 21); whether it was more fitting for the Son to have become incarnate than the Father or Holy Spirit (Bk III d. 1); whether Christ rescued the souls from the hell of the damned (Bk III d. 22); whether the damned and demons have hope (Bk III d. 26); whether prayer ought to be to God alone (Bk IV d. 15); whether there will be a bodily resurrection (Bk IV d. 43); whether *subtilitas* and *claritas* are properties of glorified bodies (Bk IV d. 44); whether the fire of hell is a corporeal fire (Bk IV d. 44); and whether the damned in hell are afflicted with the punishment of fire alone (Bk IV d. 50). As this sampling of questions suggests, the majority of Thomas's references to Job appears in his commentary on Book IV of the *Sentences*: in fact, 68 of the 115 occurrences (or 59.1 per cent) are found in Book IV.

By contrast, Thomas has recourse to Job only six times (5.2 per cent of all occurrences) in Book I, the prologue excepted.¹⁸ That Thomas invokes Job much more frequently in commenting on Book IV than on the others is attributable not simply to the fact that the final book is larger than the others (in terms of the number of distinctions), but also because it concerns last things, judgment, punishment, resurrection, and related theological themes to which Job speaks easily.

Keeping this rich and variegated ‘forest’ in view, let us now turn to a consideration of some of the individual ‘trees’ therein, carefully attending to the exegeses and theological uses of passages from Job found in a sampling of these questions. For the sake of clarity and coherence, and in order to compare more easily the ways our scholastic theologians-in-training use Job in grappling with the same or similar questions, the following analysis is organized according to the structure of the Lombard’s work and generally according to the chronological order of our 13th-century commentaries on it. Albert lectured on the *Sentences* c. 1241–1245, followed by Bonaventure in the years 1250–1252 and Thomas in the period 1252–1256.¹⁹ Because Albert, Bonaventure, and Thomas do not invoke Job uniformly throughout their *Sentences* commentaries (i.e., on the same distinctions or in the same questions), some of the expositions that follow will necessarily treat only one or two of our scholastics. Where comparison is both possible and practicable, however, we will pay particular attention to points of methodological and theological divergence and convergence—and even dependence—among Albert, Bonaventure, and Thomas.²⁰

18 Twenty-three and a half per cent (or 27) of his references are found in the *Scriptum* on Book II and 11.3 per cent (or 13) on Book III; Thomas references Job once in his prologue to Book I.

19 On the dates and contexts of Albert’s and Thomas’s *Sentences* lectures, see James A. Weisheipl, O.P., *Friar Thomas D’Aquino: His Life, Thought, and Works* (Oxford, 1975), 40 and 53–92, respectively. On the dating of Bonaventure’s commentary relative to that of Thomas, see Russell L. Friedman, “The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250–1320: General Trends, the Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination,” in *Mediaeval Commentaries*, 1:41–128, here 44–45; and Jacques Guy Bougerol, *Introduction à saint Bonaventure* (Paris, 1988), 128–31 and 186–96.

20 In discussing the intellectual contexts upon which the *Scriptum* of Thomas depends, M.-D. Chenu describes “the permanent dialogue that he therein carries on with his contemporaries, with Albert, his master, in particular, and with Bonaventure, his colleague in the neighboring college of the Minors” (M.-D. Chenu, O.P., *Toward Understanding Saint Thomas*, trans. A.M. Landry, O.P. and D. Hughes, O.P. [Chicago, 1964], 273–74, here 273). Similarly, Torrell writes: “We find here [in the *Scriptum*] a Thomas attentive to but also dependent on his contemporaries: Master Albert, surely... Bonaventure is there too” (*Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 1:44–45). See also Bougerol, *Introduction à saint Bonaventure*, 113–18,

5.3 Book I

Beyond their respective prologues to Book I, both Albert and Thomas first have recourse to Job in commenting on the third distinction, where the Lombard treats how the Creator can be known through created things. In article 14 on d. 3, Albert asks, “What is a vestige, and whether knowledge [of God] through a vestige is useful?” After explaining that a vestige is the visual detection of someone or something through an image of his, her, or its feet imprinted along the way, Albert quotes Job 11:7 in support of the objection that God cannot be known through a vestige: *Perhaps you will comprehend the steps (vestigia) of God, but will you come to know the Almighty perfectly?*²¹ In the *sed contra*, he cites Augustine’s affirmation that God scatters signs of Himself through all of His works, after which he quotes Job 12:7: *But ask the beasts, and they will teach you; and the birds of the air, and they will show you.* In the solution, Albert explains that a vestige is a similitude that has a twofold deficiency in representing the one of whom it is a vestige: first, it is a similitude of a part—namely, the feet—rather than the whole of the individual; and second, this partial similitude is confused—that is, it represents the foot in an incomplete way. It represents, Albert explains, “only the bottom surface [of the foot], and not also whether the foot is thick, or has good color, or is healthy up to the leg.”²² Such vestiges of the Creator, which appear in the works of creation, do not enable the one who sees creatures to contemplate God clearly *per se*, but rather merely as if in a shadow and at some distance. In replying to the objection, then, Albert maintains that both Job 12:7 and Augustine aim to teach that “God is not adequately (*sufficenter*) comprehended through a vestige,” marshaling as evidence the final phrase of Job 11:7: *but will you come to know the Almighty perfectly?*²³

The parallel question that Thomas asks in commenting on d. 3 of Book I is “whether the similitude of God in creatures can be called a vestige.” In the fourth objection, he quotes Gregory the Great’s interpretation of Job 11:7 in the *Moralia*, according to which “the kindness of visitation, by which He shows

who notes that Thomas had Bonaventure’s commentary in front of him as he composed the *Scriptum*.

21 Albert, *Comm.* in I d. 3 F a. 14 obj., 25:105.

22 Albert, *Comm.* in I d. 3 F a. 14 c., 25:105: “Quia confusa est similitudo partis, eo quod etiam pedem confuse repraesentet: quia tantum subteriorem superficiem, et non si pes est spissus, vel bene coloratus, vel bene se habens ad crus, et ad alias partes.”

23 Albert, *Comm.* in I d. 3 F a. 14 ad obj., 25:105: “Ad id ergo quod contra objicitur, dicendum quod illae auctoritates intelliguntur, ita quod per vestigium Deus non *sufficenter* comprehenditur: unde etiam dicit Job: *Nunquid usque ad perfectum Omnipotentem reperies?*”

us the way” constitutes the steps or vestiges of God. The objection concludes, then, that a vestige is not a similitude of God found in creatures.²⁴ Drawing on Albert’s basic definition of a vestige as a partial representation that leads to confused knowledge of the one whose vestige it is, Thomas explains in the corpus that three things are considered in the contemplation of a vestige: the similitude, the imperfection of the similitude, and the reality that is arrived at through the vestige.²⁵ On the basis of this distinction, Thomas replies to the fourth objection that there can be different similitudes of a single reality: hence, the divine similitude found in creatures is called a vestige insofar as it represents God in a confused way, and “the works of divine goodness shown forth in the mystery of the Incarnation are called vestiges of God insofar as they prepare a way for us to arrive at God Himself.”²⁶

Worthy of note here is the way in which, in commenting on Book I d. 3, both Albert and Thomas make use of patristic authorities—Augustine and Gregory, respectively—in combination with Job to make distinctions that help them clarify the question of what vestiges are and to what extent they enable us to know God. Both Dominican masters learn from Job 11:7—particularly when read in light of Job 12:7, as Albert demonstrates—that the creaturely vestiges of God are imperfect means of arriving at knowledge of God. Furthermore, the reading of Job 11:7 found in Gregory’s *Moralia*, which work is determinative for the exegeses of all three of our scholastics, induces Thomas to distinguish profitably between the imperfection of vestiges and the reality to which vestiges lead the knower step by step.

In some cases, an authoritative passage from Job plays a seemingly small but significant role in the way our scholastics determine particular questions in their *Sentences* commentaries. One such example arises in the third article of Thomas’s first question on d. 16 of Book I, which asks “whether the visible mission [of the Holy Spirit] occurs only in a corporeal appearance” (as opposed to a true creaturely nature). Among the objections is the argument that because no pretense is appropriate for the Holy Spirit, who is the Spirit of truth, the dove in which the Spirit appeared according to the Gospels must have been a true animal, and likewise the fire in which He appeared at Pentecost a true fire: that is, they must have been not simply bodily appearances of a dove and tongues

24 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in 1 d. 3 q. 2 a. 1 obj. 4, 1:100.

25 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in 1 d. 3 q. 2 a. 1 c., 1:100.

26 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in 1 d. 3 q. 2 a. 1 ad 4, 1:101: “Et ideo potest esse quod similitudo reperta in creaturis dicatur vestigium in quantum confuse repraesentat; et opera divinae bonitatis in mysterio Incarnationis ostensa dicantur vestigia Dei, in quantum per ea nobis via paratur ad veniendum in ipsum.”

of fire in which the Spirit was made manifest.²⁷ Thomas explains in the corpus that the purpose of the visible mission of the Holy Spirit is “to signify the fullness of grace of the one [i.e., Christ] overflowing into many.”²⁸ Grace overflows in two ways, namely through instruction and through operation. In order to signify the overflowing of the grace of Christ to us according to the mode of operation, the Holy Spirit was sent visibly to Him in baptism. Although Christ Himself received nothing from baptism, Thomas teaches, “by the touch of his most pure flesh He conferred on water the power to regenerate, efficiently as God and meritoriously as a human.”²⁹ In order to signify the spiritual fecundity that Christ was bestowing on the waters of baptism, the Holy Spirit was sent to Him at this moment in the form of a dove because the dove is the most fecund of animals, according to Thomas.³⁰ Similarly, to signify the overflow of grace according to the mode of teaching, the Spirit appeared above Christ at His transfiguration “in a bright cloud, the light of which was scattered,” Thomas teaches.³¹ To explain why the Spirit appeared visibly in a cloud in this instance, Thomas invokes Job 37:11, *Clouds scatter their own light*, in combination with Gregory’s teaching that such an appearance signifies the outpouring of *doctrina* through preaching.³² Similarly, the Spirit appeared as tongues of fire at Pentecost, signifying the overflow of grace according to the mode of teaching to those early Christians whose preaching would burn brightly with love for the salvation of their neighbors.³³ In his reply to the third objection, Thomas maintains that “that dove [in which the Holy Spirit appeared] was not a true and natural animal, but merely the likeness of a dove revealed visibly in some particular matter prepared for this purpose.”³⁴ Thus, when it had completed its

27 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in 1 d. 16 q. 1 a. 3 obj. 3, 1:375.

28 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in 1 d. 16 q. 1 a. 3 c., 1:376: “Respondeo dicendum, quod, sicut dictum est, missio visibilis fit ad significandum plenitudinem gratiae redundantis in multos; propter quod manifestatio talis aliis etiam fit.”

29 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in 1 d. 16 q. 1 a. 3 c., 1:376: “Quia tunc ipse nihil accipiens a baptismo, tactu suae mundissimae carnis vim regenerativam contulit aquis, efficienter ut Deus, et meritorie ut homo.”

30 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in 1 d. 16 q. 1 a. 3 c., 1:376.

31 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in 1 d. 16 q. 1 a. 3 c., 1:376: “Ad insinuandum vero redundantiam gratiae ex ipso in alios per modum doctrinae, apparuit Spiritus super ipsum in nube lucida, cujus est lumen spargere.”

32 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in 1 d. 16 q. 1 a. 3 c., 1:376.

33 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in 1 d. 16 q. 1 a. 3 c., 1:377.

34 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in 1 d. 16 q. 1 a. 3 ad 3, 1:377–78: “Ad tertium dicendum, quod columba illa non fuit verum et naturale animal, sed tantum similitudo columbae visibiliter ostensa in aliqua materia ad hoc praeparata.”

divine service, it returned to its former matter. This does not mean, Thomas is quick to note, that there was any pretense or fiction here, “because that likeness of a dove was not revealed in order to manifest some truth in the dove itself, but [rather] to manifest the properties of the [Spirit’s] invisible mission.”³⁵ Thus, like metaphorical speech that is intended to point beyond the literal meaning of the words used, this visible sign is a true likeness aimed at leading the one who sees it to a deeper truth. But unlike the mere similitude of a dove in which the Spirit appeared, Thomas concludes, the visible nature in which Christ appeared was a real human nature.³⁶

On this important theological point, Albert’s teaching seems determinative of his pupil’s. In his own commentary on d. 16 of Book I, Albert asks “why the Son appeared in a creature united to Himself but the Holy Spirit did not.”³⁷ The answer is found in the nature of what Albert calls “unibility” (*unibilitas*) in the Godhead. That is, whatever nature one of the divine Persons unites hypostatically with becomes constitutive of that Trinitarian Person, and so becomes constitutive of God. It would be “unfitting” (*inconueniens*), Albert explains, for the Holy Spirit to be so united with an irrational nature (like that of a dove) because that dove (or whatever other brute beast) would thereby become God. It was altogether fitting, by contrast, that the divine Son hypostatically united Himself to the rational creature that is human nature, as Peter Lombard himself explains in Book III.³⁸ Like Thomas after him, Albert also teaches here that the dove in which the Spirit appeared was “not a natural and true animal,” but rather merely the appearance of a dove.³⁹ Albert inquires, then, how this virtual dove actually flew. Its principle of motion was not united to it, as would be the case in any natural animal; rather, this airborne apparition was moved “by the will of God, to which all things are obedient.”⁴⁰ For our present purposes, it is noteworthy that Albert does not discuss the Spirit’s visible mission in the form of a cloud, and therefore does not invoke Job 37:11, as his student would.

35 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in I d. 16 q. 1 a. 3 ad 3, 1:378: “Nec fuit ibi aliqua fictio, quia illa similitudo columbae non ostendebatur ad manifestandum aliquam veritatem in ipsa columba, sed ad manifestandas proprietates invisibilis missionis.”

36 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in I d. 16 q. 1 a. 3 c., 1:378.

37 Albert, *Comm.* in I d. 16 B a. 6, 25:451–52.

38 Albert, *Comm.* in I d. 16 B a. 6 c., 25:451.

39 Albert, *Comm.* in I d. 16 B a. 6 ad q. 1, 25:451: “Ad aliud dicendum, quod illa columba species columbae fuit, et non naturale et verum animal.”

40 Albert, *Comm.* in I d. 16 B a. 6 ad q. 2, 25:452: “Ad ultimum dicendum, quod hoc quod movetur a motore sibi unito et motu processivo, illud est animal: sed ita non movebatur columba, imo movebatur a motore non unito sibi: qui motus fuit voluntatis Dei, cui omnia obediunt.”

5.4 Book II

Whereas Bonaventure, unlike Albert and Thomas, has recourse to Job in neither d. 3 nor d. 16 of Book I, the Franciscan does invoke Job early and often in commenting on the Second Book of the Lombard's work. Here Job first appears in Bonaventure's opening question on the nature of the empyrean or fiery heaven as a part of his consideration, in commenting on d. 2, of where the angels were created. Specifically, several of the words of God that are part of His answer to Job out of the whirlwind in Chapter 38—namely, *when the morning stars praised me* (v. 7)—aid Bonaventure in thinking about both the adornment of the fiery heaven and the nature of angelic praises there.

Bonaventure opens this initial question—"whether there is an empyrean heaven, and of what sort it is"—by explaining, with the help of Aristotle's *Physics* and *On Heaven and Earth*, that the empyrean heaven seems, on the one hand, to be immobile, uniform, and perfectly luminous. This is so because whatever in a particular genus is mobile (viz., the starry heaven) presupposes something immobile, whatever is multiform presupposes something uniform, whatever is lowest or in the middle presupposes the highest, and—since a place of dwelling ought to be appropriate to the dweller, and since the damned dwell in darkness—the blessed (whether angels or humans) ought to dwell in a bright place.⁴¹ On the other hand, Bonaventure explains, it seems unfitting that the empyrean heaven would be a uniform body because the principal bodies of the universe were ordered and richly adorned following their creation; it seems equally inappropriate that it would be uniformly or perfectly luminous because the sun diffuses its light differently depending on the position of the particular bodies being illuminated, so one part of the empyrean would appear to be illuminated in one way and another in a different way. Furthermore, as Aristotle teaches, every heaven is necessarily shaped like a sphere, which shape is entirely adapted for motion; because every heaven, *qua* heaven, is mobile, it is unfitting for the empyrean to be immobile. *A fortiori*, the excellence of a heaven is in its mobility, because it is in mobility that it is like its Mover; and the higher a heaven is, the more mobile and thus the more reflective of its Mover it is. Thus, because the empyrean is above the firmament, the empyrean seems not to be immobile.⁴²

Bonaventure begins his answer to this highly speculative question by noting that, although "the saints say very little about this heaven because it escapes the notice of our senses, and the philosophers still less," Sacred Scripture does

41 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in II d. 2 p. 2 a. 1 q. 1 obj. 1–4, 2:70–71.

42 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in II d. 2 p. 2 a. 1 q. 1 s.c. 1–5, 2:71.

make mention of the empyrean heaven when it proclaims, *God created heaven and earth* (Gen. 1:1).⁴³ Like Peter Lombard, Bonaventure approvingly cites the reading of Walafrid Strabo (i.e., the *Glossa ordinaria*) that *caelum* here seems to refer to the empyrean heaven by virtue of the fact that the firmament and “watery heaven” were not created until the second day.⁴⁴ In Bonaventure’s view, reason also indicates that there is an empyrean heaven and of what sort it is, as is clear through a threefold teleological consideration (*ratio finis triplex*). First, from the end of the perfection of the universe, it is necessary that there be a heaven that is uniform, since the luminous heaven is biform (presumably determined by light and its absence, darkness). Second, from the end of the motion of the firmament, it is necessary that there be a heaven that is immobile, as mobile realities require something immobile around which they move. Thus, the mobile firmament presupposes the immobile empyrean. Third, from the end of the dwelling place of blessed humans, there must be a heaven that is perfectly luminous in order to be an appropriate eternal home for the utterly lustrous elect.⁴⁵

In light of this solution, Bonaventure offers two possible replies to the first objection that the empyrean heaven is not uniform because it is richly adorned. First, on account of its own excellence, the very light of the empyrean heaven has adorned itself; precisely because of its uniformity, that is, its perfect luminosity throughout, it never required external adornment.⁴⁶ Bonaventure explains the second viable response to the objection thus: “Or it can be said that, just as that [starry] heaven was adorned with stars, so too this one with the angels, who are, as it were, the stars of the empyrean heaven, according to what is said in Job 38: *When the morning stars praised me*. And again, blessed humans will be His stars, and the Lamb of God will be His sun, as it were.”⁴⁷

43 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in II d. 2 p. 2 a. 1 q. 1 c., 2:71: “Respondeo: Dicendum, quod quamvis Sancti parum loquantur de hoc caelo, quia latet nostros sensus, et philosophi adhuc minus, tamen ponere est caelum empyreum, sicut dicit sacra Scriptura: *In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram.*”

44 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in II d. 2 p. 2 a. 1 q. 1 c., 2:71: “Strabus exponit de empyreo, et hoc probat per litteram sequentem, quia firmamentum et caelum aqueum facta sunt secundo die.” See Gen. 1:6–8; and Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II d. 2 ch. 4.3, 1:339–40; trans. Silano, 2:11.

45 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in II d. 2 p. 2 a. 1 q. 1 c., 2:71–72.

46 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in II d. 2 p. 2 a. 1 q. 1 ad 1, 2:72.

47 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in II d. 2 p. 2 a. 1 q. 1 ad 1, 2:72: “Vel potest dici, quod, sicut illud caelum decoratum est *astris*, ita istud Angelis, qui sunt quasi astra caeli empyrei, iuxta illud Iob trigesimo octavo: *Cum me laudarent astra matutina*. Et iterum, *astra* eius erunt homines beati, et quasi *sol* eius erit Agnus Dei.”

Here, following the *Glossa ordinaria's* reading, Bonaventure understands Job 38:7 as indicating how the empyrean heaven can be understood to have been adorned, namely, with the angels, who were created there. Furthermore, Bonaventure uses this allegorical interpretation to link Job 38 back to the account of God's creation of the sun and stars on the fourth day in Genesis 1:16–19. On the one hand, the literal stars and sun of Genesis 1 point beyond themselves to the angels and blessed humans and to the divine Son, respectively. On the other hand, the rhetorical questions posed by God to Job in Chapter 38—e.g., *where were you when I laid the foundations of the earth?*—serve to call both Job and the reader of the book back to the beginning of God's creative work. The clear assumption of verse 7, read allegorically, is that neither Job nor any other human was present when the angels first praised God. Significantly, the imperfect tense of the verb in Job 38:7 (*the morning stars praised [laudarent] me*), together with the two future tense verbs in the final sentence of Bonaventure's explanation quoted above (“blessed humans will be [*erunt*] His stars, and the Lamb of God will be [*erit*] His sun”), serve to reinforce this truth while highlighting the eventual participation of the human elect in the perduring praises of the angels.

The allegorical reading of Job 38:7 that Bonaventure receives and develops raises some thorny theological and metaphysical questions, as is clear from the first of the “uncertainties concerning the text of the Master” (*dubia circa litteram Magistri*) with which he concludes his comments on d. 2. Bonaventure's fundamental question here is how the scriptural words, *when the morning stars praised me*, can refer to angels in the empyrean heaven when angels appear to be unable to speak and therefore incapable of praising God. The problem seems to be twofold. First, angels are spiritual substances and, as such, do not possess the corporeal organs that enable them to form sounds and verbal expressions. Second, because “sound is made from the striking and breaking of air” and because there is no air in the empyrean heaven, it seems that neither angels nor blessed humans are able to produce words and thus praises.⁴⁸ Against those who might argue that these heavenly praises are mental rather than vocal in nature, Bonaventure cites the “revelations of saints who were able to hear many spirits [in heaven], the chief example pertaining to blessed Martin,

48 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in II d. 2 p. 2, dubium 1, 2:84: “Angeli sunt substantiae spirituales; ergo non habent organa corporalia, ergo nec vocem possunt formare. Item, vox formatur ex percussione et fractione aeris: si ergo in empyreo non est aer, ergo non videtur, quod possit ibi esse vox nec sonus, ergo nec laus, non solum ab Angelis, verum etiam nec ab hominibus beatis.”

whom a certain holy man heard being brought into heaven with praises.⁴⁹ The authority of such scriptural passages as Isaiah 6:3 (*They cried one to another, and said: Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts,...*) and Apocalypse 4:8 (*They did not rest day and night, saying: Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty,...*) also runs contrary to an understanding of angelic praise as merely mental, Bonaventure notes.⁵⁰ In sum, whereas arguments from reason seem to support the view that the angelic praises intimated in Job 38:7 cannot have been vocal, arguments from authority suggest that they must have been.

In responding to the question, Bonaventure confesses that it cannot be determined definitively because neither the authorities nor the reasons brought to bear are sufficiently compelling. Both positions are merely “probable,” and so each is legitimately held by various thinkers.⁵¹ Bonaventure proceeds to survey what we might simply term the ‘mental-praise-alone position’ and the ‘vocal-praise position.’⁵² Proponents of the latter argue for it especially in the case of blessed humans not only because the human being has the organs for vocalization, but also because it is fitting that the whole human—body and soul—mount up to God in praise. If adherents of this view are asked how such vocalized praise is possible in a heaven without air and, in the case of angels, without corporeal respiratory organs, one explanation they give is that there “sound will not be formed through breathing in and out, but through the introduction of air, as if naturally, into the blessed, as is known to be the case in certain animals such as bees.”⁵³ Interestingly, Bonaventure and his contemporaries seem to have known, from Aristotle, the basic process according to which bees breathe: namely, not by respiration through lungs, but rather more or less by diffusion through a system of tubes, or tracheae, linked to the outside world by a series of holes, or spiracles, that carry oxygen into and carbon dioxide out

49 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in 11 d. 2 p. 2, dubium 1, 2:84: “Si dicas, quod intelligitur de laude mentali, non vocali; in contrarium sunt revelationes Sanctorum, qui audierunt multas animas; maxime exemplum est in beato Martino, quem audivit quidam vir sanctus cum laudibus ferri in caelum.”

50 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in 11 d. 2 p. 2, dubium 1, 2:84.

51 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in 11 d. 2 p. 2, dubium 1, 2:84: “Respondeo: Dicendum, quod super hoc non habetur certitudo, nec per auctoritates nec per rationes cogentes. Cum enim utraque pars sit probabilis, utraque tenetur a diversis.”

52 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in 11 d. 2 p. 2, dubium 1, 2:84–85.

53 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in 11 d. 2 p. 2, dubium 1, 2:85: “Et si quaeritur, quomodo hoc possit esse, dicunt,...quod illa vocis formatio non erit per inspirationem et respirationem, sed per aerem, qui quasi naturaliter erit Beatis complantatus, sicut patet in quibusdam animalibus, ut in apibus.”

of their cells.⁵⁴ Bonaventure concludes this *dubium* by affirming that whichever position is held—whether mental-praise-alone or vocal-praise—“it is clear that the text of Job is [rightly] understood concerning the blessed angels, who are called *stars* according to the brilliance of their early knowledge, which they possess in the Word.”⁵⁵

Although his commentary chronologically precedes that of Bonaventure, Albert too assumes this received allegorical reading of Job 38:7, as evidenced by his asking “whether in the empyrean heaven there is some vocal praise, by which the morning stars are said to have praised God.”⁵⁶ Like Bonaventure after him, Albert marshals authorities supporting both a positive and a negative answer to this question: Isaiah 6:3 and Apocalypse 14:11 in support of the ‘vocal-praise position,’ and John Damascene and Gregory the Great on the ‘mental-praise-alone’ side.⁵⁷ Significantly, in his answer Albert seems more convinced by Damascene, Gregory, and arguments from reasons than by the several scriptural authorities bearing on this question. He concludes: “The thinking of the holy teachers is ambiguous, and rather I think that either there is not vocal praise there, or, if there will be, its only purpose will be to demonstrate the power of the one praising, as the beauty of wisdom is shown in that it has so ordered the organs [of vocalization] that they are able to break forth in such excellent expression.”⁵⁸ Albert here appears to deny that the incorporeal angels are able to vocalize their praises while intimating that blessed humans—following the bodily resurrection, after which their previously separated souls will again be conjoined to the physical organs of voice—will indeed be able to extol God audibly. Because

54 For more on the modern understanding of this process, see Mark L. Winston, *The Biology of the Honey Bee* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), esp. 34.

55 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in 11 d. 2 p. 2, *dubium* 1, 2:85: “Quaecumque istarum positionum teneatur, planum est, quod textus Iob intelligitur de Angelis beatis, qui dicuntur *astra* propter fulgorem matutinae cognitionis, quam habent in Verbo.”

56 Albert, *Comm.* in 11 d. 2 G a. 6, 27:55–56.

57 Albert, *Comm.* in 11 d. 2 G a. 6 obj. et s.c. 1, 2, 27:55. Interestingly, whereas Bonaventure will cite Apocalypse 4:8 in support of the vocal-praise position, Albert (at least in the Borgnet edition) invokes Apocalypse 14:11 for this purpose. Both verses from the Apocalypse, in the Vulgate version, contain nearly identical phrases: *requiem non habebant die ac nocte* and *nec habent requiem die ac nocte*, respectively. But whereas the exulting angels are the subject in 4:8, those who have adored the beast and thus find themselves in everlasting torment are the subject in 14:11. If the reference here to 14:11 is original to Albert, rather than a medieval scribal error or a modern editorial addition, it is most certainly due to his working from memory and confusing the similar phrases in the two verses.

58 Albert, *Comm.* in 11 d. 2 G a. 6, 27:55: “De hoc sententia sanctorum Doctorum dubia est, et magis puto, quod aut non est ibi laus vocalis, aut si erit, non erit nisi in demonstrationem potentiae laudantis, ut in hoc ostendatur decor sapientiae quae sic ordinavit organa ut in talem vocem prorumpere possent.”

God, in His wisdom, has created humans with the organs of voice and will raise them to eternal life with these selfsame organs, it seems altogether fitting that blessed humans should praise their Creator with these organs.

In light of the centrality of Job 38:7 in both Albert's and Bonaventure's commentary on d. 2, it may be surprising that Thomas makes no mention whatsoever of this passage either here on d. 2 or anywhere in the *Scriptum*. In inquiring, in his comments on d. 2, about the duration of the angels and the nature of the empyrean heaven—whether it is corporeal, bright, and has causal influence over other bodies—Thomas simply assumes that the angels were created in the fiery heaven.⁵⁹ For whatever reason—perhaps because, especially in light of Albert's and Bonaventure's earlier treatments of this question, he recognized the difficulty of determining it definitively—Thomas seems wholly unconcerned to investigate whether the angels praised (and continue to praise) God vocally. But we should not therefore conclude that Thomas saw Job 38:7 as an insignificant authority that was unworthy of his attention. Rather, it may be precisely because this passage had been so pivotal in shaping the received Christian understanding that the angels were created in the empyrean heaven that he saw no need to plow again this frequently worked exegetical soil.

5.5 Book III

One place where all three of our scholastics make use of the same passage from Job to determine similar questions occurs in their respective commentaries on d. 22 of Book III, where Peter Lombard asks whether Christ was a human in death and whether He was a human wherever He was in death. One of the questions that Albert raises here is “whether Christ descended into hell.”⁶⁰ Based on such authorities as the Apostles' Creed and Philippians 2:10 (*At the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those who are in heaven, on earth, and under the earth*), both of which Albert quotes in the *sed contra*, it seems obvious that Christ did, in fact, descend into hell. He asks further, however, “whether He descended to the lower part of hell.”⁶¹ In the opening objection, Albert quotes the words of Job in 17:16: *All that I have will go down into the deepest part of hell.*

59 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in II d. 2 q. 1 praef., 2:61: “Hic est duplex quaestio: prima de aevo, quod durationem angeli mensurat; secunda de caelo empyreo, qui locus angelorum dicitur”; and *Scriptum* in II d. 2 q. 2 praef., 70: “Deinde quaeritur de caelo empyreo, in quo angeli facti dicuntur.”

60 Albert, *Comm.* in III d. 22 C a. 4, 28:391–93.

61 Albert, *Comm.* in III d. 22 C a. 4 q. un., 28:392: “Sed quaeritur ulterius, Utrum descendit ad inferiorem infernum?”

Do you think that there at least I will find rest? He proceeds to explain that with these words Job certainly sought rest from none other than the descending Christ; therefore, Christ descended to the lowest or deepest part of hell.⁶²

In determining the question, Albert first reaffirms that there is no doubt that Christ descended into hell. But the word “hell” (*infernus*) is used in many ways, he explains. The fundamental distinction here is between the interior hell and the exterior hell. James 3:6, which describes the tongue as being *inflamed by hell*, speaks of that interior hell that, according to Albert, the demons carry with them wherever they go. The exterior hell, by contrast, is divided into: (1) that place of utter darkness where the damned are afflicted; (2) that place of punishment whose darkness is tempered by the light of grace of those being purified (i.e., purgatory); (3) the limbo of infants, where there is neither sensory punishment nor light; and (4) the limbo of the holy Fathers, which Albert describes as “a dark place having some light on account of the great faith and hope of those dwelling there.”⁶³ Christ descended only to this fourth part of the exterior hell, the limbo of the Fathers, Albert concludes.⁶⁴ Following Gregory on Job 17:16, Albert replies to the first objection by explaining that when Job used the phrase, *into the deepest part of hell* (*in profundissimum infernum*), he was speaking not simply or absolutely, but in a relative sense:

There is a prison that is low (*profundus*) in relation to the delight of heaven, and it is that foggy air into which the demons were expelled [at their fall]. Our earthy dwelling, however, is lower (*profundior*), obscure, and a place of punishment. But the lowest place (*profundissimus*) is the limbo of those [holy Fathers] into which Job’s soul and all his goods descended until he was liberated by Christ. Therefore, Christ did not descend into the lowest place absolutely, but relatively.⁶⁵

62 Albert, *Comm.* in III d. 22 C a. 4 q. un. obj. 1, 28:392.

63 Albert, *Comm.* in III d. 22 C a. 4 q. un. c., 28:392: “Sed infernus dicitur multipliciter, scilicet interior,.... Et exterior: et hic multiplex est, sicut locus poenae tenebrosus et afflictivus damnatorum, et locus poenae non omnino tenebrosus, propter lucem gratiae purgandorum: et locus sine poena sensus et sine luce, ut limbus parvulorum in originali decedentium: et locus tenebrosus aliquid de luce habens propter magnam fidem et spem habitantium ibi, sicut limbus sanctorum patrum ante Christi descensum.”

64 Albert, *Comm.* in III d. 22 C a. 4 q. un. c., 28:392.

65 Albert, *Comm.* in III d. 22 C a. 4 q. un. ad 1, 28:393: “Et dicitur ibi infernus profundissimus non simpliciter, sed quodammodo: quia est profundus carcer respectu amoenitatis coeli, et est aer iste caliginosus in quem detrusi sunt daemones: profundior autem est habitatio terrena, obscura, et poenalis: et profundissimus dicitur respectu istorum limbus, in quem

In commenting on d. 22 and asking “whether Christ, in His descent to the places of hell, liberated all souls,” Bonaventure reads Job 17:16 in a way very similar to Albert. As his opening objection, based on Job 17:16, explains, it seems that Christ did free all the souls that were in hell: “It is clear that Christ rescued Job from hell. So He rescued some from the deepest part of hell; how much more [certain it is that He rescued those] from the higher part of hell. It seems, therefore, that He completely plundered all of hell.”⁶⁶ On the other hand, that the damned will remain in hell perpetually seems to be confirmed by such authorities as Isaiah 66:24: *Their worm will not die, and their fire will not be extinguished.*⁶⁷ Furthermore, as the fourth *sed contra* explains, “the passion of Christ does not destroy free will,” and so it destroys neither the merits nor demerits of any human’s free will. What this means is that those who are in hell because they have been damned through the demerits of their own free will “ought never, it seems, to be uprooted and liberated from there by the merits of the passion of Christ.”⁶⁸ This authority intimates the way in which Bonaventure, in contrast to both Albert before him and Thomas after him, will make explicit and thoroughgoing use of predestination as the doctrinal key to unlocking this difficult question and thus to understanding how Job 17:16 is to be read. Specifically, Bonaventure begins his response to the question by affirming simply that Christ liberated from hell only the souls of His elect. He explains further: “Although the passion of Christ was sufficient for all, nevertheless it flows only to His members; and therefore they alone were saved through Christ’s passion who either were His members when He suffered, or were going to be [subsequently] through conversion to Him.”⁶⁹ But there are many in hell who neither

anima Job et omnia bona sua descenderunt, donec liberatus fuit per Christum: et ideo non descendit in profundissimum simpliciter, sed quodammodo.”

66 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in III d. 22 a. un. q. 5 obj. 1, 3:460: “Iob decimo septimo: *In profundissimum infernum descendit omnia mea*; sed constat, quod Christus eripuit Iob de inferno: ergo eripuit aliquos de inferno profundissimo, multo fortius de parte superiori inferni: ergo videtur, quod totum infernum exspoliaverit.”

67 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in III d. 22 a. un. q. 5 s.c. 1, 3:461.

68 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in III d. 22 a. un. q. 5 s.c. 4, 3:461: “Item, passio Christi non tollit liberum arbitrium, ergo nec merita liberi arbitrii: ergo si aliqui erant ibi damnati per demerita sui liberi arbitrii, videtur, quod nunquam merito passionis Christi deberent inde erui et liberari.”

69 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in III d. 22 a. un. q. 5 c., 3:461: “Respondeo: Dicendum, quod Dominus in inferno non liberavit nisi animas electorum suorum, et eorum qui erant membra ipsius. Quamvis enim passio Christi omnibus suffecerit, non tamen influit nisi in eius membra; et ideo soli per passionem Christi salvati sunt, qui vel erant eius membra, quando passus est, vel futuri erant per conversionem ad ipsum.”

were nor would become members of Christ—and therefore were not rescued from hell—because they were not “in a state of meriting” (*in statu merendi*).⁷⁰ Though Bonaventure does not delve into the details of predestination here, his view, in line with other scholastic theologians, is that only those who were eternally chosen, i.e., the elect, merited the glorious end for which they were predestined by making good use in this life of the grace that God had given them. Those whose free will led them to demerit, by contrast, would not be saved, despite the unlimited salvific power of Christ’s passion.

When Bonaventure comes to interpreting Job 17:16, in reply to objection 1, he does so particularly in light of election and of the grace and merit of the elect. Not unlike Albert, he notes that *profundissimus infernus* can describe relative location either in the hell that is under the earth, or with respect to the hell that is above the earth. When used of the subterranean inferno, “the deepest part of hell” is the place to which the damned descend, down one level, as it were, from that merely “deeper” or “lower” part known as limbo or the bosom of Abraham. This latter location, Bonaventure explains, is “a certain place reserved for those who will be punished only for a time, and only with the penalty of physical loss or of the senses, like that [place] where the holy Fathers and others who had died with grace were.”⁷¹ Both Job and Christ descended to this limbo of the Fathers, of course, and so not to “the deepest part of hell” in this first sense. Both did go down to the *profundissimus infernus*, however, if it is understood with respect to the infernal region that is above the earth, namely, the foggy air into which the angels fell. This airy hell of the demons is “deeper” relative to the empyrean heaven in which all the angels were originally created, as we have already seen. And so, relative to both the fiery heaven and the foggy air, the limbo of the Fathers is appropriately described as “the deepest hell.” “And in this way,” Bonaventure concludes, “Job was saying that he would go down into the deepest part of hell.”⁷²

In his own treatment of Christ’s descent into hell in his *Scriptum* on Book III d. 22, Thomas generally follows Albert’s lead, focusing more on the infernal stratification itself than on predestination and merit as determinative of who occupies each stratum. After establishing the same fourfold division of hell made by his teacher, Thomas invokes Job 17:16 in an objection supporting the claim that Christ rescued the souls even from the hell of the damned, that

70 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in III d. 22 a. un. q. 5 c., 3:461.

71 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in III d. 22 a. un. q. 5 ad 1, 3:462: “... quidem vero deputatus his qui puniendi sunt solum ad tempus, sive sit poena damni, sive poena sensus, sicut ille, in quo erant sancti Patres et alii qui decesserant cum gratia.”

72 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in III d. 22 a. un. q. 5 ad 1, 3:462: “Et hoc modo dicebat Iob, se in profundissimum infernum descensurum.”

is, from the deepest or lowest part of hell.⁷³ A second scriptural authority to which Thomas here appeals is Psalm 85:13, where David says to Christ, *You have plucked my soul from the lower hell.*⁷⁴ Aquinas answers that Christ did not rescue the souls from the hell of the damned because they were, like the demons, obstinate in their wickedness. In light of this fact, then, Thomas follows Albert in maintaining that the superlative *profundissimum* of Job 17:16 (like the comparative *inferiori* of Ps. 85:13) indicates the respective cosmic locus of the limbo of the Fathers from which Christ liberated Job (and David).⁷⁵ Like Bonaventure, Thomas certainly understands the obstinacy of the wicked as that whereby they demerit, thus contributing to their ultimate location in the hell of the damned. Unlike Bonaventure, however, and more in line with his own master, Thomas leaves this thematic link to predestination implicit.

5.6 Book IV

In commenting on the Lombard's Fourth Book also, our scholastics sometimes use the same passages from Job as authorities, but nevertheless answer the question under consideration in somewhat different ways. This seems to be the case especially when they are treating questions of great theological import, such as "whether there will be a resurrection" (d. 43). In this first question of his opening article on d. 43, the first authority that Bonaventure invokes in support of a future resurrection is Job 19:25, where Job himself proclaims: *On the last day I will rise out of the earth.*⁷⁶ Significantly, as his first authority against resurrection Bonaventure sets forth different words from Job's own mouth, namely: *The human, when he falls asleep, will not rise again until heaven wastes away* (Job 14:12). Our Franciscan makes what appears to be Job's denial of a resurrection here explicit when he explains: "But heaven will never waste away, considering that it is incorruptible; therefore, the human will not rise again."⁷⁷ It appears, then, as if Job contradicts himself, affirming the resurrection at one time and denying it at another.

73 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in III d. 22 q. 2 a. 2 qc. 2 obj. 1, 3:673. Thomas divides hell into four parts in q. 2 a. 1 qc. 3 sol. 2 ad q. 2, 3:670–71.

74 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in III d. 22 q. 2 a. 2 qc. 2 obj. 1, 3:673.

75 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in III d. 22 q. 2 a. 2 qc. 2 sol. 2 ad q. 2 et ad 1, 3:675.

76 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 43 a. 1 q. 1 obj. 1, 4:883.

77 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 43 a. 1 q. 1 s.c. 1, 4:883: "Iob decimo quarto: *Homo, cum dormierit, non resurget, donec atteratur caelum*; sed caelum nunquam atteretur, cum sit incorruptibile: ergo homo non resurget."

Bonaventure attempts to reconcile these two apparently opposing affirmations of Job and determine this crucial eschatological question by appealing primarily to the faith that he has received and the authority of Scripture on which it stands. “It must be said,” he teaches, “that right faith declares that there will be a resurrection of our bodies. And that this should be believed is helped by faith in the resurrection of Christ which has already been accomplished. For if Christ is the head, and the members ought to be conformed to the head, since Christ rose again it follows that we too ought to rise again.”⁷⁸ And, as Bonaventure proceeds to explain, the faithful believe in the resurrection on the basis of the many convincing testimonies of the Apostle Paul. In addition to the scriptural evidence, Bonaventure notes that “the actual piety of faith also persuades” Christians of the truth of the bodily resurrection because such piety “can in no way conceive of the body of Christ having been burned to ashes.”⁷⁹ Here Bonaventure has in mind, it seems, one of the common 13th-century arguments against the doctrine of transubstantiation, namely: that because the consecrated host can suffer the same passions or alterations—such as rotting and burning—that simple bread suffers, and because Christian faith teaches that after His resurrection Christ’s body is impassible, the substance of bread seems to remain in the sacrament.⁸⁰ It is faith in Christ’s resurrection that compels the pious Christian to deny that the Lord’s body is burned in those instances where the consecrated host is burned. Almost as an afterthought, Bonaventure briefly enumerates three reasons, which “are built upon the foundation of faith,” that seem to support the reality of bodily resurrection. First, divine justice repays humans according to their merits; second, the consummation of glory fulfills or quiets every desire of the soul; and third, the perfection of nature pertains to the whole human, body and soul, rather than to the soul alone.⁸¹

Finally, in replying to the first objection, Bonaventure explains that the wasting away of heaven to which Job refers in 14:12 should be understood figuratively, not literally. That is, it is not the substance or nature of heaven that will waste away, but rather its outward appearance, according to the Apostle Paul’s

78 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 43 a. 1 q. 1 c., 4:883: “Respondeo: Dicendum, quod recta fides dicit, resurrectionem corporum nostrorum esse futuram.—Et ad hoc credendum adiuvatur per fidem resurrectionis Christi iam factae. Si enim Christus est caput, et membra debent conformari capiti; cum Christus resurrexerit, consequens est, ut et nos resurgamus.”

79 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 43 a. 1 q. 1 c., 4:884: “Persuadet etiam ipsa pietas fidei, quae nullo modo corpus Christi incineratum potest excogitare.”

80 On this objection to transubstantiation and one scholastic reply, see, e.g., Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra Gentiles* Bk. IV, chs. 62, 66.

81 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 43 a. 1 q. 1 c., 4:884.

words in 1 Cor. 7:31: *the form of this world passes away*.⁸² Although Bonaventure provides no further explanation, his response here implies that because the external form of heaven will eventually waste away, the human will, in fact, rise again.

Like his Franciscan contemporary, Thomas also begins to answer the question of whether there will be a bodily resurrection, which is also his first in commenting on d. 43, by noting that Job's words in 14:12 suggest a negative answer: "*The human, when he falls asleep, will not rise again until heaven wastes away. But heaven will never waste away.*"⁸³ And again like Bonaventure, Thomas marshals Job 19:25 in support of a bodily resurrection: *I know that my Redeemer lives, and on the last day I will rise out of the earth*.⁸⁴ However, when he is faced with these seemingly incompatible, even contradictory, words from Job, Thomas takes a very different tack to determining this crucial question than did Bonaventure. Indeed, instead of focusing on the faith he has received and the scriptural foundation on which it rests, Thomas's approach is distinctively philosophical.

He begins by noting that there are "different opinions on the ultimate end of the human," which have led different people to think differently about the reality of the resurrection.⁸⁵ Certain thinkers recognized that the human person's ultimate end, which he naturally desires, is happiness; but because they believed that it could be attained in this life, they denied a resurrection. "But this opinion is quite credibly excluded," Thomas explains, "by differences in fortune, the infirmity of the human body, the imperfection of knowledge and power, and the instability [of this present life]."⁸⁶ Understanding this, other

82 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 43 a. 1 q. 1 ad 1, 4:884: "Ad illud ergo quod primo obiicitur in contrarium, dicendum, quod illa attritio intelligitur quantum ad figuram, non quantum ad substantiam; figura autem accipitur, secundum quod accipit Apostolus, pro exteriori rei facie."

83 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in IV d. 43 q. 1 a. 1 qc. 1 obj. 1: "Ad primum sic proceditur. Videtur quod corporum resurrectio non sit futura. Job 14, 12: *homo, cum dormierit, non resurget, donec atteratur caelum*. Sed caelum nunquam atteretur: quia terra, de qua minus videtur, in aeternum stat, ut patet Eccle. 1. Ergo homo mortuus nunquam resurget."

84 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in IV d. 43 q. 1 a. 1 qc. 1 s.c. 1.

85 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in IV d. 43 q. 1 a. 1 qc. 1 c.: "Respondeo dicendum ad primam quaestionem, quod secundum diversas sententias de ultimo fine hominis diversificatae sunt sententiae ponentium vel negantium resurrectionem."

86 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in IV d. 43 q. 1 a. 1 qc. 1 c.: "Sed hanc opinionem satis probabiliter excludit varietas fortunae, et infirmitas humani corporis, scientiae et virtutis imperfectio et instabilitas, quibus omnibus beatitudinis perfectio impeditur, ut Augustinus prosequitur in fine de Civ. Dei."

thinkers—like Porphyry—maintained that there must be another life after this one to which only the souls of humans depart at death and where ultimate beatitude is attained. Because they believed that the soul flees the body, they also denied a bodily resurrection. These thinkers, Thomas explains, share a fundamental assumption with certain heretics, namely, that all corporeal realities have been created or formed by the devil, and thus the human cannot attain to beatitude unless his spiritual soul is separated from his evil body.⁸⁷ For Thomas, Aristotle clearly reveals the error of this assumption at the beginning of Book II of *De anima*, where he explains that every natural body is the matter that the soul, as form, actualizes.⁸⁸ Here also “the Philosopher sufficiently demolishes the foundation” of those who assume that the soul constitutes the entire nature of the human person such that it merely “uses the body as an instrument, as a sailor uses a ship,” and therefore deny a bodily resurrection.⁸⁹ In light of these philosophical, particularly Aristotelian, arguments, then, Thomas concludes: “And so it is clear that, if the human cannot be blessed in this life, it is necessary to assume a resurrection.”⁹⁰

With this solution in view, Thomas replies to the opening objection—in a way quite similar to Bonaventure—by explaining how Job 14:12 should be read, and more specifically how heaven can be appropriately said to waste away. Although it never diminishes according to substance, heaven does waste away “according to the effect of its power,” which is the generation and corruption of things below. It is in this sense, Thomas observes, that the Apostle says, *the form of this world passes away* (1 Cor. 7:31).⁹¹ The implication here appears to be

87 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in IV d. 43 q. 1 a. 1 qc. 1 c.

88 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in IV d. 43 q. 1 a. 1 qc. 1 c. Although Thomas simply says here “Hujusmodi autem fundamenti falsitas in secundi libri principio ostensa est” without specifying the particular work or author he has in mind, it is clear, particularly from his subsequent reference to this work here in the corpus, that he is thinking of Aristotle’s *De anima*.

89 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in IV d. 43 q. 1 a. 1 qc. 1 c.: “Quidam vero posuerunt totam hominis naturam in anima constare, ita ut anima corpore uteretur sicut instrumento, aut sicut nauta navi; unde secundum hanc opinionem sequitur quod sola anima beatificata naturali desiderio beatitudinis non frustraretur; et sic non oportet ponere resurrectionem. Sed hoc fundamentum sufficienter philosophus in 2 de anima destruit, ostendens animam corpori sicut formam materiae uniri.”

90 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in IV d. 43 q. 1 a. 1 qc. 1 c.: “Et sic patet quod si in hac vita homo non potest esse beatus, necesse est resurrectionem ponere.”

91 Aquinas, *Scriptum* in IV d. 43 q. 1 a. 1 qc. 1 ad 1: “Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod caelum nunquam atteretur quantum ad substantiam, sed atteretur quantum ad effectum virtutis, per quam movet ad generationem et corruptionem inferiorum, ratione cujus dicit apostolus 1 Corinth. 7, 31: *praeterit figura hujus mundi*.”

that, just as human bodies are generated and corrupted in this life, so too will they rise again—together with their immortal souls—in the next life. Read rightly, then, Job's words in 14:12 agree perfectly with those of 19:25 in affirming a bodily resurrection.

In spite of their common use and interpretation of Job 19:25 in tandem with 14:12, that Thomas answers this question by foregrounding Aristotle and philosophical reasons whereas Bonaventure does so from the starting-point of faith bolstered by Scripture points up the different postures that these scholastic masters had toward Aristotle and toward his use in the theological enterprise. Although both scholastics make thoroughgoing use of Aristotle throughout their *Sentences* commentaries and their works more generally, it was the radical Aristotelians of the Averroist crisis of mid-century who, unbeknownst to them, spotlighted these divergent postures. As Christopher Cullen explains: "Whereas Aquinas tried to meet the crisis by rescuing Aristotle, that is, by trying to insure that Aristotle was correctly interpreted, Bonaventure argues that the problem lies much deeper: the Averroists' fundamental error was to use reason to judge the truths of the faith."⁹² Particularly noteworthy for our present purposes is the fact that one of the errors of Aristotle catalogued by Bonaventure was the denial of eternal life in which humans are rewarded or punished.⁹³ It is hardly surprising, then, that Bonaventure steers clear of Aristotle in arguing for a bodily resurrection and focuses rather on the faith of the Church.

While Bonaventure, in commenting on Book IV, asks a number of other highly speculative eschatological questions in which he makes use of Job—including "whether resurrection is of the same bodies according to number" (d. 43 a. 1 q. 4) and "whether flesh which is flesh in two humans will rise again in the first or the second" (d. 44 p. 1 a. 2 q. 1)—we will conclude our consideration with his question, on d. 44, "whether the fire of hell is a true fire," that is, a natural material fire. In his third objection, Bonaventure develops an argument against the view that hell fire is true fire based on Job 18:5, according to which Bildad asks: *Shall not the light of the wicked be extinguished?* The argument runs as follows: Light is not an accident of fire, but rather is constitutive of its substance, and so it is in every instance of matter in which the species of fire is found; but the fire of hell lacks light, according to Job 18:5, which also comports with other scriptural passages indicating that the wicked are cast into outer darkness.⁹⁴

92 Christopher M. Cullen, *Bonaventure* (Oxford, 2006), 18.

93 Cullen, *Bonaventure*, 18–19.

94 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 44 p. 2 a. 2 q. 1 obj. 3, 4:925.

Bonaventure begins his response by noting the difficulty of answering this question since “Scripture does not determine it, nor does the distinguished doctor Augustine disentangle it, but rather he leaves it unresolved.”⁹⁵ We can have sufficient certainty, however, from later doctors such as Gregory that the infernal fire is corporeal, Bonaventure explains.⁹⁶ The further question, though, of “whether that fire is elementary [i.e., of the same nature as the classical element] or of the very same species as the [mundane] fire that is among us” cannot be definitively determined.⁹⁷ And yet, stronger arguments would need to be adduced, Bonaventure affirms, in order to convince us that hell fire is of a different nature and species from mundane fire. Thus, whereas it seems to be of the same species as mundane fire, hell fire has different accidental properties and therefore a different kind of operation from the fire we know.⁹⁸

With this solution in view, Bonaventure pays careful attention to the exact words of Job 18:5, *Shall not the light of the wicked be extinguished?*, in replying to the third objection. It is the *light* of the infernal fire, rather than the *fire itself*, that this text speaks of as being extinguished. How is it, then, that the infernal fire’s light, which is constitutive of the substance or nature of fire, is extinguished if, as the New Testament teaches, this fire itself is inextinguishable, that is, if it burns eternally (see, for example, Mark 9:43–44)? This is the crucial question that Bonaventure sets out to answer in replying to objections two and three. In the reply to the third objection, Bonaventure acknowledges, as the objection itself intimates, that light is one of the species of fire, the other two being flame and coal, and that all of them are material species. And, although the nature of light is preserved in every fire, the least light is found “in earthly matter” (*in materia terrestri*) like sulfur or brimstone and pitch. Fire in these materials is “more dark than light, because it hinders vision more than it helps it.”⁹⁹ We are able to imagine the infernal fire in this way, Bonaventure teaches, and in this we are aided by the authority of Scripture, as Apocalypse 14:10 says, *He will be tormented with fire and brimstone*,

95 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 44 p. 2 a. 2 q. 1 c., 4:926.

96 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 44 p. 2 a. 2 q. 1 c., 4:926.

97 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 44 p. 2 a. 2 q. 1 c., 4:926: “Sed utrum ille ignis sit elementaris sive eiusdem speciei cum igne, qui apud nos est; hoc non ita potest pro constanti a quocumque determinari.”

98 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 44 p. 2 a. 2 q. 1 c., 4:926.

99 Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 44 p. 2 a. 2 q. 1 ad 3, 4:926: “Et quamvis in omnibus his salvetur natura lucis, tamen minime est in materia terrestri, et maxime terrestres parum habet de luce et multum resolubilis est in fumositatem; et in tali materia, utpote in sulphure et pice, ignis potius est tenebrosus quam lucidus, quia magis visum impedit, quam adiuvet.”

and as Isaiah 34:8–9 asserts, *The day of the Lord's vengeance.... And its streams will be turned into pitch, and its ground into brimstone.*¹⁰⁰ The light of the infernal fire only seems to be extinguished, then, because its burning in “the earthly matter” of brimstone and pitch makes it darker than fires burning in other matter.

Finally, in his reply to the second objection Bonaventure aims to make clear that the infernal fire itself is never extinguished, although it is of the same nature and species as mundane fire. Because “extinguishability” (*exstinguibilitas*), in contrast to lucidity, is a property or accident of fire, Bonaventure can explain by analogy: “Just as the bodies of the damned are the same as ours according to species, and yet they are immortal, so too the fire tormenting those bodies is the same as our fire, although it does not come to an end, because it has this [property] not by nature but by a superadded power.”¹⁰¹ Just as God gives immortality to our naturally mortal bodies for the next life, so also He gives inextinguishability, as it were, to the otherwise naturally extinguishable fire used in hell for the purpose of punishment.¹⁰² That God does not alter the species of fire in adding such inextinguishability is clear, Bonaventure teaches, from a comparison with contemporary pyrotechnics. “Some who have experimented” with the art of fire-making say that “if fire is shut up with sulfur in a vase such that no air can escape, it continues [to burn] forever, if the vase remains forever.”¹⁰³ Nothing prevents us from understanding the infernal fire in this way, Bonaventure concludes, since it is similarly enclosed under the earth.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 44 p. 2 a. 2 q. 1 ad 3, 4:926–27.

¹⁰¹ Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 44 p. 2 a. 2 q. 1 ad 2, 4:926: “Ad illud quod obiicitur de proprietate exstinguibilitatis, potest responderi dupliciter: primo, quod sicut corpora damnatorum eadem sunt cum nostris secundum speciem, et tamen sunt immortalia; ita ignis crucians corpora illa idem est cum igne nostro, quamvis non deficiat, quia hoc non habet per naturam, sed per vim superadditam.”

¹⁰² For an introduction to how 13th-century masters envisioned suffering in hell, particularly with reference to the nature of the infernal fire and the resurrected body, see Donald Mowbray, *Pain and Suffering in Medieval Theology: Academic Debates at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth-century* (Woodbridge, 2009), 131–58.

¹⁰³ Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 44 p. 2 a. 2 q. 1 ad 2, 4:926: “Quia per operationem artis fieri potest, quod ignis non exstinguatur; sicut dicunt aliqui, qui experti sunt, quod si ignis cum sulphure includatur in vase, ex quo nulla possit fieri evaporatio, in aeternum duraret sine nutrimenti appositione, si locus in aeternum permaneret.”

¹⁰⁴ Bonaventure, *Comm.* in IV d. 44 p. 2 a. 2 q. 1 ad 2, 4:926: “hoc autem nihil prohibet in igne infernali intelligere, cum sub terra constet inclusum esse.”

5.7 Conclusion

Our aim here has been to provide a brief survey of the various ways in which three of the most notable 13th-century scholastics utilize the authority of Job in their commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. From the relatively small number of cases we have surveyed, it is clear how deeply immersed Albert the Great, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas were in the scriptural witness, how readily they recognized its potential as a resource for theology, and how adept they were at drawing on this power to clarify and advance the doctrinal tradition that they had received. The myriad uses they make of Job in commenting on the Lombard's book illustrate well their fundamental presuppositions regarding Sacred Scripture and its role in the theological enterprise. In commenting on the opening distinction of Book 1, for instance, Albert maintains that the "generally accepted" preambles of faith, together with the articles of faith that logically follow from them, constitute, according to some, the particular subject matter of theology. These preambles are four: (1) God exists; (2) God is truthful; (3) Sacred Scripture was produced by the Holy Spirit; and (4) Scripture is infallible.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Thomas maintains that the principles of sacred doctrine are obtained properly and certainly through revelation and that our faith rests on the revelation made to the humans who wrote canonical Scripture.¹⁰⁶ That Scripture is God's own self-revelation and that it is central to the theologian's task is evident in the ways our masters-in-training engage such questions—in commenting on Book 1—as how the Creator can be known through vestiges in creation and whether the visible mission of the Holy Spirit occurs only in a corporeal appearance. Indeed, in this first question, Job 11:7 and 12:7 aid Albert and Thomas in understanding a vestige as a confused, partial similitude and in concluding that creatures do teach us about God but only imperfectly. Additionally, Scripture appears to play a key role in Thomas's discussion of the visible mission of the Holy Spirit, wherein Gospel accounts of the baptism and transfiguration of Christ appear determinative of Thomas's distinction between the overflow of grace according to the mode of operation and its overflow according to the mode of instruction. Here a metaphorical reading of Job 37:11, *Clouds scatter their own light*, confirms that the Spirit appeared in the form of a cloud at Christ's transfiguration in order to signify the spiritual reality of grace flowing from Him to the Apostles by instruction.¹⁰⁷ In

105 Albert, *Comm.* in 1 d. 1 a. 2 c., 25:16. See also Ulrich G. Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, trans. Michael J. Miller (Washington, D.C., 2010), 158–59.

106 *ST* I.1.8 ad 2.

107 On the metaphorical or parabolic meaning of the literal sense, see *ST* I.1.10 ad 3.

treating the Spirit's visible mission, both Thomas and Albert are concerned to safeguard the uniqueness of the Son's Incarnation, that is, the Second Person's visible appearance in a true animate nature. In so doing, Albert has recourse to a "fittingness" argument; we must bear in mind, however, that according to our Dominicans what is "fitting" for God is determined by the text of Scripture, the incontrovertible word of God.

In commenting on Book II, Bonaventure makes sophisticated use of Job 38:7, *When the morning stars praised me*, in treating the question of the nature of the empyrean heaven and how exactly angels and blessed humans are able to praise God there. Here, our Franciscan master-in-training makes conspicuous the scholastic assumptions—inherited from antiquity, of course—that (1) Scripture cannot rightly be understood apart from the foregoing interpretive tradition, and (2) Scripture interprets Scripture and speaks ultimately with a single voice. Bonaventure knew well, from the *Glossa ordinaria* and Peter Lombard most immediately, that the "morning stars" of Job 38:7 must finally be read allegorically as the angels of the fiery heaven. And it is the larger context of God's questioning Job in Chapter 38 that recalls Genesis 1 and thus reinforces Bonaventure's reading. That God created "heaven" and "light" in the beginning, before He established the physical stars in the firmament on the fourth day, confirms that the "morning stars" of Job 38:7 are indeed the angels of the fiery heaven. Whereas precisely how they praised—and continue to praise—God cannot be known definitively, who and where they are can be known, according to Bonaventure, because this is ratified principally by Scripture itself.

Job's affirmation that all that he has will *descend into the deepest part of hell* (17:16) plays a pivotal role in the treatment of each of our scholastics, in commenting on Book III, of the nature of Christ's infernal descent. Specifically, consideration of the scriptural and theological tradition on this question in light of Job 17:16 demands that Albert, Bonaventure, and Thomas distinguish among various strata or regions of hell and conclude that Job must have been speaking relatively rather than absolutely. For his part, Bonaventure cites Isaiah 66:24 and draws explicitly on the doctrine of predestination, according to which Christ's passion does not override free will, to demonstrate that the Lord did not rescue the damned from the absolutely lowest part of hell. Thomas, by contrast, steers clear of predestination per se; instead he invokes Psalm 85:13 as an interpretive intertext confirming that Christ did not descend to the lowest hell of the damned, but rather merely to the limbo of the Fathers, from which he delivered the soul of Job and other pre-Christian faithful. In these different ways, then, Job's words, *All that I have will go down into the deepest part of hell*, aid Albert, Bonaventure, and Thomas in determining the exact theological import of the affirmation of the Apostle's Creed that Christ descended into hell.

The Church's teaching on the Savior's descent and its effect, in turn, also help our scholastic commentators on the Lombard to shed light on the meaning of Job's affirmation. If the teaching revealed in Scripture and clarified by the Church Fathers is ultimately singular—as our scholastics certainly assumed—then Job must have been speaking in a relative sense rather than absolutely.

On account of such affirmations as, *I know that my Redeemer lives, and on the last day I will rise out of the earth* (19:25), Job serves our scholastics as a seemingly straightforward authority in support of bodily resurrection. On the other hand, Job 14:12, at least at first glance, appears to deny the resurrection. That both Bonaventure and Thomas, in commenting on Book IV d. 43, employ both of these passages from Job in grappling with the crucial question of bodily resurrection enables us to more clearly see and appreciate their distinctive approaches. Whereas Bonaventure grounds his argument in the faith—and practical piety—of the Church, altogether avoiding Aristotle, whose denial of eternal life the Franciscan condemned, Thomas's approach is markedly philosophical, judging different opinions in light of Aristotelian anthropology.

Finally, the predominant scholastic assumption that various authorities, particularly scriptural ones, are ultimately reconcilable is exemplified in Bonaventure's treatment of the question of whether the fire of hell is a true fire. The expected affirmative answer to Bildad's rhetorical question in Job 18:5, *Shall not the light of the wicked be extinguished?*, seems to contradict New Testament texts that describe infernal fire as eternally unquenchable (e.g., Mark 9:43–44). Drawing on other scriptural authorities, from both Testaments, such as Isaiah 34:8–9 and Apocalypse 14:10, as well as on contemporary science, Bonaventure explains that fires that burn in sulfur and pitch—like the infernal fire—have less lucidity than other fires, and therefore appear as if extinguished. In fact, though, God has granted the fire of hell itself—which is to be distinguished from its light—the supernatural property of inextinguishability of which the New Testament speaks.

In sum, given their understanding that the Old and New Testaments together constitute God's incontrovertible revelation to humankind and that, as such, these scriptural texts stand as the principal authoritative source for the science of theology, Albert the Great, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas regularly called on Job in their commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* in order to determine—in light of Aristotle and their own 13th-century science—various questions on a wide range of theological topics, from the nature of the fiery heaven to the fire of hell.

Christ and the Eternal Extent of Divine Providence in the *Expositio super Job ad litteram* of Thomas Aquinas*

Franklin T. Harkins

6.1 Introduction

One significant tendency among recent commentators on the *Expositio super Job ad litteram* of Thomas Aquinas has been to see it as the principal place in his corpus where the 13th-century Dominican master grapples with the problem of evil and proposes a particular theodicy in response to it—or at least that place where he appears to provide the most help to them in their own thinking about this problem.¹ A number of modern scholars have rightly recognized, however, that, although his *Exposition on Job* may be used profitably to engage the problem of evil and develop a theodicy, Thomas himself is not here concerned with this problem.² Indeed, Eleonore Stump has noted that

* This article first appeared in *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 47/1 (2016): 123–52. It is reprinted here, with some changes in formatting, with the kind permission of the journal.

1 See, e.g., Eleonore Stump, “Aquinas on the Sufferings of Job,” in *Reasoned Faith: Essays in Philosophical Theology in Honor of Norman Kretzmann*, (ed.) Eleonore Stump (Ithaca, 1993), 328–57; Eleonore Stump, *Aquinas* (London, 2003), 455–78; Eleonore Stump, *Wandering in Darkness: Narrative and the Problem of Suffering* (Oxford, 2010), 418–50; Timothy P. Jackson, “Must Job Live Forever? A Reply to Aquinas on Providence,” *The Thomist* 62 (1998): 1–39; and Eric Roark, “Aquinas’s Unsuccessful Theodicy,” *Philosophy & Theology* 18/2 (2006): 247–56.

2 See, e.g., Jackson, “Must Job Live Forever?” 1; Stump, “Aquinas on the Sufferings of Job,” 333; and Terrence Tilley, *The Evils of Theodicy* (Washington, D.C., 1991), 227, who succinctly affirms: “Certainly one can construct a Thomistic resolution to the problem of evil, but ‘the problem of evil’ was not Thomas’s problem.” Indeed, Brian Davies notes that nowhere in his corpus does Thomas either take up the problem of evil or seek a solution to it in the form of a theodicy or defense of God: “Aquinas has *nothing* to say on this topic....[H]e never offers a stand-alone discussion of what contemporary philosophers have come to call the problem of evil. He has no book or essay on it. He offers no full-length treatment starting along the lines ‘God is X, Y, Z, etc.; yet evil exists; so how can we reconcile evil with God’s existence?’ In this sense, what now passes as the problem of evil goes unmentioned in Aquinas’s writings. These engage in no sustained theodicy or defense of belief in God written with an eye on evil” (Brian Davies, *Thomas Aquinas on God and Evil* [Oxford, 2011], 6).

whereas contemporary readers may find the story of Job's innocent suffering difficult to reconcile with the claim that there exists an omnipotent, omniscient, and omnibenevolent God, Thomas interprets the book of Job somewhat differently, namely as an attempt to come to grips with the nature and operations of divine providence.³ The specifically Christian theological lens through which Thomas reads Job and reflects on providence differs substantially from the *Weltanschauung* that forms the groundwork of some modern philosophical reflection on evil vis-à-vis God. Karen Kilby describes the more generic intellectual gestalt of contemporary philosophers of religion thus:

[T]he God whose compatibility with evil they discuss is presented as an abstract entity with a number of characteristics, a God who can be described without reference to any particular narratives, without any discussion of Incarnation, Christology, [or] Trinity...[A]lso the way evil is discussed, and the way evil is discussed in relation to God, are detached from any wider theological context. Theodicy is presented as a problem studied on its own, a simply stated philosophical conundrum which a theist must face, rather than an issue which might arise in a discussion of, for instance, creation or God's relation to history or Christology.⁴

Thomas's approach in his *Expositio super Iob ad litteram* stands in stark contrast. The God who reveals Himself in the book of Job is, according to Thomas, the Triune God whose second person, without loss of His divinity, assumed a human nature in time, a nature in which He Himself endured excruciating suffering and death before rising again, thereby definitively defeating sin, death, and the devil. Thus, the reader of Scripture cannot, in Thomas's view, approach the text of Job without consideration of the tradition of Christian teaching on the Triune nature of God, creation, providence, and, above all, Christ.

Given Thomas's unmistakably Christological approach, it is surprising that modern commentators like Eleonore Stump and Timothy P. Jackson, who are generally sympathetic to his reading and recognize the pitfalls of what they

3 Stump, "Aquinas on the Sufferings of Job," 333. See also John Yocum, "Aquinas' Literal Exposition on Job," in *Aquinas on Scripture: An Introduction to his Biblical Commentaries*, (eds.) Thomas G. Weinandy, Daniel A. Keating, and John P. Yocum (London, 2005), 21–42 esp. 31, who briefly enumerates the "radically different set of assumptions" that Thomas brings to the text of Job, namely that the ultimate purpose of human life is union with God, that earthly life is characterized by disorder on account of Original Sin, that God turns suffering in this life to a good end, and that the fulfilment of human life is to be found in the afterlife.

4 Karen Kilby, "Evil and the Limits of Theology," *New Blackfriars* 84 (2003): 13–29, at 14.

take to be the post-Enlightenment philosophical approach, make virtually no mention of the role of Christ in Thomas's reading. The same can be said of modern scholars whose interest in the *Expositio* is more historical and theological. Martin D. Yaffe, for example, describes Thomas's Job as the theologian *par excellence*, "perfectly wise in his intellectual grasp of such Christian doctrines as divine creation, particular providence, and bodily resurrection"; curiously, however, he altogether omits Christ.⁵ Likewise, although John Yocum emphasizes that Thomas reads Job "in a traditional manner," that is, from within the ongoing tradition of Christian faith and life, his analysis also overlooks the *Exposition's* crucial appropriation of Christology.⁶ And, perhaps most conspicuously, Denis Chardonens, in his monograph on divine providence and the human condition in the *Exposition*, fails to treat Christ in a sustained way.⁷

This article seeks to fill this lacuna in the scholarship by examining Thomas's teaching on Christ in the *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*. It must be said, to be fair, that the existence of this lacuna seems to have resulted, at least in part, from the honest desire of modern readers—particularly given the historical-critical understanding of literal interpretation—to recognize and respect that Thomas intends his commentary as an exposition "according to the letter." That is, modern interpreters generally hold the view that, however legitimate a Christological reading of the book of Job may be, such a reading discloses not the literal sense of the text, but rather one possible spiritual or allegorical meaning. Our focus on Christ in the *Expositio*, then, will necessarily entail a consideration of Thomas's understanding of (1) how God reveals Himself to humans *ad litteram* (i.e., through the primary intention of words and sensible similitudes), particularly in and through the book of Job; and (2) how humans in this life are able to apprehend such divine revelation. We will argue that, on Thomas's reading, Christ occupies a significant place with regard to the primary intention of the words and sensible similitudes whereby God reveals Himself and His will to and through Job. More specifically, for Thomas, the redemptive suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ, in which Job hopes, enables Job and subsequent readers of the sacred book bearing his name to understand what they may not know naturally, namely that God's good and just governance of human affairs extends beyond this earthly existence to the life of the world to come.

5 Martin D. Yaffe, "Interpretive Essay," in Thomas Aquinas, *The Literal Exposition on Job: A Scriptural Commentary Concerning Providence*, trans. Anthony Damico (Atlanta, 1989), 1–65, at 26.

6 Yocum, "Aquinas' Literal Exposition on Job," 41–42.

7 Denis Chardonens, *L'homme sous le regard de la providence: Providence de Dieu et condition humaine selon l'Exposition littérale sur le Livre de Job de Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris, 1997).

Following a brief consideration of the historical context of the *Expositio* and the purpose of the book of Job according to Thomas (6.2), we will examine the treatment of Christ in his literal commentary (6.3). Here our focus will be on: (A) Christ's full humanity, true and rightly-ordered suffering, and perfect wisdom; (B) Christ's descent to hell and the salvation it wrought for the pre-Christian faithful like Job; (C) Job's hope in the resurrection; (D) the divine teaching revealed, albeit obscurely, to and through Job; and (E) Christ's ultimate victory over Satan.

6.2 The Setting of the *Expositio* and the Purpose of Job

On 14 September 1261, the chapter of the Roman province of the Dominican Order appointed Thomas, "for the remission of his sins," conventual lector at the priory of San Domenico in Orvieto, where he would spend the next four years teaching and forming his religious brothers for their pastoral duties of preaching and hearing confessions.⁸ Here in Orvieto Thomas seems to have had his first exposure to the practical theological training of the Dominican *fratres communes* by means of moral manuals such as Raymond of Peñafort's *Summa de casibus*, Hugh of St. Cher's *Speculum ecclesiae*, and the *Speculum maius* of Vincent of Beauvais.⁹ With the hindsight of Thomas's subsequent production of the *Summa theologiae*, which set the teaching on the virtues in the *Secunda Secundae* within the broader context of speculative theology, it is safe to assume that during his time in Orvieto Thomas was particularly concerned that his students receive a proper grounding in the central doctrines of the Christian faith.¹⁰ It was at San Domenico during this period—1261 to

8 James A. Weisheipl, O.P., *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: His Life, Thought, and Works* (Oxford, 1975), 147; and Jean-Pierre Torrell, O.P., *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 2 vols., trans. Robert Royal (Washington, D.C., 1996, 2003) 1:117–41.

9 See Leonard E. Boyle, O.P., "The Setting of the *Summa theologiae* of Saint Thomas," *Facing History: A Different Thomas Aquinas* (Louvain, 2000), 65–91 (originally published as *The Setting of the Summa theologiae of Saint Thomas* [Toronto, 1982], the fifth Etienne Gilson lecture at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies); and Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 1:119–20.

10 Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 1:120. On the nature of education and formation in Dominican *studia* and the relationship of Thomas's pedagogical and theological work to these schools, see M. Michèle Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study...": *Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto, 1998), 130–218; M. Michèle Mulchahey, "The Dominican *Studium* System and the Universities of Europe in the Thirteenth Century: A Relationship Redefined," in *Manuels, programmes de cours et techniques d'enseignement dans les*

1264—that Thomas also lectured on the book of Job for his brothers.¹¹ Of all the sacred books that he might have selected for his “cursory” lectures on Scripture at Orvieto, Thomas chose Job. Furthermore, whereas the majority of his lectures on biblical books have come down to us in the form of student notes (*reportationes*), his commentary on Job carries the title *expositio*, indicating that Thomas himself revised and prepared it for publication. Aside from the Job commentary, only the literal commentary on Isaiah (of which we have an autograph) and the commentary on the first eight chapters of Romans are *expositiones*, which fact intimates Thomas’s special regard for these scriptural texts and his comments on them.¹² The period 1261–1264 was one of considerable literary productivity for Thomas: in addition to the *Expositio super Iob*, he composed the *Summa contra Gentiles*, a substantial part of the *Catena aurea*, and a number of opuscula including *Contra errores Graecorum*, *De rationibus fidei*, and *De articulis fidei et ecclesiae sacramentis*.¹³ In these contemporaneous works Thomas engages a number of the theological themes that play a significant role in his Job commentary: divine providence (which he treats extensively in the *Summa contra Gentiles*, Book III, chapters 64–113), the person and redemptive work of Christ, the human person’s natural knowledge of God and of divine realities, the necessity of faith, the resurrection of the body, and the final judgment.

In the Prologue to his *Expositio super Iob*, Thomas indicates the problem in response to which the book of Job was written. It is an unmistakably human problem, primarily epistemological and theological, but with significant cultic and moral implications, namely that humans may not naturally or easily apprehend the extent of divine providence vis-à-vis human affairs. “It turns out,” Thomas explains, “that from the beginning many [humans] have erred on account of imperfect knowledge concerning the truth (*propter imperfectam cognitionem circa veritatem*). Among them some arose who, sweeping away

universités médiévales: Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve (9–11 septembre 1993), (ed.) Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain, 1994), 277–324, esp. 309 n. 95; and Boyle, “The Setting of the *Summa theologiae*.”

- 11 See *Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia*, Leonine ed. vol. 26: *Expositio super Iob ad Litteram. Praefatio* (Rome, 1965), 17*–20* (hereafter: *Expositio Praefatio*); Thomas Prügl, “Thomas Aquinas as Interpreter of Scripture,” in *The Theology of Thomas Aquinas*, (eds.) Rik Van Nieuwenhove and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame, Ind., 2005), 386–415, at 387–88; Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 1:120–21; and Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D’Aquino*, 368–74.
- 12 Prügl, “Thomas Aquinas as Interpreter of Scripture,” 387–88.
- 13 Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 1:117–41; Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D’Aquino*, 163–76; and *Expositio Praefatio*, 17*–20*.

divine providence, attributed everything to fortune and chance.”¹⁴ Although this *cognitio imperfecta* meant that, early in human history, most denied God’s providential governance of both natural realities and human affairs, with the help of later philosophers the majority came to see that nature—because of its apparent order—is moved by providence rather than by chance. Even among these people, however, the incomplete knowledge of the truth has led to doubts concerning the movement of human events, as they manifest no certain order. Thomas observes: “For good things do not always happen to good people or bad things to bad people. Neither, on the other hand, do bad things always happen to good people, nor good things to bad people; rather, good and bad things happen indifferently to good and bad people.”¹⁵ As a result, many have concluded that human affairs are not governed by divine providence but rather proceed either accidentally—except insofar as they are guided by human providence and planning—or according to celestial fate.¹⁶ Thomas makes clear the grave cultic and ethical repercussions of this epistemological problem, which he understands as “especially harmful to the human race”: “for when divine providence is done away with, no reverence for or fear of God in connection with the truth will remain among humans.” And where respect for God based on the truth is absent, great indolence concerning the virtues and an equally great inclination to the vices will result. Conversely, the fear and love of God is most effective in calling humans away from evil and leading them toward the good.¹⁷

14 *Expositio Prologus* (*Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia*, Leonine ed. vol. 26: *Expositio super Iob ad Litteram. Textus* [Rome, 1965], 3 [hereafter cited according to page number thus: Leon. ed., 3]): “ex quo contigit multos a principio propter imperfectam cognitionem circa veritatem errasse. Inter quos aliqui extiterunt qui divinam providentiam auferentes omnia fortunae et casui attribuebant.” All translations from the Latin in this article, both of Thomas’s works and of the Vulgate text, are my own. For a complete English translation of the *Expositio super Iob*, see Thomas Aquinas, *The Literal Exposition on Job*; for a complete English translation of the *Summa theologiae*, see *Summa Theologica: Complete English Edition in Five Volumes*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York, 1948; repr. Notre Dame, Ind., 1981).

15 *Expositio Prologus*: “non enim semper bonis bona eveniunt aut malis mala, neque rursus semper bonis mala aut malis bona, sed indifferenter bonis et malis et bona et mala” (Leon. ed., 3).

16 *Expositio Prologus* (Leon. ed., 3).

17 *Expositio Prologus*: “Haec autem opinio maxime humano generi nociva invenitur; divina enim providentia sublata, nulla apud homines Dei reverentia aut timor cum veritate remanebit, ex quo quanta desidia circa virtutes, quanta prinitas ad vitia subsequatur satis quilibet perpendere potest: nihil enim est quod tantum revocet homines a malis et ad bona inducat quantum Dei timor et amor” (Leon. ed., 3).

In light of this pernicious and wide-ranging problem, Thomas teaches that those ancients who “sought wisdom by means of the divine spirit for the instruction of others” (presumably the human writers of scriptural texts such as Job) had as their “first and most important task” to remove from human hearts the opinion that human affairs are not governed by divine providence.¹⁸ Consequently, following the Law and the Prophets, the book of Job was placed first among the Sacred Writings (*hagiographa*)—that collection “written wisely through the Spirit of God for human instruction”—on account of the fact that its entire intention is “to show by means of probable arguments (*per probabiles rationes*) that human affairs are directed by divine providence.”¹⁹ But, because the inexplicable suffering of the just seems to undermine the very foundation of providence, this sacred book proposes, as the topic of the question (*quaestio*) under discussion, “the manifold and severe suffering of a certain man, perfect in every virtue, who is called Job.”²⁰

On Thomas’s reading, then, Job’s suffering provides an extreme case study, as it were, by means of which Job, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar debate—in the manner of a medieval scholastic disputation—the crucial *quaestio* of the governance of human affairs by divine providence. It is noteworthy in this vein that approximately a decade after Thomas delivered his lectures on Job at Orvieto, his teacher Albertus Magnus was inspired by his pupil

18 *Expositio Prologus*: “Unde eorum qui divino spiritu sapientiam consecuti <sunt> ad aliorum eruditionem, primum et praecipuum studium fuit hanc opinionem a cordibus hominum amovere” (Leon. ed., 3).

19 *Expositio Prologus*: “et ideo post Legem datam et Prophetas, in numero hagiographorum, idest librorum per Spiritum Dei sapienter ad eruditionem hominum conscriptorum, primus ponitur liber Iob, cuius tota intentio circa hoc versatur ut per probabiles rationes ostendatur res humanas divina providentia regi” (Leon. ed., 3). Thomas inherited the threefold division of the Old Testament and the order of books within each division (including Job as first among the Writings) that Hugh of St. Victor sets forth in *Didascalicon* IV.2 (trans. Franklin T. Harkins, *Interpretation of Scripture: Theory*, (eds.) Franklin T. Harkins and Frans van Liere [Turnhout, 2012], 134–35). On the shape and development of the medieval Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible (wherein Job is numbered third among the Writings, after Psalms and Proverbs), see Jack N. Lightstone, “The Rabbis’ Bible: The Canon of the Hebrew Bible and the Early Rabbinic Guild,” in *The Canon Debate*, (eds.) Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders (Peabody, Mass., 2002), 163–84; see esp. 170–72, where Lightstone compares the Masoretic Text to the Old Testament canons of Jerome and Augustine.

20 *Expositio Prologus*: “sed quod iusti sine causa affligantur totaliter videtur subruere providentiae fundamentum. Proponitur igitur ad quaestionem intentam, quasi quoddam thema, multiplex et gravis afflictio cuiusdam viri in omni virtute perfecti qui dicitur Iob” (Leon. ed., 3–4).

not only to compose his own Job commentary but also to frame the entire book as an academic disputation.²¹ As we will see, the emphasis on the human person's epistemological limitation that figures prominently in Thomas's prologue runs throughout the *Expositio* and culminates in his reading of God's response to Job from the whirlwind (38:1). Here Thomas affirms explicitly: "because human wisdom is not sufficient to comprehend the truth of divine providence, it was necessary that the preceding disputation be determined by divine authority."²² And this divine determination happens in and through a whirlwind, whose obscurity Thomas takes as a metaphor for the human person's inability in this life to perceive divine inspiration clearly, hence his or her need to be taught spiritual truths by means of sensible similitudes.

6.3 Christ in the *Expositio super Iob*

Christ figures notably and variously in Thomas's *literal* exposition of Job, particularly in his understanding of how the sacred book accomplishes its intention of showing that divine providence governs human affairs. Given historical-critical assumptions about what constitutes sound literal interpretation, modern readers may legitimately ask whether Thomas is inappropriately reading Christ into the text of Job (i.e., eisegeting rather than exegeting), particularly given his self-avowed aim of proceeding *ad litteram* in this commentary. In order to appreciate why Thomas would have answered this question with a resounding 'No,' it is necessary to consider briefly his understanding of literal signification and interpretation.

Near the beginning of the *Expositio*, at the outset of his comments on God's granting Satan permission to test Job (1:6ff.), Thomas notes that the sacred text, after recounting Job's prosperity (1:1–5), turns to a consideration of his adversity, beginning with its cause. And to prevent anyone from imagining that adversities befall the just apart from divine providence and thus that human

21 See Ruth Meyer, "A Passionate Dispute over Divine Providence: Albert the Great's Commentary on the Book of Job," in the present volume. Cf. Yaffe, "Interpretive Essay," 7 n. 32, who confuses the chronology and mistakenly maintains that Thomas, in reading the book of Job as a *disputatio*, follows the pattern set by his teacher.

22 *Expositio super Iob* 38:1: "Praemissa disputatione Iob et amicorum eius de providentia divina, Eliud sibi vices determinantis assumpserat, in quibusdam redarguens Iob, in quibusdam autem amicos ipsius; sed quia humana sapientia non sufficit ad veritatem divinae providentiae comprehendendam, necessarium fuit ut praedicta disputatio divina auctoritate determinaretur" (Leon. ed., 199).

affairs are not subject to providence, the text of Job proposes in advance how God manages human events.²³ Thomas explains:

This [i.e., the extension of divine providence to human affairs] is proposed, however, symbolically and under obscure speech (*symbolice et sub aenigmate*) according to the customary practice of Sacred Scripture, which describes spiritual realities under the figures of corporeal things, as is clear in Isaiah 6[1], *I saw the Lord sitting on a throne high and lifted up*, at the beginning of Ezekiel, and in many other places. And although spiritual realities are proposed under the figures of corporeal things, nevertheless those things concerning spiritual realities that are intended by sensible figures pertain not to the mystical sense but to the literal, because the literal sense is whatever is intended in the first place by the words, whether they are used properly or figuratively.²⁴

For Thomas, then, the literal sense is polysemous, including the figurative or metaphorical use or intention of the words of the sacred text. He makes clear in the opening question of the *Prima pars* of the *Summa theologiae* that it is altogether “fitting” (*conveniens*) for Sacred Scripture to set forth spiritual realities under the likenesses of corporeal things because God provides for all things according to their natures, and it is natural to the human to arrive at intelligible realities through sensible things.²⁵ To the objection that Scripture should use the similitudes of higher creatures rather than those of lower ones to signify spiritual realities because higher creatures are more like God, Thomas responds that “it is more fitting” (*magis est conveniens*) that divine realities

23 *Expositio super Iob* 1:6: “Et ne quis putaret adversitates iustorum absque divina providentia procedere et per hoc aestimaret res humanas providentiae subiectas non esse, praemittitur quomodo Deus de rebus humanis curam habet et eas dispensat” (Leon. ed., 7).

24 *Expositio super Iob* 1:6: “Hoc autem symbolice et sub aenigmate proponitur secundum consuetudinem sacrae Scripturae, quae res spirituales sub figuris rerum corporalium describit, sicut patet Is. vi ‘Vidi Dominum sedentem super solium excelsum et elevatum,’ et in principio Ezechielis et in pluribus aliis locis. Et quamvis spiritualia sub figuris rerum corporalium proponantur, non tamen ea quae circa spiritualia intenduntur per figuras sensibiles ad mysticum sensum <pertinent> sed litteralem, quia sensus litteralis est qui primo per verba intenditur, sive proprie dicta sive figurate” (Leon. ed., 7).

25 *Summa theologiae* I.1.9 co. (vol. 1: Ia, (ed.) Petrus Caramello [Turin, 1950], 8; vol. 2: Ia and Ia Iae, (ed.) Petrus Caramello [Turin, 1950]; vol. 3: IIa IIae, (eds.) Rubeis, Billuart, P. Faucher, O.P., et al. [Turin, 1948]; vol. 4: IIIa and Supplementum, (eds.) Rubeis, Billuart, P. Faucher, O.P., et al. [Turin, 1948]; hereafter all volumes will be cited according to volume and page number thus: Marietti ed., 1:8).

are taught “under the figures of common corporeal things.”²⁶ In both the *Expositio super Iob* and the *Summa theologiae*, then, Thomas discloses not only his rather expansive view of the literal sense, but also his understanding of God’s having revealed Himself and divine realities *sub figuris vilium corporum* as providential and pedagogically purposeful for human learners.

For Thomas, both of these—namely, Scripture’s extensive or polysemous literal sense and its pedagogical purposefulness—directly follow from the fact that God is the author of, and authority behind, the sacred text. Indeed, because (1) God, who comprehends all things simultaneously in His intellect, is the author of Sacred Scripture, and (2) the literal sense is that which the author intends, Thomas teaches that “it is not unfitting...if, even according to the literal sense (*etiam secundum litteralem sensum*), there are several ways of understanding a single scriptural text.”²⁷ *Etiam secundum litteralem sensum* is the operative phrase here. Like his ancient and medieval predecessors, Thomas, of course, recognized Scripture’s multiple spiritual senses and the necessity, in the work of interpretation, of establishing them on the foundation of the literal sense.²⁸ He diverges from the received hermeneutics of his day, however, in finding several “senses” or ways of understanding a text *within* the literal itself. Thomas teaches, for example: “It must be said that the parabolic sense is contained within the literal, for by words something is signified properly and something [else] figuratively. Nor is the literal sense the figure itself, but that which is figured.”²⁹ Recognizing the truth of John F. Boyle’s affirmation that

26 ST I.1.9 ad 3: “Ad tertium dicendum quod, sicut docet Dionysius, cap. 2 *Cael. Hier.*, magis est conveniens quod divina in Scripturis tradantur sub figuris vilium corporum, quam corporum nobilium” (Marietti ed., 1:8). Thomas explains that this is so for three reasons: (1) to make clearer that these things signify figuratively and are not said properly or literally of God, thereby better preserving the human mind from error; (2) to help humans better to understand that God is above whatever they might say or think about Him (i.e., that in this life it is more evident to humans what God is not than what God is); and (3) to hide divine realities more effectively from the unworthy.

27 ST I.1.10 co.: “Quia vero sensus litteralis est, quem auctor intendit: auctor autem sacrae Scripturae Deus est, qui omnia simul suo intellectu comprehendit: non est inconueniens, ut dicit Augustinus XII *Confessionum*, si etiam secundum litteralem sensum in una littera Scripturae plures sint sensus” (Marietti ed., 1:9).

28 ST I.1.10 co. (Marietti ed., 1:9).

29 ST I.1.10 ad 3: “Ad tertium dicendum quod sensus parabolicus sub litterali continetur: nam per voces significatur aliquid proprie, et aliquid figurative, nec est litteralis sensus ipsa figura, sed id quod est figuratum” (Marietti ed., 1:9). Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon* VI.3 (trans. Harkins, *Interpretation of Scripture: Theory*, 166), who restricts the literal or historical sense to the primary and *proper* meaning of the scriptural words: “If, however, we understand the meaning of this word more broadly, it is not inappropriate for us to say

“Thomas is more interested in actually interpreting Scripture than in thinking about interpreting Scripture,”³⁰ let us turn to a consideration of how Christ, in Thomas’s reading, stands as one of the principal *figurata* of the text of Job and thus a centerpiece of the literal meaning intended by the book’s divine author.

A My servant Job (1:8): *Suffering, Sadness, and Perfect Human Wisdom*

The name “Christ” first appears in the *Expositio super Iob* in Thomas’s comments on Chapter 1, specifically on the conversation between God and Satan recounted in verse 7 and following. In interpreting vv. 7–8 Thomas is concerned to show that Satan’s cunning and calamitous actions toward Job are subject to divine providence, a reality of which even Satan himself is well aware. In explaining the relationship between Satan’s actions toward Job and God’s will, Thomas makes the important distinction between deeds performed by demons like Satan, on the one hand, and the intention behind such deeds, on the other. Whereas deeds administered by demons “sometimes come about according to the divine will” (e.g., the punishment of evil people and the testing of good ones, such as Job), the intention of demons is “always evil and inimical to God.” It is this distinction, on Thomas’s reading, that God Himself aims to highlight in His question to Satan in 1:7, *Where are you coming from?*³¹ God does not ask Satan, “What are you doing?” or “Where are you?” which questions would have more to do with Satan’s deeds; rather He asks, *Where are you coming from?* in order to get at the intention behind Satan’s (proposed) actions, an intention that is opposed to that of God Himself.³²

that ‘history’ is not only the narrative of things having been done but also the first meaning of any narrative that signifies according to the proper nature of words.”

30 John F. Boyle, “St. Thomas Aquinas and Sacred Scripture,” *Pro Ecclesia* 4 (1996): 92–104, at 95.

31 Following the style of the Leonine edition of the *Expositio*, all English translations of the text of Job that appear in this article will be italicized. For the sake of consistency, translations of other scriptural texts—including those occurring in excerpts from Thomas’s *Expositio*—will also appear in the body of the article in italics, although the Leonine edition prints these texts within double quotation marks (which will appear within single quotation marks in the Latin excerpts from Thomas’s *Expositio* provided in the footnotes of this article, as, e.g., in n. 81 below). In some cases the scriptural text excerpted in the footnotes here is taken from the page headers in the Leonine edition, where the text appears neither in italics nor in double quotation marks; these excerpts will simply appear within double quotations in the footnotes below, as, e.g., in nn. 60 and 79.

32 *Expositio super Iob* 1:7: “*Cui dixit Dominus: Unde venis? Et notandum est quod non dicit ei Dominus ‘Quid facis?’ aut ‘Ubi es?’ sed Unde venis?, quia ea ipsa facta quae per daemones procurantur interdum ex divina voluntate proveniunt, dum per eos vel puniuntur mali vel exercentur boni; sed daemonum intentio semper mala est et a Deo aliena, et ideo a Satan*

Furthermore, Satan's response to the Lord here, *I have gone around the earth and I have walked through it* (v. 7), whereby he "gives an account, as it were, of his own actions to God," also reveals, according to Thomas, that "all the things that are done by Satan are subject to divine providence."³³ Thomas makes clear at the beginning of his *Expositio* not only that God does have perfect, providential oversight over all, but also that Satan understands his own actions—despite his evil intention—as necessarily falling under the universal canopy of divine providence. Moreover, in commenting on the reality of God's and Satan's speaking to one another here, Thomas plainly teaches that Satan, unlike humans (i.e., corporeal and sensible rational creatures), had no need to *learn* that his actions were subject to providence. In the words they exchange in 1:7, neither God nor Satan transfers previously unknown knowledge to the other. Rather, God's words to Satan constitute an "intelligible expression" whereby "He causes him to realize that the things he does are seen by God."³⁴ Similarly, Satan's response signifies not a conveying to God of something that He did not know beforehand, but rather Satan's own careful consideration that "all of his actions are manifest to divine sight."³⁵

quaeritur Unde venis?, quia eius intentio, a qua procedit tota ipsius actio, a Deo est aliena" (Leon. ed., 8–9). Thomas's interpretation here reveals his understanding of the 'omnisignificance' of Scripture, that is, that every word of the sacred text signifies something—or, more properly, that God, as author, signifies something by means of every word—and that no word is superfluous.

- 33 *Expositio super Iob* 1:7: "Per hoc igitur quod Dominus dicit ad Satan *Unde venis?* intentionem et acta diaboli Deus examinat; per hoc autem quod Satan respondet *Circuivi terram et perambulavi eam*, quasi suorum actuum Deo rationem reddit, ut ex utroque ostendatur omnia quae per Satan fiunt divinae providentiae subiecta esse" (Leon. ed., 9).
- 34 *Expositio super Iob* 1:7: "...temporaliter Deus aliqua dicit, diversimode tamen secundum quod congruit eis quibus dicit: ...aliquando autem intelligibili expressione, et hoc modo intelligendum est Deum ad Satan dixisse in quantum eum intelligere facit quod ea quae ipse agit a Deo conspiciuntur" (Leon. ed., 9).
- 35 *Expositio super Iob* 1:7: "Sicut ergo dicere Dei ad Satan est ei notitiam praebere, ita respondere Satan Deo est non quidem alicuius rei Deo notitiam tradere sed considerare omnia sua divino conspectui aperta esse" (Leon. ed., 9). We take Thomas's "ei notitiam praebere" here to mean something like 'to hold an idea in front of him,' that is, to remind him or make him aware of something already known, rather than to provide him with some knowledge for the first time (as may seem to be suggested by Damico's translation, "a furnishing of knowledge to him" [p. 79]). So too our rendering of Thomas's earlier "eum intelligere facit quod ea quae ipse agit a Deo conspiciuntur" (quoted in n. 34 above) as "He causes him to realize that the things he does are seen by God" aims to capture what we understand to be Thomas's teaching on God's speaking to Satan more unambiguously

In commenting on 1:7–8, Thomas first reveals his assumption that Christ—particularly the Incarnation and His example of virtuous servanthood—stands at the heart of a proper understanding of divine providence and of the book and figure of Job. Not surprisingly given Augustine’s influential analogy of verbalization for God’s having sent His own Word into the world in time, the Incarnation figures centrally in Thomas’s explanation here of the basic twofold way in which God speaks. First, God speaks eternally in the generation of the divine Son, who is the very Word of God. Secondly, God speaks temporally, and He does so in three ways: (1) by means of corporeal sound; (2) through imaginary vision, as through the Old Testament prophets; and (3) with an intelligible expression, as to Satan here. Thomas intimates Christ’s true humanity in explaining that God speaks to humans, who have corporeal senses, “by means of corporeal sound formed in some subjected creature, just as His voice sounded at the baptism and transfiguration of Christ, *This is my beloved Son*.”³⁶ In discussing the baptism and transfiguration in the *Tertia pars* of the *Summa theologiae*, Thomas explains that God spoke via the corporeal sound of a voice at these critical junctures in Christ’s life in order to accommodate His teaching concerning Christ to the sensible nature of those humans who were present.³⁷ It must be noted that, on the scholastic view, this is also precisely why angels—both good ones like Gabriel and bad ones like Satan—assume bodies (which are not natural or inherent to them), namely in order that God might use them as instruments for the fitting instruction of corporeal humans.³⁸ Understanding these scholastic assumptions about divine pedagogy and angelic

than Damico’s “He makes him understand that the things which he does are seen by God” (79) might.

- 36 *Expositio super Iob* 1:7: “Sciendum autem est quod dicere dupliciter accipitur, nam quandoque refertur ad conceptum cordis, nam quandoque refertur ad conceptum cordis, quandoque autem ad significationem qua huiusmodi conceptus alteri exprimitur. Secundum igitur primum modum dicere Dei est aeternum et nihil est aliud quam generare Filium qui est verbum ipsius. Secundo autem modo temporaliter Deus aliqua dicit, diversimode tamen secundum quod congruit eis quibus dicit: nam hominibus corporeo sensus habentibus aliquando Deus locutus est corporeo sono formato in aliqua subiecta creatura, sicut vox sonuit in baptismo et <in> transfiguratione Christi: ‘Hic est filius meus dilectus’” (Leon. ed., 9). See Matt. 3:16–17; 17:5.
- 37 See *ST* III.39.8 and III.45.4 (Marietti ed., 4:253–54 and 282). For an excellent study of scholastic readings of the transfiguration, see Aaron Canty, *Light & Glory: The Transfiguration of Christ in Early Franciscan and Dominican Theology* (Washington, D.C., 2011).
- 38 See Franklin T. Harkins, “The Embodiment of Angels: A Debate in Mid-Thirteenth-Century Theology,” *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 78 (2011): 25–58; and Franklin T. Harkins, “The Magical Arts, Angelic Intercourse, and Giant Offspring: Echoes of Watchers Traditions in Medieval Scholastic Theology,” in *The Fallen Angels Traditions:*

metaphysics further illumines Thomas's reading of Job 1:7–8, particularly his teachings that (1) Satan and his actions toward Job are subject to divine providence, and (2) Christ, the beloved and eternal Son of God, is also—like Job—fully human.

Thomas further develops both of these themes in his reading of Satan's reply to God's question concerning intent, *I have gone around the earth and I have walked through it (circuivi terram et perambulavi eam, v. 7)*, and of God's response concerning Job in v. 8. Satan's "going around" (*circuitum*) denotes his cunning in seeking out humans whom he might deceive, as suggested by two interpretive intertexts that Thomas invokes: 1 Pet. 5:8, *Your adversary the devil goes around (circuit) like a roaring lion, seeking someone to devour*; and Ps. 11:9 (Vulg.), *The wicked walk in a circle (in circuitu)*.³⁹ Thomas is quick to point out that Satan achieves the effect of his cunning (i.e., his "going around" in a circle) in the case of evil people alone, who are signified here by the word "earth" (*terram*).⁴⁰ That is, the intention of Satan's crafty 'encircling' of all humans (both good and evil)—which 'encircling' is always performed under the umbrella of divine providence, of course—succeeds only with regard to evil people (and so not, for example, with Job). This is precisely what the sacred text signifies, according to Thomas, when Satan says here that he "walked through" the earth (*perambulavi eam*), namely that "he completes the effect of his ill will" in the wicked.⁴¹

But God appears to separate Job from the "earth," that is, the wicked in whom Satan's evil intention succeeds, when He responds to Satan thus: *Have you considered my servant Job, that there is no one like him on earth? (Numquid considerasti servum meum Iob, quod non sit ei similis in terra? v. 8)*.⁴² On Thomas's reading, Job is apart from the "earth" in that he is a "servant" of God; and what

Second Temple Developments and Reception History, (eds.) Angela Kim Harkins, Kelley Coblenz Bautch, and John C. Endres, S.J. (Washington, D.C., 2014), 157–79.

39 *Expositio super Iob* 1:7 (Leon. ed., 9). The contrast here, as Thomas makes explicit, is to the language of "straight" (*rectum*), which in Scripture and in popular parlance denotes justice. Cf. *Expositio super Iob* 1:1 (*erat vir ille simplex et rectus*; Leon. ed., 5).

40 *Expositio super Iob* 1:7: "Sciendum vero est quod etsi diabolus erga cunctos tam bonos quam malos calliditatis suae studio utatur, effectum tamen calliditatis suae in solis malis consequitur; qui recte terra nominantur" (Leon. ed., 9).

41 *Expositio super Iob* 1:7: "Huiusmodi igitur terram non solum circuit Satan sed etiam perambulat, quia in eis effectum suae malitiae complet: in perambulatione enim complementum processus ipsius designatur" (Leon. ed., 9).

42 *Expositio super Iob* 1:7–8: "Et quod per terram homines terreni designentur satis aperte ostenditur per hoc quod Dominus Iob, quamvis in terra habitantem, a terra segregare videtur. Nam cum Satan dixisset *Circuivi terram et perambulavi eam*, subiungitur *Dixitque*

it means for a human to be a *servus Dei* is that, although his flesh is necessarily joined to terrestrial realities, his mind clings unflinchingly to God. A servant is not his own cause, existing for his own sake, but rather one who orders himself to God by clinging to the deity with his mind or reason (*mente*).⁴³ The contrast with Satan, insofar as the mind or will vis-à-vis God is concerned, is striking. Whereas the intention of Satan, who is constantly encircling the earth (*circuivi terram*; v. 7) with his unjust actions (which nevertheless fall within the ambit of God's providence), is always opposed to the divine will, Job, who is *simple and upright* (*simplex et rectus*; v. 1), orders himself to God by holding fast mentally and volitionally to his Creator. And Job clings to God by means of his reason in spite of his flesh, that constitutive part of his human nature that is yoked to the earth. Satan, on the other hand, is a purely spiritual creature, naturally possessing no body that would bind him necessarily to the terrestrial sphere.

Thomas continues to emphasize the spiritual and divine orientation of Job's mind by explicitly comparing him to Christ. What the sacred text means when it says that there is no one like Job on earth (1:8) is that, like other saints, he was superior to all other humans in the practice of some virtue. Whereas each saint excels in the practice of a particular virtue, Christ possessed all of the virtues "according to the most perfect excellence."⁴⁴ The virtue according to which Job was the servant of God and unlike anyone else on earth was, as Thomas teaches in commenting on 1:1, his sinlessness. In this power to remain free from the infection of humankind's threefold sin—against neighbor, against God, and against self—Job was, like Christ Himself, a man completely *simple and upright, fearing God and withdrawing from evil*.⁴⁵ On Thomas's reading, the

Dominus ad eum: Numquid considerasti servum meum Iob, quod non sit ei similis in terra?" (Leon. ed., 9–10).

43 *Expositio super Iob* 1:8: "Et manifeste ostendit in quo a terra segregetur in hoc quod dicit *servum meum Iob*. Homo enim quasi medius constitutus est inter Deum et res terrenas, nam mente inhaeret Deo carne autem rebus terrenis coniungitur; omne autem medium duorum eo magis ab uno extremo recedit quo magis alteri appropinquat: homo igitur quanto magis Deo inhaeret tanto remotior est a terra; hoc autem est *servum Dei* esse quod mente Deo inhaerere, nam *servus* est qui non sui causa est. Ille autem qui mente Deo inhaeret se ipsum in Deum ordinat, quasi *servus amoris* non *timoris*" (Leon. ed., 10).

44 *Expositio super Iob* 1:8: "[N]am in unoquoque sancto est aliqua virtutis praeminentia quantum ad aliquem specialem usum, propter quod de singulis confessorum in Ecclesia canitur 'Non est inventus similis illi qui conservaret legem Excelsi,' nisi quod in Christo omnia secundum perfectissimam excellentiam fuerunt; et secundum hunc modum intelligi potest quod nullus in terra habitantium similis erat Iob, in quantum Iob praeminebat quantum ad aliquem usum virtutis" (Leon. ed., 10).

45 *Expositio super Iob* 1:1 (Leon. ed., 5).

opening words of the book of Job describe its protagonist in this way, as a perfectly virtuous and sinless man, to prevent the reader or hearer from imagining that the adversities subsequently introduced befell Job because of his sins.⁴⁶ It is on account of Job's uniquely virtuous status that both just and unjust humans, and indeed Satan himself, are invited to contemplate and marvel at Job.⁴⁷

Job is like Christ not only in his surpassing virtue, but also, relatedly, in the excellence of his wisdom, as Thomas indicates in commenting on Job 3:1. After Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar came to comfort their friend who had suffered grievously at the hands of Satan, sitting silently with him for seven days and seven nights (2:11–13), Job finally opened his mouth and cursed the day of his birth (3:1). Job's week of mourning and particularly his curses here demonstrate, on Thomas's reading, both: (1) that the wise man is indeed saddened when adverse circumstances befall him (the view of the ancient Peripatetics, over against that of the Stoics); and (2) that the wise man is not overcome by his sadness, but rather masters it by means of his reason. Christ, who experienced sadness in suffering in spite of his possessing "the fullness of every virtue and wisdom," provides a second scriptural example.⁴⁸ In both Job and Christ, Thomas teaches, "reason did not turn aside from uprightness (*rectitudine*) on account of suffering, but rather it ruled over sadness."⁴⁹ What it means that both Job and Christ are "upright" (*rectus*; Job 1:1) is precisely that their intense corporeal suffering in no way stymied their perfect human wisdom, that is, the absolute adherence of their rational souls to God.

In treating Christ's Passion in the *Tertia pars* of the *Summa theologiae*, Thomas not only attributes all bodily sufferings to the Lord but also teaches

46 *Expositio super Iob* 1:1: "Et ne aliquis adversitates quae postmodum inducuntur pro peccatis huius viri ei accidisse crederet, consequenter describitur eius virtus, per quam a peccatis demonstratur immunis" (Leon. ed., 5).

47 *Expositio super Iob* 1:8: "Et ideo Dominus ad Satan dicit *Numquid considerasti servum meum Iob* etc., quasi dicat: terram quidem circuis et perambulas, sed servum meum Iob solum considerare potes et eius virtutem mirari" (Leon. ed., 10).

48 *Expositio super Iob* 3:1: "[E]st autem naturale sensibili naturae ut et convenientibus delectetur et gaudeat et de nocivis doleat et tristetur: hoc igitur ratio auferre non potest sed sic moderatur ut per tristitiam ratio a sua rectitudine non divertat. Concordat etiam haec opinio sacrae Scripturae, quae tristitiam in Christo ponit, in quo est omnis virtutis et sapientiae plenitudo" (Leon. ed., 20).

49 *Expositio super Iob* 3:1: "Sic igitur Iob ex praenarratis adversitatibus tristitiam quidem sensit, alias patientiae virtus in eo locum non haberet, sed propter tristitiam ratio a rectitudine non declinavit quin potius tristitiae dominabatur" (Leon. ed., 20).

that the pain of His Passion was greater than all other pains.⁵⁰ Christ suffered in every part of His body—from His head, pierced by the crown of thorns, to his hands and feet, fixed to the cross with nails—and in all of His corporeal senses: according to touch by being scourged and driven through with nails; according to taste by being given gall and vinegar to drink; according to smell by being crucified in a place that reeked with the corpses of the dead; according to hearing by being assailed by the cries of blasphemers and mockers; and according to sight by looking upon the tears of His mother and the beloved disciple.⁵¹ From these external inducements Christ suffered the greatest possible sensible pain and, following from it, the most profound interior pain or sadness, according to Thomas, because of the most excellent *perceptibilitas* of his perfectly constituted human body, a body formed miraculously by the operation of the Holy Spirit.⁵² Although the body and lower (sensitive, appetitive) powers of Christ's soul experienced the greatest possible pain during His Passion, nevertheless in its higher (intellectual) powers His soul simultaneously enjoyed God perfectly.⁵³ Thomas is well aware that precisely because of Christ's "most perfect power of reason" (*perfectissima virtus mentis*) some might imagine, in line with the position of the Stoics that the soul of the wise man possesses no sadness whatsoever, that the Lord did not, in fact, suffer the greatest of all pain in His Passion.⁵⁴ In reply, however, Thomas maintains that Christ, in order to atone for the sins of all humans, endured the greatest sadness in terms of absolute quantity, all the while subjecting both this sadness of soul and suffering of body to "the rule of reason."⁵⁵

50 See *ST* III.46.5-6. In a. 5 co. Thomas notes that, although it was inappropriate for Christ to endure every specific or particular suffering—as some of them are mutually exclusive (e.g., burning in fire and drowning in water) and others arise from intrinsic causes (e.g., bodily diseases)—, He did endure every suffering inflicted from without generally (i.e., from all kinds of people, in every possible way, and in every bodily member and sense capacity).

51 *ST* III.46.5 co. (Marietti ed., 4:289).

52 *ST* III.46.6 co.

53 *ST* III.46.7-8.

54 *ST* III.46.6 obj. 2: "Praeterea, virtus mentis est mitigativa doloris: in tantum quod Stoici posuerunt *tristitiam in animo sapientis non cadere* [Aug., *De civ. Dei* IV.8]. Et Aristoteles posuit [*Ethic.* II.6.9] quod virtus moralis medium tenet in passionibus. Sed in Christo fuit *perfectissima virtus mentis*. Ergo videtur quod in Christo fuerit minimus dolor" (Marietti ed., 4:289).

55 *ST* III.46.6 ad 2: "... Et ideo Christus, ut satisfaceret pro peccatis omnium hominum, assumpsit *tristitiam maximam quantitate absoluta, non tamen excedentem regulam rationis*" (Marietti ed., 4:290).

On Thomas's reading, the words of Job 3:1, *After these things Job opened his mouth and cursed his day*, demonstrate that Job, like Christ, was indeed deeply saddened by his suffering but was able to conquer his sadness by means of reason. The text relates that Job cursed the day of his birth *Post haec*, that is, after seven days of sitting in silence with his friends, clearly showing that the words that follow were uttered "according to reason untroubled by sadness."⁵⁶ These two small words, *Post haec*, reveal that Job did not speak out of a mind overcome by sadness (indeed, if he had done so, he would have spoken earlier when the force of his sadness was more severe), and he seems to have remained silent for a week precisely so that his friends (and subsequent hearers and readers of this sacred book, presumably) would not judge him as speaking from a troubled mind.⁵⁷ Furthermore, that Job did, after this significant period of silence, open his own mouth (*aperuit os suum*) to speak also shows that his reason controlled his sadness. For if his sadness had overcome his reason, Thomas notes, passion would have compelled him to speak, thus completely eliminating his agency.⁵⁸ But, as is customary for wise men, Job here actively and rationally speaks of the suffering that he is experiencing, just as Christ also did when he said, *My soul is sad, even to death* (Mt. 26:38).⁵⁹

B I go...to the dark land (10:21): Christ's Harrowing of Hell

In addition to Christ's Passion, at which Job's own suffering gestures in such ways, the resurrection of Christ—and, by extension, the resurrection of the faithful enabled by it—plays a prominent role in Thomas's *Expositio super Iob*. Indeed, the name "Christ" occurs seven times in the *Exposition* on Chapters 7–19, all in the broad theological context of resurrection. Here, and particularly in commenting on 19:25–27, Thomas emphasizes Job's fixed orientation

56 *Expositio super Iob* 3:1: "Dicit autem *Post haec*, idest post septem taciturnitatis dies; ex quo manifestum fit quod verba quae sequuntur sunt secundum rationem prolata per tristitiam non perturbata" (Leon. ed., 20).

57 *Expositio super Iob* 3:1: "[S]i enim ex perturbatione mentis dicta fuissent, prius ea protulisset quando vis tristitiae vehementior erat: tristitia enim quaelibet longitudine temporis mitigatur et in principio magis sentitur; unde propter hoc tandiu tacuisse videtur ne perturbata mente loqui iudicaretur" (Leon. ed., 20).

58 *Expositio super Iob* 3:1: "Quod etiam ostenditur per hoc quod dicitur *aperuit os suum*; cum enim aliquis loquitur ex impetu passionis, non ipse aperit os suum sed agitur passione ad loquendum: non enim per passionem nostri actus domini sumus sed per solam rationem" (Leon. ed., 20).

59 *Expositio super Iob* 3:1: "Loquendo autem tristitiam quam patiebatur ostendit: consuetum est enim apud sapientes ut ex ratione loquantur passionum motus quos sentiunt, sicut et Christus dixit, 'Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem'" (Leon. ed., 20).

toward and hope in future goods rather than in present ones. With his words in 7:7–9,⁶⁰ for example, Job teaches, on Thomas's reading, that he will not return to this earthly life; he will not exist again in the state of his former life, but rather—as a cloud is consumed and passes away—will descend to hell to ascend no more (v. 9). The dead are said to descend to hell, Thomas explains, either because the *souls* of all went to hell before Christ's death or because even now the *bodies* of all are buried under the earth.⁶¹ Thomas offers a similar twofold interpretation of Job's words in 10:21, *before I go, and do not return, to the dark land (ad terram tenebrosam)*. The *terra tenebrosa* here can be read allegorically as referring to hell, "to which the souls of all humans, even the just, descended before Christ."⁶² Or it can be understood literally as referring to the human body's being buried in and converted into the earth: the earth (*terra*) is dark (*tenebrosa*) in itself and the dead, buried within it, do not enjoy the light of the air that covers the earth.⁶³

It is noteworthy, particularly given his emphasis on resurrection and the goods of the life of the world to come, that Thomas describes this second, literal meaning of *terra tenebrosa* (10:21) as "better" than the allegorical one given the context of Job's words. That is, because Job is disputing with friends who do not believe in the immortality of the soul and is still speaking according to their position, it is more appropriate to recognize *the dark land* as having to do with the

60 The Vulgate, as quoted by Thomas, reads: "Memento quia ventus est vita mea, et non revertetur oculus meus ut videat bona, nec aspiciet me visus hominis; oculi tui in me, et non subsistam. Sicut consumitur nubes et pertransit, sic qui descendit ad inferos non ascendet" (Leon. ed., 47–48).

61 *Expositio super Iob* 7:9: "Et hoc probat per simile cum subdit *Sicut consumitur nubes et pertransit, sic qui descendit ad inferos non ascendet*. Dicuntur autem mortui ad inferos descendere, vel quia secundum animam ante Christi mortem omnes ad infernum descendebant, vel quia secundum carnem sub terra ponuntur; quantum enim ad praesens pertinet, nihil differt quomodolibet exponatur; nihil enim aliud vult dicere quomodolibet exponatur: nihil enim aliud vult dicere nisi quod mortui non redeunt ad vitam praeteritam, et hoc probat in quodam simili, probatione sufficienti" (Leon. ed., 48).

62 *Expositio super Iob* 10:21: "Et potest hoc exponi dupliciter: uno modo de inferno ad quem animae omnium hominum descendebant etiam iustorum ante Christum, licet iusti ibi poenas sensibiles non paterentur sed solum tenebras, alii vero et poenas et tenebras" (Leon. ed., 73).

63 *Expositio super Iob* 10:21: "... ad sensum litterae sic exponitur ut totum referatur ad corpus quod in terra sepelitur et in terram convertitur. Dicit ergo *ad terram tenebrosam* quantum ad ipsam proprietatem terrae, quae in se opaca est; sed licet in se sit opaca, tamen viventes qui super terram habitant illustrantur lumine aeris operientis terram, sed isto lumine mortui non perfruuntur, unde subdit *et opertam mortis caligine*, quasi dicat: mors facit ut post mortem aliquis non utatur lumine quo vivi utuntur" (Leon. ed., 73).

body's burial in the opaque earth.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Thomas takes the description of hell in 10:21–22 (if *terra tenebrosa* is read allegorically as referring to hell) as another example of Job's accommodating his speech to the understanding of his friends. Because Job is speaking as if it is unclear whether he is just (which is the truth of the matter, Thomas notes) or a sinner (as his friends were imagining), he describes hell here in a way common to the experience of the just and of sinners: that is, hell is solely *the dark land* for the just, who lack the vision of God but suffer no sensible punishments there, whereas for the evil, who lack the divine vision and suffer punishments, it is *the land of misery and gloom, where the shadow of death and no order but everlasting horror dwell* (v. 22).⁶⁵

According to Thomas, then, Job teaches in 7:7–9 and 10:21–22 that, as a just man living *pre Christo*, his own soul will descend to hell where it will be deprived of the vision of God until it is rescued from that place by Christ Himself. This comports with Thomas's doctrine of the harrowing of hell in q. 52 of the *Tertia pars* of the *Summa theologiae*, according to which Christ, during His three days of death, visited and enlightened the limbo of the Fathers.⁶⁶ In His human soul, which was separated in death from His body but remained hypostatically united to the divine Word, Christ descended to the limbo of the Fathers not only "through His essence" (*per suam essentiam*), that is, by visiting them interiorly by grace according to His divinity, but also "through His effect" (*per suum effectum*), which was to shed the light of everlasting glory on the faithful, who were detained there merely on account of Original Sin.⁶⁷ Prior

64 *Expositio super Iob* 10:21: "Sed quia illi contra quos disputabat immortalitatem animae non ponebant ut sic post mortem remaneret, ipse autem adhuc loquitur secundum positiones eorum, melius quantum ad sensum litterae sic exponitur ut totum referatur ad corpus quod in terra sepelitur et in terram convertitur" (Leon. ed., 73).

65 *Expositio super Iob* 10:21–22: "... licet iusti ibi poenas sensibiles non paterentur sed solum tenebras, alii vero et poenas et tenebras; sed quia Iob sic locutus fuerat ac si dubium esset utrum ipse esset iustus ut rei veritas erat, vel peccator ut amici eius calumniabantur, describit infernum communiter et quantum ad bonos et quantum ad malos..." (Leon. ed., 73).

66 In *ST* III.52.2 co., Thomas identifies three parts or levels of hell, namely the limbo of the Fathers, purgatory, and the hell of the damned. Cf. the earlier *Scriptum* on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, where he distinguishes among four levels: the limbo or hell of the holy Fathers, purgatory, the limbo of children, and the hell of the damned (*Scriptum super libros sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi Episcopi Parisiensis*, 4 vols: vols. 1–2 (ed.) R.P. Mandonnet; vols. 3–4 (ed.) M.F. Moos [Paris 1929–47], in *III d. 22 q. 2 a. 1 qc. 3 sol. 2 ad 2*, vol. 3, 670–71). On Thomas's doctrine of limbo in historical and intellectual context, see, e.g., Donald Mowbray, *Pain and Suffering in Medieval Theology: Academic Debates at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2009), 81–103; and Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London, 1984), 237–88.

67 *ST* III.52.2 co. (Marietti ed., 4:325).

to Christ's Passion and death, the holy Fathers suffered a twofold penalty for "the sin of the whole of human nature," namely bodily death and exclusion from the life of glory. Whereas the resurrection of their bodies would have to await Christ's own resurrection, it was by the power of His Passion (*virtute suae passionis*) that Christ, descending to hell, "freed the holy from this penalty by which they were excluded from the life of glory, such that they were not able to see God in His essence, in which consists the human's perfect beatitude."⁶⁸

Thus, Thomas understands Christ's infernal descent as a sort of sacrament for the dead, that is, a specific, fitting application of the Lord's Passion, which is the universal cause of salvation, to particular effects, namely the holy Fathers who were detained in limbo.⁶⁹ And both the Passion and infernal descent of Christ—and the salvation accomplished by each act—must be attributed, according to Thomas, to the divine person of the Word by reason of the passible human nature assumed.⁷⁰ In a recent consideration of the centrality of the divinity of Christ in Thomas's soteriology, Thomas Joseph White affirms: "Christ's passion can affect all of human history as an efficient cause of salvation, and this is by virtue of his deity. In accord with this notion, Aquinas posits that the past event of the crucifixion, while no longer a contemporary reality, is still acting instrumentally upon human beings who come after Christ to effectuate their salvation."⁷¹ Similarly, as the *Expositio super Iob* makes clear, Thomas also understands the Passion of Christ as having acted instrumentally, by means of His descent to hell, to effect the salvation of faithful humans like Job who lived before Christ.

C I know that my Redeemer lives (19:25): *Job's Hope in the Resurrection*

Thomas's commentary on Job 19:25–27 constitutes the heart of his treatment of Christ in the *Expositio*, and his focus here is squarely on Job's hope and faith in God concerning future goods. When Job says in 19:10, *He has taken away my hope like an uprooted tree*, Thomas understands the holy man to have despaired of God's restoring his temporal prosperity, to which despair his friends had

68 *ST* III.52.5 co.: "Et ideo Christus, descendens ad inferos, virtute suae passionis ab hoc reatu sanctos absolvit, quo erant a vita gloriae exclusi, ut non possent Deum per essentiam videre, in quo consistit perfecta hominis beatitudo" (Marietti ed., 4:327).

69 *ST* III.52.2 ad 2: "Dicendum quod passio Christi fuit quaedam causa universalis humanae salutis, tam vivorum quam mortuorum. Causa autem universalis ad singulares effectus per aliquid speciale. Unde, sicut virtus passionis Christi applicatur viventibus per sacramenta configurantia nos passioni Christi, ita etiam applicata est mortuis per descensum Christi ad inferos" (Marietti ed., 4:324).

70 See, e.g., *ST* III.46.12 co., *ST* III.52.3 co., and *ST* III.52.2 co.

71 Thomas Joseph White, O.P., "Kenoticism and the Divinity of Christ Crucified," *The Thomist* 75 (2011): 1–41, at 24.

been inciting him.⁷² In 19:25–27, by contrast, Job “clearly reveals his own intention, showing that he had not uttered his aforesaid words as if despairing of God, but because he had a higher hope (*altiores spem*) in Him, related not in truth to present goods but to future ones.”⁷³ According to Thomas, as both his reading of Job 7:7–9 and 10:21–22 and his doctrine of Christ’s descent to hell suggest, Job differs fundamentally from his friends in his recognition that God’s will and providence vis-à-vis humans extend beyond this present life into eternity. And because Job was about to say “grand and wonderful and certain things” concerning the eternal extent of divine providence (in 19:25–27), he makes clear at the beginning (in 19:23–24) his desire that his statement or intention here—that is, his “higher hope” in God—be transmitted in and for the faith of future generations.⁷⁴

Reflecting on “the function of writing” (*scripturae officium*) and its various media, Thomas comments on Job’s words in 19:23–24 thus:

But we transmit our thoughts and words to posterity by means of the function of writing, and therefore he says, *Who would allow me to write down my words*, namely those which I am about to utter concerning the hope that I have established in God, lest they be effaced by forgetfulness? Things that are written in ink, however, are customarily effaced with the passage of time; and so, when we want something written to be preserved for a long time, we trace it out not only in the manner of writing but by some impression either on skin or on metal or on stone. And because that for which Job was hoping would not be in the near future but is laid up to be fulfilled at the end of time, he therefore adds, *Who would permit me to engrave them in a book with an iron stylus*, as if by some impression made on skin, *or*, if this is insufficient, by a deeper impression made *on a sheet of lead or*, if this too seems insufficient, *to carve them definitively with an iron stylus in stone?*⁷⁵

72 *Expositio super Iob* 19:23ff.: “Dixerat superius Iob spem suam esse ablatam ‘quasi arboris avulsae,’ quod quidem dixit referens ad spem temporalis prosperitatis recuperandae, ad quem eum amici eius multipliciter incitabant” (Leon. ed., 116).

73 *Expositio super Iob* 19:23ff.: “[N]unc autem manifeste suam intentionem aperit ostendens se praedicta non dixisse quasi de Deo desparans, sed quia altiores spem de eo gerebat non quidem relatam ad praesentia bona sed ad futura” (Leon. ed., 116).

74 *Expositio super Iob* 19:23ff.: “Et quia grandia et mira et certa dicturus erat, praeostendit desiderium suum ad hoc quod sententia quam dicturus erat in fide posterorum perpetuetur” (Leon. ed., 116).

75 *Expositio super Iob* 19:23–24: “[T]ransmittimus autem sensus et verba nostra in posteros per scripturae officium, et ideo dicit *Quis mihi tribuat ut scribantur sermones mei*, quos

For Thomas, the answer to Job's powerful questions here seems obvious: God. Indeed, God has allowed the words of Job, together with those of his fellow disputants, to be written down, to be inscribed for future generations in a book, "as if by some impression made on skin."⁷⁶ The description here of *scripturae officium*, which phrase could also be rendered "the function of Scripture," recalls the Prologue to the *Expositio*, where, as we have seen, Thomas explicitly affirms the need for scriptural revelation of the truth that divine providence extends to human affairs. The book of Job was written precisely because many humans throughout history, like Job's friends, would not have a proper understanding of this truth without divine revelation.⁷⁷ And Job's words in 19:25–27 are, for Thomas, so central—indeed indispensable—to posterity's correct understanding of the *extent* of divine providence in human affairs, which extent is eternal, that they ought to have been written with an iron stylus on lead or carved in stone.⁷⁸

scilicet dicturus sum de spe quam in Deo firmavi, ne oblivioni deleantur? Solent autem ea quae atramento scribuntur per longinquitatem temporis deleri, et ideo quando volumus aliquam scripturam in longinquum servari, non solum per modum scripturae eam describimus sed per aliquam impressionem sive in pelle sive in metallo sive in lapide; et quia illud quod sperabat non erat in proximo futurum sed in fine temporum reservatur implendum, ideo subdit *Quis mihi det ut exarentur in libro stilo ferreo*, quasi impressione aliqua facta in pelle, aut, si hoc parum est, impressione facta fortiori in *lamina plumbi*, vel, si et hoc parum videtur, *certe sculpantur stilo ferreo in silice?*" (Leon. ed., 116).

76 In his own 13th-century context, Thomas's direct access to the book of Job, as to other scriptural books, would have been by means of manuscripts, written on vellum, containing the so-called "Paris text" of the Vulgate. And throughout the high and late Middle Ages his *Expositio super Iob* was also transmitted on animal skins, of course. Although theirs is not an exclusive list, the Leonine editors describe 59 manuscripts of the *Expositio* that are of particular interest for their work (see *Expositio Praefatio*, 2*–9*). For more on the manuscripts of the *Expositio*, the Leonine edition, and the "Paris text" of Scripture used by Thomas, see Pierre Michaud-Quantin, "L'édition critique de l'*Expositio super Iob* de saint Thomas d'Aquin," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 50 (1966): 407–10; and Gilbert Dahan, "Les éditions des commentaires bibliques de saint Thomas d'Aquin: leur apport à la connaissance du texte de la bible au XIII^e siècle," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 89 (2005): 9–15.

77 *Expositio Prologus* (Leon. ed., 3–4).

78 For a study of the role of writing in ancient Israelite imagination (which serves to illuminate Job's words in 19:23–24 and the broader context of divine authority behind them), see Hindy Najman, "The Symbolic Significance of Writing in Ancient Judaism," in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*, (eds.) Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman (Atlanta, 2004), 139–73. Najman writes: "[From pre-exilic times] written texts came to stand for the permanence and inalterability of the covenantal relationship, especially when that relationship appeared to be in jeopardy. Through their special efficacy,

Job's words in 19:25–27, as Thomas received them in the 13th-century Paris text of the Vulgate, are (in my translation) as follows: [25] *For I know that my Redeemer lives, and on the last day I will rise from the earth.* [26] *I will be enveloped by my skin again and in my flesh I will see God,* [27] *whom I myself am going to see and my eyes are going to behold, and not another [besides me]. This hope of mine has been stored up in my breast.*⁷⁹ Thomas's reading of these verses centers on three interrelated theological themes: (1) Christ's redemptive death; (2) Job's faith and hope in this redemption through Christ; and (3) bodily resurrection (Christ's and, through Christ, humankind's generally). Each of these themes is revealed, according to Thomas, in the textual letter itself, and so together they constitute the literal meaning of Job's words. And throughout his treatment here, various New Testament intertexts assist Thomas in demonstrating that the letter of Job 19:25–27 does, in fact, signify Christ's death and resurrection for human salvation.

First, Thomas reads the words *Scio enim quod redemptor meus vivit* as affirming the most basic principle of Christian soteriology, that Christ redeemed humankind from sin by dying for us.⁸⁰ Furthermore, Thomas explains *how*, death notwithstanding, Christ is the *Redeemer* who *lives*:

He did not, however, die in such a way that death swallowed Him up, because, although He died according to His humanity, nevertheless He was not able to die according to His divinity. On the contrary, because of the life of divinity even humanity has been restored to life by rising, according to that [affirmation] at the end of 2 Cor.[viz., in 13:4]: *For although He was crucified because of our weakness, indeed He lives by the power of God.*⁸¹

written texts were thought to set in motion the prophesied events of punishment or redemption, thus actualizing the covenant when its reality seemed questionable.... By the time the exile came, a way of thinking existed, according to which both exilic punishment and promised redemption could be seen as having been initiated by sacred writing" (146).

79 "Scio enim quod redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum. Et rursum circumdabor pelle mea et in carne me videbo Deum, quem visurus sum ego ipse et oculi mei conspecturi sunt et non alius. Reposita est haec spes me in sinu meo" (Leon. ed., 116–17).

80 *Expositio super Iob* 19:25: "Redemit autem nos Christus de peccato per mortem, pro nobis moriendo" (Leon. ed., 116).

81 *Expositio super Iob* 19:25: "[N]on autem sic mortuus est quod eum mors absorberet, quia etsi mortuus sit secundum humanitatem mori tamen non potuit secundum divinitatem; ex vita autem divinitatis etiam humanitas est reparata ad vitam resurgendo, secundum

For Thomas, just as the reality and salvific power of Christ's descent to hell are functions of His divine nature, so too with His death itself. While recognizing that Christ's persecutors killed him directly, it may also be affirmed, Thomas teaches in the *Summa theologiae*, that Christ was slain indirectly by Himself because, by virtue of His divinity, He could have prevented His own Passion and death but did not.⁸² Rather, He voluntarily and obediently submitted to God the Father, who handed Him over to suffer and die for human salvation.⁸³ As we have seen, Thomas explicitly teaches that, on account of the hypostatic union, Christ's Passion and death must be attributed to the supposit or person of the divine Word, though by reason of the human nature assumed.⁸⁴ Although the human body and soul that He had assumed were separated in death, the divinity of the Word was separated from neither, thus enabling Him to destroy death and redeem the faithful.⁸⁵ And so Thomas can affirm here that "because of the life of divinity even humanity"—that is, both Christ's own assumed nature and the human race generally—"has been restored to life by rising."⁸⁶

Second, in 19:25–27 Job expresses his faith and hope in this restoration of humanity effected by Christ's divinity. According to Thomas, "Job foresaw through the spirit of faith" (*Job per spiritum fidei praevidebat*) that Christ would redeem the human race from sin.⁸⁷ Thomas opens his treatment of faith in the *Secunda secundae* by noting that this principal theological virtue has both a material object, that is, what is known (namely, God and many other things that are ordered to God, "as the human is helped by certain effects of divinity to strive after divine enjoyment"), and a formal reason or aspect of this object, that is, that by means of which it is known (namely, divine revelation). Thus, what faith apprehends and assents to concerning God rests on divine truth itself, that is, on God's perfect self-knowledge.⁸⁸ Indeed, in the opening

illud 11 ad Cor. ult. 'Nam etsi crucifixus est ex infirmitate nostra, sed vivit et virtute Dei'" (Leon. ed., 116).

82 *ST* III.47.1 co.

83 *ST* III.47.3 co.

84 See *ST* III.46.12 co.

85 See *ST* III.50.2 co. and III.50.3 co.

86 *Expositio super Iob* 19:25 (Leon. ed., 116).

87 *Expositio super Iob* 19:25: "Ubi considerandum quod homo qui immortalis fuerat constitutus a Deo mortem per peccatum incurrit, secundum illud Rom. V 'Per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intravit, et per peccatum mors,' a quo quidem peccato per Christum redimendum erat genus humanum, quod Iob per spiritum fidei praevidebat" (Leon. ed., 116).

88 *ST* II–II.1.1 co.: "Sic igitur in fide, si consideremus formalem rationem obiecti, nihil est aliud quam veritas prima: non enim fides de qua loquimur assentit alicui nisi quia est a

question of the *Prima pars*, Thomas teaches that the principles of the science of sacred doctrine, which are the articles of faith, are known to humans in this life by the light of a higher science, namely the science of God and the blessed (*scientia Dei et beatorum*).⁸⁹

Prominent among these divinely revealed articles of faith, which humans could not arrive at by natural means alone, is the truth that the eternally existing Word of God, for the sake of human salvation, humbled Himself by assuming human nature in time, lived and preached among humans, suffered and died at their hands, arose from the dead, and ascended again to the right hand of the Father. Although not absolutely necessary, it was “fitting” (*conveniens*), in Thomas’s view, that the divine Word should become incarnate, suffer, die on a cross, and rise again because, among other reasons, these particular actions—what he calls “effects of divinity” in the opening article on faith—variously encourage humans toward the supernatural end to which they are ordered.⁹⁰ It was *conveniens* for Christ to rise from the dead, for example, in order to raise the hope of the faithful, “because when we consider the resurrection of Christ, who is our Head, we hope that we too will rise.”⁹¹ It is Job who provides scriptural confirmation of this, as Thomas explains here in the *Tertia pars*: “And Job 19[:25, 27] says, *I know*, through the certainty of faith, *that my Redeemer*, that is, Christ, *lives*, rising again from the dead, *and therefore on the last day I will rise from the earth: this hope of mine has been stored up in my breast*.”⁹² Thomas uses this same phrase, “per certitudinem fidei,” in the *Expositio super Iob* to gloss Job’s *Scio*. Here he explains that it is on account of Job’s having apprehended the resurrection of Christ—a truth presumably revealed to Him by a special

Deo revelatum; unde ipsi veritati divinae innititur tanquam medio. Si vero consideremus materialiter ea quibus fides assentit, non solum est ipse Deus, sed etiam multa alia. Quae tamen sub assensu fidei non cadunt nisi secundum quod habent aliquem ordinem ad Deum: prout scilicet per aliquos Divinitatis effectus homo adiuatur ad tendendum in divinam fruitionem” (Marietti ed., 3:7). Cf. *ST* I.1.7 co.

89 *ST* I.1.2 co. For an overview of Thomas’s understanding of sacred doctrine, its status as a science, and its relation to the structure of the *Summa theologiae*, see Rudi te Velde, *Aquinas on God: The ‘Divine Science’ of the Summa Theologiae* (Aldershot, 2006), 9–35.

90 See, e.g., *ST* III.1.2 co., III.46.1 co., and especially III.46.3–4, III.50.1 co., and III.53.1 co. On humankind’s supernatural end and the necessity of divine revelation in light of it, see *ST* I.1.1 co.

91 *ST* III.53.1 co.: “Tertio, ad sublevationem nostrae spei. Quia, dum videmus Christum resurgere, qui est caput nostrum, speramus et nos resurrecturos” (Marietti ed., 4:331–32).

92 *ST* III.53.1 co.: “Et Iob 19, [25, 27] dicitur: *Scio*, scilicet per certitudinem fidei, *quod Redemptor meus*, idest Christus, *vivit*, a mortuis resurgens, *et ideo in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum: reposita est haec spes mea in sinu meo*” (Marietti ed., 4:332).

divine inspiration centuries before the event—through the “certainty of faith” that he hopes in his own future resurrection.⁹³ This pattern of faith followed by hope (which is, in turn, followed by love) reflects what Thomas takes to be the order of generation of the theological virtues. Because humans are ordered to supernatural beatitude according to the intellect and will, and because the intellect must be perfected through faith in certain supernatural principles (viz., the articles of faith) in order for the will to be directed to and finally attain to this end, faith must precede hope and love.⁹⁴

Both Christ’s redemptive work and Job’s faith and “higher hope” in God as made known in 19:25–27 find their culmination in the resurrection of the body, the third of Thomas’s themes here. Continuing his emphasis on the salvific power of the divine person of the Word, rather than on Christ’s human nature, Thomas teaches that “the life of the Son of God—which did not take its beginning from Mary, as the Ebionites said, but has always existed—is the primordial cause of human resurrection.” And it is the Son’s everlasting existence, and its causal connection to the common resurrection, that Job recognizes and signifies when he uses the present tense of the verb *vivo* in 19:25a: he does not say “my Redeemer will live” (*vivet*), Thomas notes, but rather *my Redeemer lives* (*vivit*).⁹⁵ As we have seen, in aiming to show that the divinity of the Word has restored humanity to life by rising again, Thomas here invokes 2 Cor. 13:4 as an interpretive intertext. Significantly, he uses this same passage in q. 53 a. 4 of the *Tertia pars* to demonstrate how Christ was the cause of His own resurrection: “Therefore, according to the power of divinity united [to Christ’s human body and soul], the body again took up the soul, which it had laid aside [in death], and the soul again took up the body, which it had abandoned. And this is what

93 *Expositio super Iob* 19:25: “[E]t ideo signanter dicit *Scio enim*, scilicet per certitudinem fidei. Est autem haec spes de gloria resurrectionis futurae, circa quam primo assignat causam cum dicit *redemptor meus vivit*” (Leon. ed., 116). Faith is certain, according to Thomas, not on account of the natural intellect of the human believer, but rather both because the things that are held by faith are revealed by God and because faith is a divinely infused virtue that elevates the human’s ability to know to a supernatural level such that he is able to apprehend things unseen. See, e.g., *ST* II–II.6.1 co.

94 See *ST* I–II.62.3 co.; and I–II.62.4 co., where Thomas writes: “Non enim potest in aliquo motu appetitivus tendere vel sperando vel amando, nisi quod est apprehensum sensu aut intellectu. Per fidem autem apprehendit intellectus ea quae sperat et amat. Unde oportet quod, ordine generationis, fides praecedat spem et caritatem” (Marietti ed., 2:275).

95 *Expositio super Iob* 19:25: “Est ergo primordialis causa resurrectionis humanae vita Filii Dei, quae non sumpsit initium ex Maria, sicut Ebionitae dixerunt, sed semper fuit, secundum illud Hebr. ult. ‘Jesus Christus heri et hodie, ipse et in saeculae,’ et ideo signanter non dicit ‘redemptor meus vivet’ sed *vivit*” (Leon. ed., 116).

is said concerning Christ in 2 Cor. 13[:4]: *For although He was crucified because of our weakness, indeed He lives by the power of God.*⁹⁶

As Job believes and hopes, it is this eternal life of Christ according to His divinity that will be poured out to all humans in the general resurrection.⁹⁷ Indeed, the words in 19:25b, *and on the last day I will rise from the earth*, explicitly link Job's belief in the general resurrection to the resurrection of Christ signified in the first half of the verse. Thomas reads Job's *on the last day* here as his explicit rejection of the view held by some that the world will last forever and that after a fixed number of celestial revolutions the dead will be restored to their earthly lives.⁹⁸ Job's intention here, then, is identical to his purpose in 7:5–10, concerning which Thomas declares: "It is obvious from these words that Job is not here denying the resurrection that faith affirms, but [rather] the return to the life of the flesh that the Jews posit and certain philosophers have also posited."⁹⁹ And, as his words in 19:26–27 make clear, it is not bodily existence as such to which Job objects, but merely a return to this present corporeal life and its carnal weakness. Indeed, Job says, *I will be enveloped by my skin again and in my flesh I will see God* (19:26) in order to affirm that the resurrected body will be a physical body, but one—unlike the corrupted and mortal flesh of this present life—that will attain to the vision of the Almighty. The resurrected flesh, rendered incorruptible by divine gift, will be wholly subject to the soul such that it will in no way hinder the soul from seeing God.¹⁰⁰

96 ST III.53.4 co.: "Secundum igitur unitae divinitatis virtutem, et corpus resumpsit animam, quam deposuerat; et anima resumpsit corpus, quod dimiserat. Et hoc est quod de Christo dicitur II Cor. 13, [4], quod, *etsi crucifixus est ex infirmitate nostra, sed vivit ex virtute Dei*" (Marietti ed., 4:335).

97 *Expositio super Iob* 19:25: "[E]t vita autem Christi resurgentis ad omnes homines diffundetur in resurrectione communi" (Leon. ed., 116).

98 *Expositio super Iob* 19:25 (Leon. ed., 116).

99 *Expositio super Iob* 7:5–10: "Manifestum est autem ex his quod Iob hic resurrectionem quam fides asserit non negat, sed reditum ad vitam carnalem quem Iudaei ponunt et quidam philosophi etiam posuerunt" (Leon. ed., 48).

100 *Expositio super Iob* 19:26: "Fuerunt alii qui dixerunt quod homines resurgent resumendo non terrena sed quaedam caelestia corpora, sed ad hoc excludendum subdit *Et rursum circumdabor pelle mea*,.... Rursus fuerunt alii qui dicerent animam idem corpus quod deposuerat resumpturam sed secundum condicionem eandem, ut scilicet indigeat cibus et potibus et alia opera carnalia huius vitae exerceat, sed hoc excludit subdens *et in carne mea videbo Deum*. Manifestum est enim quod caro hominis secundum statum vitae praesentis corruptibilis est; corpus autem quod corrumpitur aggravat animam,' ut dicitur Sap. IX, et ideo nullus in hac mortali carne vivens potest Deum videre; sed caro quam anima in resurrectione resumet eadem quidem erit per substantiam sed incorruptionem habebit ex divino munere, secundum illud Apostoli I ad Cor. xv 'Oportet corruptibile hoc induere

Furthermore, when Job proceeds to affirm, *whom I myself am going to see and my eyes are going to behold* (v. 27), Thomas understands him as affirming, over against Porphyry's view that the soul must flee the body in order to be blessed, that the whole person, composed of soul and body, will see God. Although Job's bodily eyes will not look upon the divine essence, of course, they will see both "God made human," that is, the resurrected Christ sitting at the right hand of the Father, and the glory of God shining brightly in creation.¹⁰¹

In concluding his comments on Chapter 19, Thomas explicitly connects Job's faith and higher hope in resurrection through Christ with his understanding of the eternal extent of divine providence concerning humans. Indeed, when Job declares, *This hope of mine has been stored up in my breast* (v. 27), he reveals his firm hope not in the earthly things that his friends were falsely promising, but rather in "the future glory of resurrection."¹⁰² When Job proceeds to ask his friends, *Why, therefore, do you now say: Let us persecute him, and let us find the basis of the word against him?* (v. 28), he is inquiring, on Thomas's reading, whether Job's friends are disapproving of his words because they judge that he has denied divine providence. Thomas imagines Job here declaring in reply: "I do not deny it but affirm it, saying that rewards and punishments are being prepared by God for humans even after this life."¹⁰³ This is, in fact, what Job does say and intend in verse 29, according to Thomas:

incorruptionem,' et ideo illa caro huius erit condicionis quod in nullo animam impedit quin Deum possit videre, sed erit ei omnino subiecta" (Leon. ed., 117).

101 *Expositio super Iob* 19:27: "Quod ignorans Porphyrius dixit quod 'animae, ad hoc quod fiat beata, omne corpus fugiendum est,' quasi anima sit Deum visura non homo, et ad hoc excludendum subdit *quem visurus sum ego ipse*, quasi dicat: non solum anima mea Deum videbit sed *ego ipse* qui ex anima et corpore subsisto. Et ut ostendat quod illius visionis etiam suo modo erit particeps corpus, subiungit *et oculi mei conspecturi sunt*, non quia oculi corporis divinam essentiam sunt visuri sed quia oculi corporis videbunt Deum hominem factum; videbunt etiam gloriam Dei in creatura refulgentem, secundum Augustinum in fine *De civitate Dei*" (Leon. ed., 117).

102 *Expositio super Iob* 19:27: "His igitur praemissis de causa resurrectionis, tempore et modo, et gloria resurgentis et identitate eiusdem, subiungit *Reposita est haec spes mea in sinu meo*, quasi dicat: non est spes mea in terrenis quae vane promittitis, sed in futura resurrectionis gloria" (Leon. ed., 117).

103 *Expositio super Iob* 19:28: "Sic ergo ostensa altitudine spei suae quam habebat de Deo, excludit eorum calumnias quas contra eum quaerebant, quasi Dei spem et timorem abiecisset quia in temporalibus spem non ponebat, unde subdit *Quare ergo nunc dicitis: Persequamur eum*, scilicet tamquam de Deo desperantem vel Deum non timentem, *et radicem verbi inveniamus contra eum*, improbando dicta mea quasi providentiam Dei negaverim? Quam non nego sed assero dicens praemia et poenas a Deo praeparari hominibus etiam post hanc vitam" (Leon. ed., 117).

And, therefore, he adds, *Flee, then, from the face of the sword*, that is, of the divine vengeance reserved for you in the future life, although you may flourish in temporal prosperity, *since His sword is the avenger of iniquities*, that is, the vengeance that He Himself will properly introduce after death; *and know that there is judgment*, not only in this life but also after this life in the resurrection of the good and the evil.¹⁰⁴

Over against his friends, then, Job here teaches that providence concerning human affairs—in terms of God’s meting out His justice to all—comes to fruition only in the next life. But, without the benefit of divine revelation, many, like Job’s friends, cannot know this: they have no access to the sacred teaching concerning Christ that enables Job’s higher hope in the eternal extent of God’s providence.

D ... from the whirlwind (38:7): *God’s Holy Teaching*

As we have seen, it is on account of this basic epistemological problem, according to Thomas, that God revealed the nature and extent of divine providence to the person of Job and to posterity through the scriptural book that bears his name. God made this revelation most directly and dramatically to Job himself in His answer from the whirlwind recorded in Chapters 38–41. “Because human wisdom is not sufficient to comprehend the truth of divine providence,” Thomas affirms at the outset of his exposition on ch. 38, “it was necessary that the preceding disputation be determined by divine authority.”¹⁰⁵ It was essential that God Himself finally determine the question on the nature and extent of His providence because each of the human disputants had failed in some way: Job’s three friends simply held incorrect opinions on divine providence; Elihu inappropriately assumed the role of master and offered a determination (chs. 32–37); and Job, though “he was thinking rightly about divine providence,” was so immoderate in his manner of speaking that he scandalized the other disputants, who thought that he was not showing proper reverence for God.¹⁰⁶

104 *Expositio super Iob* 19:29: “[E]t ideo subdit *Fugite ergo a facie gladii*, idest divinae ultionis in futura vita vobis reservatae, quamvis temporali prosperitate floreatis, *quoniam ultor iniquitatum gladius eius*, idest ultio quam ipse proprie inducet post mortem; *et scitote esse iudicium*, non solum in hac vita sed etiam post hanc vitam in resurrectione bonorum et malorum” (Leon. ed., 117).

105 *Expositio super Iob* 38:1: “[Q]uia humana sapientia non sufficit ad veritatem divinae providentiae comprehendendam, necessarium fuit ut praedicta disputatio divina auctoritate determinaretur” (Leon. ed., 199).

106 *Expositio super Iob* 38:1: “[S]ed quia Iob circa divinam providentiam recte sentiebat, in modo autem loquendi excesserat intantum quod in aliorum cordibus exinde scandalum

God's proper determination of the disputed question here goes to the very heart of the book of Job and its purpose, according to Thomas. It is on account of the problem of imperfect human knowledge concerning divine providence and its cultic and ethical implications that God, and God alone, must serve as *quaestionis determinator*. Even Job, who correctly understands the nature and extent of divine providence, falls short of the mark in that his discourse leads his friends to imagine that he lacks respect for God. Thus, in terms of both its content and mode, God's holy teaching (*sacra doctrina*) here from the whirlwind is absolutely necessary: *that* it is God who teaches counters Elihu's human presumption; *what* God teaches provides a corrective to the opinions of Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar; and *how* God teaches redresses the problematic mode of Job's speaking, inculcating in all the fear and love of God that calls them away from evil and leads them toward the good.¹⁰⁷ In both God's determination of the disputation from the whirlwind and in its having been recorded in the book of Job whereby it is revealed to future generations, then, we clearly see what Thomas understands as the sacramental nature of sacred doctrine: the purpose of divine teaching on the nature and extent of providence is to lead humans to their supernatural end.¹⁰⁸

In commenting on Job 38:1, *And responding, the Lord said to Job from the whirlwind*, Thomas offers a twofold literal reading of *de turbine* that serves to illuminate his understanding of divine revelation and human apprehension of it in this life, on the one hand, and his view of the centrality of Christ as a literal *significatum* in the book of Job, on the other. We take the two interpretations of *from the whirlwind* that Thomas sets forth here—which he himself identifies as literal and metaphorical, respectively—as constituting a twofold literal reading by virtue of the fact that, as we have seen, Thomas understands the literal meaning of a text to include whatever is intended in the first place by the words, whether they are used properly or figuratively.¹⁰⁹ First, Thomas teaches, when used properly or “according to the letter” (*ad litteram*) the words *de turbine* can be taken to mean that “God's voice was formed miraculously in the air together with a certain disturbance of the air.” Thomas notes that God also

proveniret dum putabant eum Deo debitam reverentiam non exhibere, ideo Dominus, tamquam quaestionis determinator, et amicos Iob redarguit de hoc quod non recte sentiebant, et ipsum Iob de inordinato modo loquendi, et Eliud de inconvenienti determinatione” (Leon. ed., 199).

107 Cf. *Expositio Prologus* (Leon. ed., 3) and our discussion above.

108 See Te Velde, *Aquinas on God*, 22.

109 See *Expositio super Iob* 1:6 (Leon. ed., 7) and *ST* I.1.9 co. and ad 3 (Marietti ed., 1:8), and our previous discussion of both.

revealed Himself in this way, with His voice accompanied by thunder, both to Moses and the Israelites on Mount Sinai (Ex. 20:18) and to Christ at the conclusion of his public ministry according to John 12:28–29.¹¹⁰ Second, *de turbine* can be read “metaphorically” (*metaphorice*) as signifying “the interior inspiration divinely committed to Job himself.”¹¹¹ The sacred text speaks metaphorically of the Lord responding to Job *de turbine*, Thomas explains, not only on account of the confusion or disturbance (*propter turbationem*) that Job was still suffering at that time, but also “on account of the obscurity of the whirlwind, that is, because in this life we cannot perceive divine inspiration clearly, but with a certain overshadowing of sensible similitudes.”¹¹² By virtue of its obscurity, then, the physical whirlwind serves as a metaphor for the inability of humans to receive divine revelation directly and understand it plainly, hence God’s customary practice of revealing Himself through sensible likenesses in Sacred Scripture.¹¹³ This human epistemological limitation vis-à-vis divine revelation is constitutive, together with the physical whirlwind itself, of the literal meaning of *de turbine*, as Thomas explicitly affirms: “And the Lord also signified this [inability to perceive divine inspiration clearly] if He made His voice heard sensibly from a physical whirlwind.”¹¹⁴

E As if with a hook he will catch him (40:19): *Christ’s Conquest of Satan*

Thomas brings his teaching on Christ in the *Expositio* to a close, and indeed to its soteriological apex, in commenting on God’s description of Behemoth in 40:10–19. On Thomas’s reading, whereas in Chapters 38–39 God, responding to Job from the whirlwind, proves His supreme wisdom and power (concerning which no human can legitimately contend with Him) by recalling the marvels that are evident in His effects, in Chapters 40–41 God demonstrates and

110 *Expositio super Iob* 38:1: “Modum autem respondendi ostendit subdens *de turbine*, quod quidem potest et ad litteram intelligi ut dicatur formatam esse vocem Dei miraculose in aere cum quadam aeris turbatione, sicut in monte Sinai factum legitur Exodi xx 18, vel sicut ad Christum vox facta est quando quidam dixerunt ‘tonitruum factum esse,’ ut legitur Ioh. xii 29” (Leon. ed., 199).

111 *Expositio super Iob* 38:1: “... vel potest intelligi ut sit metaphorice dictum, ut haec responsio Domini sit inspiratio interior divinitus facta ipsi Iob” (Leon. ed., 199).

112 *Expositio super Iob* 38:1: “...et sic dicitur Dominus ei *de turbine* respondisse tum propter turbationem quam adhuc patiebatur, tum etiam propter turbinis obscuritatem, quia scilicet divinam inspirationem in hac vita non possumus clare percipere sed cum quadam obumbratione sensibilibus similitudinum” (Leon. ed., 199).

113 Cf. *Expositio super Iob* 1:6 and our discussion above.

114 *Expositio super Iob* 38:1: “[E]t hoc etiam significavit Dominus si de turbine corporali vocem suam sensibiliter fecit audiri” (Leon. ed., 199).

defends His infallible justice.¹¹⁵ Divine power and wisdom, of course, cannot be divorced from divine justice, as God Himself reveals in 40:4–9, particularly in the first and last of these verses (*If you have an arm as God does and if you thunder with a similar voice.... And I will confess that your own right hand can save you.*). God works in rational creatures, Thomas teaches, in two fundamental ways: (1) “through the power of divine strength,” which sustains good people and punishes evil ones, here denoted by God’s arm; and (2) “through the teaching of His wisdom (*per suae sapientiae doctrinam*), which He calls thunder on account of its excellence,” whereby He instructs the good and rebukes the evil.¹¹⁶ Thus, Thomas takes the words of 40:9, *And I will confess that your own right hand can save you*, as God’s affirmation that if human power is strong enough to sustain the good and punish the evil and likewise if human doctrine is wise enough to instruct and rebuke, then human justice alone is sufficient for salvation.¹¹⁷

In the remainder of Chapter 40, God intends to show, however, that human justice, power, and wisdom—apart from Christ—are utterly inadequate for salvation. Indeed, on the transition from the description of Behemoth in vv. 10–19 to the consideration of Leviathan in vv. 20–28, Thomas writes: “And because above He had expressed the human’s victory over the devil under the figure of elephant hunting, lest it be believed that the human, by his own power, can overcome the devil, He begins to exclude [this conviction] under the

115 See *Expositio super Iob* 40:1–3 (Leon. ed., 213).

116 *Expositio super Iob* 40:4: “Sed quia nunc agitur de comparatione iustitiae quae proprie non attenditur respectu irrationabilium rerum, ideo ad ostendendum divinam excellentiam accipit effectus quos Deus operatur in rationalibus creaturis, qui quidem effectus secundum duo considerari possunt: uno modo secundum virtutis suae operationem, et quantum ad hoc dicit *Si habes brachium sicut Deus*: per brachium enim potentia divinae virtutis exprimitur, quo quidem brachio utitur et ad sustentationem bonorum, secundum illud Is. XL, 11 ‘In brachio suo congregabit agnos,’ et ad punitionem malorum, secundum illud Luc. I, 51 ‘Fecit potentiam in brachio suo, dispersit superbos mente cordis sui.’ Alio modo operatur Deus in rationabilibus creaturis per suae sapientiae doctrinam, quam propter eius excellentiam tonitruum nominat, et quantum ad hoc subdit *et si voce simili tonas*: hoc autem tonitruo utitur Deus ad instructionem bonorum, secundum illud *supra* XXVI, 14 ‘Cum vix parvam stillam sermonum eius audierimus, quis poterit tonitruum magnitudinis eius intueri?’ et ad terribilem increpationem malorum, secundum illud Psalmi ‘Vox tonitruus tui in rota,’ et postea sequitur ‘Commota est et contremuit terra’ (Leon. ed., 213).

117 *Expositio super Iob* 40:9: “[U]nde subdit *Et ego confitebor quod salvare te possit dextera tua*, quasi dicat: sic praedicta opera facere potes quae sunt Dei solius, potes tibi rationabiliter attribuere quod divino auxilio non ageas ad salutem” (Leon. ed., 215).

figure of Leviathan.¹¹⁸ On Thomas's reading, God's account of Behemoth and Leviathan here constitutes a description of the devil "under the figure of the elephant and the whale" (*sub figura elephantis et ceti*).¹¹⁹ Significantly, a central assumption of Thomas's angelology underlies this reading, namely that angels, inherently spiritual and incorporeal creatures who are ministers of the divine will, assume bodily forms in order to reveal particular truths fittingly to the humans to whom they are sensibly made known.¹²⁰ Thomas explains the devil's theological and hermeneutical relationship to the Behemoth and Leviathan of Job 40 thus:

And just as the human, through sin, fell from the dignity of reason and is compared to irrational creatures in his acting against reason, so too the devil, turning away through sin from the highest and intelligible goods when he desired primacy over lower and terrestrial things, is compared to brute beasts, in whose likeness demons frequently appear to humans since they are allowed by God's providence to assume such bodily forms (*figuras corporum*) through which their condition might be indicated.¹²¹

Because humans are corporeal creatures whose knowledge of spiritual realities is sensibly mediated (and so necessarily imperfect) in this life, God providentially reveals the condition of the devil—namely his "excellence and primacy in malice"—to them under the "bodily forms" (*figuras corporum*) of the elephant and the whale, the greatest beast of the land and sea, respectively.¹²²

118 *Expositio super Iob* 40:20: "Et quia superius victoriam hominis contra diabolum expresserat sub figura venationis elephantis, ne credatur quod homo sua virtute diabolum possit superare, hoc incipit excludere sub figura Leviathan" (Leon. ed., 219).

119 *Expositio super Iob* 40:10 (Leon. ed., 216).

120 For a study of this idea in 13th-century theology see Harkins, "The Embodiment of Angels."

121 *Expositio super Iob* 40:10: "Et sicut homo per peccatum decidit a dignitate rationis et contra rationem agens irrationabilibus comparatur, ita etiam diabolus per peccatum avertens se a supremis et intelligibilibus bonis, dum principatum super inferiora et terrena appetit, animalibus brutis comparatur, in quorum effigie frequenter daemones apparent hominibus, Deo id providente ut tales figuras corporum sinantur assumere per quas eorum condicio designetur" (Leon ed., 215).

122 *Expositio super Iob* 40:10: "Est autem considerandum quod sicut angeli in sua dignitate remanentes excellentiam quandam habent *supra* hominum dignitatem, unde et in fulgentiori quadam claritate apparent hominibus, ita etiam daemones excellentiam quandam et principatum in malitia *supra* homines habent, et ideo sub figura quorundam excellentium et quasi monstruosorum animalium describuntur. Inter omnia autem animalia terrestria excellit elephas magnitudine et virtute, inter animalia vero aquatica excellit cetus: et ideo Dominus describit diabolum sub figura elephantis et ceti, ut hoc nomen *Vehemot*, quod significat 'animal,' referatur ad elephantem qui inter cetera animalia terrestria, quae

Furthermore, as Thomas's twofold use of the word *figura* here suggests, such divine revelation occurs not only bodily but also textually: that is, the devil's malicious primacy is made known both physically, through his assumption of the corporeal *figurae* of the elephant and whale, and scripturally, through the written *figurae* of *Vehemot* ("Behemoth") and *Leviathan* ("Leviathan") impressed on the parchment folios (and, more recently, printed on the paper pages) of the book of Job. And for Thomas, Chapters 40–41 of Job capture and pass to posterity not only the Lord's twofold 'figural' revelation of the devil and his will vis-à-vis humankind, but also the truth that God, in Christ, has conquered the devil and subjected his will to divine providence.

Thomas is well aware that some readers of Job will take the divine description of Behemoth and Leviathan here as literally intending to express the properties of the elephant and whale, respectively; and he wishes in no way to deny the importance of precisely this meaning *ad litteram*. Thomas notes, however, that the scriptural descriptions also have another, figurative significance, which is evident from the fact that after the properties pertaining to the figures have been described "the truth is added."¹²³ On Thomas's reading, Satan is the *veritas* added to the description of the properties of the elephant and whale, which animals constitute the figures to which the words *Vehemot* and *Leviathan* point *ad litteram*. After delineating Behemoth's physical characteristics in 40:10–13, for example, v. 14 says, *He is the beginning of God's ways. He who made him will apply His sword.* Thomas understands *God's ways* here as "the works of His providence," of which the devil is said to be the beginning on account of the fact that the malice of the rational creature, the cause of divine punishment and the sinner's adversity, has its origin in the devil and his influence on humans.¹²⁴ And with the words *He who made him will apply*

communius animalia dicuntur, quendam principatum tenet propter corporis magnitudinem; nomen autem *Leviathan*, quod significat 'additamentum eorum,' referatur ad cetera grandia quae habent magnitudinis additamentum *supra* omne animalium genus" (Leon. ed., 215–16).

123 *Expositio super Iob* 40:10: "Posset autem forte alicui videri quod Dominus ad litteram intenderet exprimere proprietates elephantis et ceti propter magnitudinem qua reliqua animalia superant; sed quod proprietates horum animalium in figuram alterius describantur manifestum est ex hoc quod, proprietatibus positis ad figuram pertinentibus, subditur veritas" (Leon. ed., 216).

124 *Expositio super Iob* 40:14: "Haec autem quae figuraliter dicta sunt exponit Dominus subdens *Ipse*, scilicet Satan de quo praedicta metaphorice dicta sunt, *est principium viarum Dei*, idest operum eius....sed convenientius propositio videtur ut per vias Dei intelligamus opera providentiae eius. Considerandum est autem quod Deo unum solum opus est proprium suae bonitati conveniens, scilicet benefacere et miserere; quod autem puniat et adversitates inducat, hoc contingit propter malitiam creaturae rationalis, quae primo est in

His sword, God makes clear that the harmful work (i.e., the sword) of His own spiritual creature, the devil, is always permitted to operate (i.e., is applied by God) within the parameters of divine providence.¹²⁵ As we have seen, this theme of the subjection of Satan's will to God's providential plan for humans is, for Thomas, a central one in Job—indeed, one with which the sacred book also opens.¹²⁶

Satan's noxious work vis-à-vis human affairs is ultimately subject to God and His good willing by virtue of the fact that Christ has defeated the Adversary through His salvific suffering, death, and resurrection. And it is this definitive victory over Satan that God intends to signify figuratively, according to Thomas, in Job 40:10–19 and particularly in v. 19. Thomas makes explicit that in vv. 10–13 God describes three properties of Behemoth—namely, its food, sexual intercourse, and movement—“in such a way that we might first refer it to the figure,” that is, to the elephant.¹²⁷ This figure of an animal, then, points beyond itself to the reality of Satan. *He will eat hay like an ox* (v. 10) reveals *ad litteram* that the elephant does not eat flesh, but rather grasses and such in the manner of an ox. And because grasses grow on the earth, these words also indicate figuratively that Satan eats or delights in ruling over terrestrial realities.¹²⁸ This example illustrates Thomas's conviction that the figurative meaning is built on, and so requires, the sense of the scriptural words in their proper use. But what the words intend to reveal in their figurative use—Satan's delight in earthly domination, in this case—also falls within the ambit of the literal sense, according to Thomas.¹²⁹ The description of Behemoth's manner

diabolo inventa et per eius suggestionem est ad homines derivata, et ideo signanter dicit quod *ipse est principium viarum Dei*, idest Deus diversis viis utatur, scilicet beneficiendo et puniendo” (Leon. ed., 217–18).

125 *Expositio super Iob* 40:14: “Et ne credatur sic esse principium viarum Dei quod per se ipsum sit potens ad nocendum, hoc excludit subdens *Qui fecit eum*, scilicet Deus, *applicabit gladium eius*, idest noxiam operationem ipsius; voluntas autem nocendi est diabolo a se ipso, propter quod dicitur *gladius eius*, sed effectum nocendi non habet nisi ex voluntate vel permissione divina” (Leon. ed., 218).

126 See our treatment of Thomas's reading of 1:7–8 above.

127 *Expositio super Iob* 40:10: “Descripta igitur convenientia Vehemot cum homine, describit proprietates ipsius, et ut hoc primo ad figuram referamus, tria videtur circa Vehemot describere” (Leon. ed., 116).

128 *Expositio super Iob* 40:10: “[P]rimo quidem cibum ipsius cum dicit *Fenum quasi bos comedit*: ad litteram enim non est animal comedens carnes sed herbas et alia huiusmodi ad modum bovis. Et quia herbae nascuntur in terra, per hoc figuratur quod Satan pascitur, idest delectatur, in terrenorum domino” (Leon. ed., 116).

129 Thomas suggests as much with the *primo* in his earlier phrase, quoted above, *ut hoc primo ad figuram referamus*. See also Thomas's statement of how Scripture signifies spiritual

of sexual intercourse in vv. 11–12 (*His strength is in his loins and his power in the navel of his belly; he squeezes his tail like a cedar, the tendons of his testicles are tangled*) cannot, according to the proper use of the words, refer to the devil, Thomas observes, because demons do not copulate like animals.¹³⁰ Indeed, demons cannot engage in corporeal biological functions that are natural to animals, such as having sexual intercourse, eating, and moving (the three described in Job 40:10–13), on account of the fact that they do not possess naturally functioning bodies of their own.¹³¹ Nevertheless, these scriptural words metaphorically (*metaphorice*) express the delight of the devil and other demons in overcoming, ensnaring, and binding both men and women by means of the vice of lust.¹³² Likewise, that the elephant moves by means of bones that are like brass pipes and cartilage like iron plates (v. 13) figuratively signifies “the obstinacy of the devil, who cannot be diverted from the purpose of his malice, and his cruelty, with which he does not stop outwardly harassing humans.”¹³³

However ceaseless the devil’s severity and undeterred his evil intent, Job 40:19 (*In his eyes as if with a hook he will catch him, and he will pierce his nostrils with stakes*) makes clear that Christ has, in fact, conquered him. Here, according to Thomas, the Lord describes the victory of Christ, the fruits of which redound to the faithful by His grace, “under the similitude of an elephant

realities under the figures of corporeal things in *Expositio super Iob* 1:6 (Leon. ed., 7) and our discussion of it above.

130 *Expositio super Iob* 40:11–12: “Haec autem ad diabolum litteraliter referri non possunt, quasi ipsi <daemones> ad modum animalium corporaliter coeant quasi ipso coitu delectati...” (Leon. ed., 217).

131 See Harkins, “The Embodiment of Angels”; and Harkins, “The Magical Arts.”

132 *Expositio super Iob* 40:11–12: “[E]tsi enim, ut Augustinus dicit in xv De civitate Dei, quidam ‘incubi saepe dicantur extitisse mulieribus improbi et earum appetisse ac peregrisse concubitum,’ non tamen hoc agunt quasi coitu delectati, sed delectantur ad hoc quod homines ad peccata talia inducunt ad quae maxime sunt prони; unde Augustinus dicit in II De civitate Dei ‘Quis non intelligat quantum moliantur maligni spiritus exemplo suo auctoritatem praebere sceleribus?’ et propter hoc, ut ipse in eodem libro alibi dicit, ‘huiusmodi spiritus luxuriae obscenitatibus delectantur,’ quae quidem eorum delectatio metaphorice in verbis praemissis exprimitur. Et quia propter concupiscentiam carnis secundum hoc vitium maxime possunt homines superare, ideo dicit *Fortitudo eius in lumbis eius*, ut hoc referatur ad viros, et *virtus illius in umbiculo ventris eius*, ut hoc referatur ad mulieres; *stringit caudam suam quasi cedrum*, quia quos in hoc peccatum deicit dulcedine voluptatis finaliter ligatos tenet, *nervi testicularum eius perplexi sunt*, quia si aliquis in hoc vitium deiectus evadere nititur, diversis occasionibus iterato irretitur” (Leon. ed., 217).

133 *Expositio super Iob* 40:13: “[E]t per hoc significantur obstinatio diaboli qui a proposito suae malitiae retrahi non potest, et crudelitas eius per quam ab exteriori hominum nocuimento non cessat” (Leon. ed., 217).

hunt.¹³⁴ Just as hunters often poke elephants in their nostrils, in which they have more sensitive flesh, the phrase *he will pierce his nostrils with stakes* “mystically” (*mystice*) signifies that Christ overcame the devil by “displaying to him a weak nature so that, as if with a hook, He [i.e., Christ] might be seized by him, and a little later He exercised His power over him.”¹³⁵ Although the devil pierced the weak human nature of Christ Himself by means of His Passion and death on a cross and thereby caught Him as if with a hook, three days later this same Christ exercised the power of His divinity over his erstwhile demonic subjugator in the resurrection.¹³⁶ And it is here, in this divine power and in his own future resurrection accomplished through his Redeemer’s rising, where Job’s hope ultimately rests.

6.4 Conclusion

When Thomas Aquinas, as conventual lector at San Domenico in Orvieto, lectured on the book of Job in 1261–1264, he aimed to read it “cursorily” (*cursorie*) and *ad litteram* in order not only to provide his religious brothers with

134 *Expositio super Iob* 40:19: “Et hanc quidem victoriam describit Dominus sub similitudine venationis elephantis, dicens *In oculis eius quasi hamo capiet eum*, scilicet venator, per quem Christus et sui significantur” (Leon. ed., 219).

135 *Expositio super Iob* 40:19: “[E]t ad hoc potest pertinere quod subditur *et in sudibus perforabit nares eius*, in quibus scilicet habent carnem magis sensibilem, et ideo magis ibi punguntur a venatoribus. Per hoc autem mystice designatur quod Christus diabolum superavit, ostendens ei naturam infirmam ut sic quasi hamo ab eo caperetur, et postmodum virtutem suam in eum exercuit, secundum illud Col. 11, 15 ‘Expolians principatus et potentates, traduxit confidenter’” (Leon. ed., 219). Anthony Damico’s translation of this second sentence attributes the “weak nature” to the devil (whom the elephant signifies metaphorically, to be sure) rather than to Christ’s humanity, thus failing to convey the full soteriological force of Thomas’s interpretation.

136 Thomas is alluding here to the traditional ransom theory or ‘rights of the devil’ view of Christ’s atoning work. This understanding of the atonement is exemplified in Gregory of Nyssa, who employs the image of the human Christ as the bait of the divine hook whereby the devil was caught and conquered definitively. Similarly, in his *Expositio symboli*, Rufinus of Aquileia describes the power of the divine Son as a kind of hook concealed by the covering of human flesh by means of which He baited and captured the devil. See Giles E.M. Gasper, *Anselm of Canterbury and his Theological Inheritance* (Aldershot, 2004), 165. According to Thomas’s reading of Job 40:19, Christ’s weak human nature was the hook whereby the devil captured Him, as if a fish, in death; it was precisely in His death (and subsequent resurrection), however, that this same hook of human nature became the means whereby Christ turned the tables and caught the devil.

an introduction to the sacred text but also to locate it within the wider frame of Christian theology.¹³⁷ It is this pedagogical goal of situating Job within the sphere of divine teaching or *sacra doctrina* generally that accounts for the significant place of Christ in the *Expositio super Iob*. And Thomas reads Job as signifying Christ, in general, *ad litteram* because he understands: (1) God to have revealed saving truths (concerning providence, Christ, etc.) directly to Job; and (2) the prophetic, Christological meaning of some Old Testament texts to constitute the literal sense.¹³⁸ As our analysis has aimed to show, Thomas is concerned in the *Expositio* with much more than simply glossing the words of the book of Job. Rather, this sacred text provides the occasion for deep theological reflection on the nature of God's own self-disclosure to humankind, its final soteriological purpose, and how humans do and should apprehend and interpret this divine disclosure. And so, for Thomas, the fundamental problem addressed by the book of Job is that the natural human capacity to know *that* God's providence extends to human affairs and *how* it so extends is limited.

Because of this human epistemological limitation regarding divine providence, many people throughout history have erred in their thinking about this crucial theological doctrine. And so it was fitting, according to Thomas, that God should reveal the truth concerning His providential governance of human affairs not only to Job himself (most dramatically from the whirlwind, as recorded in Job 38–41), but also—since God permitted the words of Job and his interlocutors to be engraved in a book (19:23)—to subsequent hearers and readers of the sacred text bearing his name. We have sought to show that, on Thomas's reading, Christ is an indispensable *significatum* of the words and sensible similitudes whereby God reveals Himself and His will to and through Job. Indeed, for Thomas, the saving work of Christ enables Job and those to whom his book comes down to understand what they may not know naturally, namely that God's good and just governance of human affairs extends beyond the here and now to the life of the world to come.

Furthermore, this knowledge of the truth concerning Christ and the eternal extent of divine providence has an ultimate soteriological purpose. It is

137 See Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study," 139–40; and Priigl, "Thomas Aquinas as Interpreter of Scripture," 387–88.

138 On Thomas's understanding of prophecy, and of Christ as the literal meaning of prophetic texts, see, e.g., Joseph Wawrykow, "Aquinas on Isaiah," in *Aquinas on Scripture*, 43–71, at 48–49; and Aaron Canty, "Hugh of St. Cher and Thomas Aquinas: Time and the Interpretation of the Psalms," in *Time: Sense, Space, Structure*, (eds.) Nancy van Deusen and Leonard Michael Koff (Leiden, 2016), 160–76. Thomas's explicitly mystical interpretation of Job 40:19 is an obvious exception to his literal, Christological reading of Job.

especially the teaching on Christ that accounts for what Rudi te Velde has described as the “sacramental aspect” of *sacra doctrina* according to Thomas. In Thomas’s conception, te Velde explains, sacred doctrine is “knowledge by which man is led effectively through the work of Christ (and the beneficial gifts of his sacraments) to an eternal life of beatitude in unity with God.”¹³⁹ As we have seen, Thomas not only finds this sacramental function of sacred teaching concerning Christ exemplified in the faith and hope of Job himself; he also understands the book of Job as a significant means of revealing Christological doctrine and disclosing its sacramental function to posterity. As Job himself discovered, however, it is necessarily from the whirlwind and its obscurity—that is, through sensible *figurae*, both corporeal and textual—that God reveals saving truths concerning Christ and providence to humans in this life.

139 Te Velde, *Aquinas on God*, 22.

A Passionate Dispute Over Divine Providence: Albert the Great's Commentary on the Book of Job

Ruth Meyer

7.1 Introduction

The Dominican Albert the Great (c. 1200–1280) completed his commentary on the book of Job, now known to scholarship as *Super Iob (On Job)*,¹ in Cologne in 1272 or 1274.² It is a late work, written when Albert was over 70 years old. He was inspired to do so by his pupil Thomas Aquinas,³ who, in Orvieto a good ten years previously, had composed an *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*⁴ in which he several times compares the debate depicted in the Book of Job with an academic disputation.⁵ His teacher picks up this idea and, for the first and only time in the history of exegesis, explicitly interprets the entire book of Job as a disputation.⁶

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- 1 According to the manuscripts it is a “writing on Job” or a “work about Job” or a “postil on Job.” See Winfried Fauser, *Codices Manuscripti Operum Alberti Magni. Pars 1: Opera Genuina (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia) Tomus Subsidiarius I, Pars 1* (Münster, 1982), 212–13. On the generic term “postil,” see n. 18 below.
 - 2 In two of the eight extant manuscripts of the commentary, Albertus Magnus is cited as the author, Cologne as the place of composition, and 1272 or 1274 as the year of composition. See Fauser, *Codices*, 213, Ms. 5 and 6.
 - 3 See Walter Senner, OP, *Alberts des Großen Verständnis von Theologie und Philosophie* (Münster, 2009), 58. A comparison of the two Job commentaries can be found in Ruth Meyer, “‘Hanc autem disputationem solus Deus determinare potest.’ Das Buch Hiob als *disputatio* bei Albertus Magnus und Thomas von Aquin,” in *Via Alberti. Texte—Quellen—Interpretationen*, (eds.) Ludger Honnefelder, Hannes Möhle, and Susana Bullido del Barrio (Münster, 2009), 325–83.
 - 4 See the essay on Aquinas’s *Expositio* by Franklin T. Harkins in this *Companion*.
 - 5 See, for example, Thomas de Aquino, *Expositio super Iob ad litteram* c. 13, (eds.) Antoine Don-daine, Editio Leonina 26 (Rome, 1965), 87 lines 307–313: “Est autem disputatio inter duas personas, sc. opponentem et respondentem; ingrediens ergo disputationem cum Deo, dat ei optionem utramlibet personam eligendi vel opponentis vel respondentis, unde dicit *Voca me et respondebo tibi*, quasi dicat: obicias et respondebo, *aut certe loquar*, obiciendo, *et tu responde mihi*.”
 - 6 Although Thomas understands the whole biblical book as a disputation, he does not employ the specific terminology of a scholastic debate throughout his commentary. It is in

In the 13th century the disputation was a mandatory part of the academic curriculum at universities, of the *studium generale* of the Dominican Order,⁷ and in every Dominican house, so the readers of Albert and Thomas were extremely familiar with the form. Today, about 740 years later, the picture is very different. Hence, this essay will, first, briefly outline the principles and procedure of a disputation before demonstrating the skill with which Albert uses its rules to characterize the protagonists of the biblical text, above all Elihu and Job. Albert gives Job a particular role in the disputation, which he justifies in his interpretation of the so-called “Excursus on Wisdom” (Job 28), a passage which we shall examine more closely. Then this essay will broadly outline Albert’s doctrine of divine providence and the conciliatory conclusion to the disputation before, finally, attempting a brief analysis of the commentary.

7.2 Style and Sequence of a Disputation⁸

Interpreting the book of Job as a disputation is an obvious step since—apart from the framing narrative (Job 1:1–2:13 and 42:7–16)—it consists of a chain of speeches and responses. First Job and one or another of his friends take turns speaking, and then Job and God do so. A disputation, too, consists of speeches and responses that serve to clarify a particular issue. An orderly progression is ensured by agreeing on the division of functions in advance and by following established rules for the conduct of the argument and the supporting evidence. A fundamental distinction is made between a *disputatio rhetorica* (rhetorical disputation) and a *disputatio doctrinalis* (doctrinal disputation), also

Albert’s sustained and explicit use of the terminology of disputation that Albert appears to be original.

- 7 The *studium generale* offered new recruits to the Dominican Order the chance to study philosophy and theology at the university level. In 1248 Albert was charged with founding a *studium generale* in Cologne, which he oversaw until 1254.
- 8 See Brian Lawn, *The rise and decline of the scholastic ‘Quaestio disputata’, with special emphasis on its use in the teaching of medicine and science* (Leiden, 1993); Bernardo C. Bazàn, “Les questions disputées principalement dans les facultés de théologie,” in *Les questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques dans les facultés de théologie, de droit et de médecine*, (eds.) Bernardo C. Bazàn, John W. Wipple, Gérard Fransen, and Danielle Jacquart (Turnhout, 1985), 13–149; Olga Weijers, “The various Kinds of Disputation in the Faculties of Arts, Theology and Law,” in *Disputatio 1200–1800. Form, Funktion und Wirkung eines Leitmediums universitärer Wissenskultur*, (eds.) Marion Grindhart and Ursula Kundert (Berlin, 2010) 21–31.

called a *disputatio demonstrativa* (demonstrative disputation). In a *disputatio rhetorica*, criticism, verbal attack,⁹ and derision may be employed;¹⁰ and the disputation itself can be so heated that the speeches are tightly intermeshed.¹¹ Speakers operate with easily comprehensible epistemological first principles that cover only general matters of minor importance.¹² In this way simple, valid syllogisms such as the following are constructed: “A just judge condemns only he who has sinned. You are condemned; therefore you have sinned.”¹³ In the university Faculty of Arts, for example, such simple syllogisms are sufficient either to form an opinion (*opinio*) about a matter oneself or, using one’s powers of persuasion, to convey its credibility (*fides*) to others.¹⁴ However, in order to attain certain knowledge in subjects such as theology, medicine and law, it is necessary to conduct a *disputatio demonstrativa* and to do so in a strictly objective and exclusively rational manner. This culminates in a so-called *determinatio usque ad particularia*, that is, in detailed, stringent proof that builds on the first, most general principles. The format of this type of disputation was the prerogative of the professor (*magister*)¹⁵ since, thanks to his knowledge of his subject and his many years of experience, he alone had at his command the necessary ontological first principles, which in theology

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- 9 Albertus Magnus, *Super Iob* 16:1, (ed.) Melchior Weiss (Freiburg, 1904), col. 203 lines 6–8: “Rhetorica est disputatio, quia exclamacionibus, reprehensionibus et invectionibus utitur.” This edition numbers in columns, not pages, and uses bold type for the quotations from the Job text. Italics are used instead in this essay.
- 10 *Super Iob* 11:3, col. 155 lines 27–29: “Disputationes enim rhetoricae cum irrisione fiunt adversarii.”
- 11 *Super Iob* 10:1, col. 143 lines 45–47: “Et quia disputationes istae rhetoricae sunt, ideo exordium competit fini praecedentis et initio sequentis.”
- 12 *Super Iob* 32:1, col. 369 lines 34–37: “Et sic tres sententiae, quia non nisi ex adiunctis communibus acceptae sunt, et ex communibus principiis primis.”
- 13 *Ibid.*, col. 369 lines 37–41: “A iusto iudice non damnatur, nisi qui peccavit; tu condemnatus es, ergo peccasti. Haec sunt enim prima, quae supponuntur in rhetoricis, et talia fuerunt omnia, quae dixerunt tres amici.”
- 14 *Ibid.*, col. 370 lines 10–13: “Particularia autem et coartata, efficaciora ad persuadendum, quae tamen posteriora sunt secundum artis inventionem.” See, too, *Super Iob* 37:24, col. 439 line 43—col. 440 line 1: “In rhetoricis enim disputationibus, quae sunt ex adiunctis, ex communibus principiis non fit fides, nisi usque ad ultima per circumstantias et signa deducantur.”
- 15 Only in the Faculty of Arts did the role of *determinator* (adjudicator) of a disputation fall to a budding bachelor’s student. See Bazàn, “Les questions disputées,” 94. In theology, medicine, and law a student did not have the right to give a *determinatio*. See Bazàn, “Les questions disputées,” 111.

stem from revelation and are therefore not accessible to those at the beginning of their studies.¹⁶

The course of the disputation was regulated as follows. Normally on the day before a disputation a master formulated the question that was to be its subject¹⁷ and determined which of his more advanced students should play an active part in the debate. The master and his students then met in the lecture theatre at a fixed time. First a *baccalaureus* (bachelor) who had the job of acting as “respondent” (*respondens*) advanced the arguments he considered a response to the question posed. At least one other student, known as an “opponent” (*opponens*), then replied to his arguments, assuming a contradictory position. After arguments for and against the initial proposition had been exchanged, the master presented the solution (the *determinatio magistralis*). Finally, he either confirmed the arguments advanced by the students as true or refuted them.

The master could develop this type of disputation into a so-called *quaestio disputata* (disputed question), which could then be published. The *quaestio* text is free from all rhetoric, its subject matter and arguments pared down: it consists of the question, the arguments, the answer, and the refutations. This is precisely the model used by Albert to interpret the book of Job: Job 3:1 functions as the formulation of the question and the start of the argument between Job, his friends, and Elihu in Job 3–37. Job 38:1–42:6 acts as the answer; Job 42:7–8 as the refutation. Here Albert takes advantage of a peculiarity of biblical exegesis, the postil,¹⁸ in which it is customary, especially at the beginning of a chapter, to undertake a so-called *divisio textus*, division of the text. This division into main points and subsidiary points is intended to help the reader to find his way around the theme of the biblical text and its interpretation. Here Albert deploys all the signaling words so familiar to academics from the practice of disputation. Thus readers could immediately recognize which role was assigned to each speaker, whether an argument functioned for or against the

16 See, for example, *Super Iob* 38:1, col. 440 lines 34–35 and 39–43: “Determinat [sc. Deus] autem pro beato Iob et contra amicos...et fundatur hoc super quandam propositionem ab omnibus sanctis suppositam, quae est haec, quod nihil temporale potest esse causa aeterni et accipitur Rom IX, (11–13).”

17 There were also *disputationes quodlibetales* (“free” disputations), in which a member of the audience formulated the question. See Lawn, *The rise and decline*, 15–17.

18 The word “postilla” derives from Latin “post illa verba textus” (according to those words from the text) and is a generic term in exegesis that came into use at the beginning of the 13th century. Typically, either every verse from the Bible or individual words from it were directly followed by either an explanation of the subject matter or an interpretation, supported in turn by further quotations from the Bible or other authorities.

initial question, and whether it actually contributed to the solution.¹⁹ Furthermore, in the course of his commentary Albert repeatedly points out whether a given argument is rhetorical or demonstrative. In this way he resolves a fundamental difficulty: namely, that while the text of the book of Job may have a theological theme, it employs stylistic devices that are purely rhetorical and poetic; and hence it cannot really provide the textual basis for a theological disputation unless exegesis successfully demonstrates that the biblical text really does contain statements of principle and a *determinatio magistralis*.²⁰ It is precisely because Albert is aware of this difficulty that his interpretation of the book of Job is so exciting. Let us, therefore, consider in greater detail the roles ascribed by Albert to the figures in the biblical text and how he uses these roles to characterize their ability to contribute to the solution of the question.

7.3 Job and His Friends as Disputants

Job sets the theme of the disputation. Plagued by illness and struck down by the blows of fate, he feels unjustly treated by God and laments the fact that his God-fearing life seems to count for nothing.²¹ As a result, Job and his friends become respondents or, rather, opponents.²² However, by giving the etymology of their names, a common practice in the thirteenth century, Albert suggests a rather unflattering characterization of Job's friends as speakers. In his speeches Eliphaz the Temanite, whose first name means "contempt for the Lord," expresses contempt not just for God but also for Job, whom he had actually intended to console.²³ Bildad the Shuhite proves to be talkative rather than

19 See Meyer, "Hanc autem disputationem," 330–337; and n. 22 below.

20 In the 20th century Albert was actually reproached for having applied, far too rigidly, an unsuitable interpretation to the biblical text. See Antoine Dondaine, *Praefatio*, in Thomas de Aquino, *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*, 1^{*}-142^{*}, 28^{*}. However, as we will see, Albert is perfectly aware of the rhetorical devices present in the biblical text and employs them competently and in accordance with the theory of the discipline.

21 *Super Iob* 3:1, col. 51 lines 9–11: "Iob primo conqueritur, quod actus sui ad humanam rationem et providentiam non iudicantur."

22 For Job see, for example, Albert, *Super Iob* 9:1, col. 129 line 28; for Eliphaz, for example, *Super Iob* 4:1, col. 68 line 30; for Bildad, for example, *Super Iob* 8:1, col. 120 line 3; for Zophar, for example, *Super Iob* 11:1, col. 154 line 11. Evidence for the function of the "opponents" is less frequent. For Job see, for example, *Super Iob* 6:1, col. 97 line 11.

23 *Super Iob* 2:11, col. 48 lines 35–40: "Eliphaz contemptus Domini interpretatur; Theman autem auster, et nomen figurat, quod a consolatione in contemptum labi debuit, et dissolvere amicum, sicut auster austerno flatu dissolvit et Baldach Suhites."

wise and concerned “only with his posthumous reputation” (*sola vetustas*).²⁴ Through his eloquence Zophar the Naamathite splinters the “mirror of truth.”²⁵ These are not promising qualifications for such a difficult theological subject.

At first Elihu, son of Barachel and the youngest of the speakers, gives grounds for hope as his name means he is blessed with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.²⁶ Admittedly, Elihu does not, in his speech, advance any new arguments, but he does succeed— as elucidated by Albert— in summarizing the arguments by Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, which differ only in nuances, and in highlighting in some detail their common principles, circumstances, and implications.²⁷ That is the most that can be achieved in a rhetorical disputation.²⁸ Elihu believes, however, that just like a master he has at his command a *scientia perfecta*, a perfect knowledge, and a *habitus conclusionis*, a practiced method of deduction.²⁹ In addition, he bestows on his utterances the status of ontological first principles by asserting that he had received them through revelation.³⁰ Albert now demonstrates that in reality Elihu possesses neither the methodological skills nor the knowledge to uphold a *determinatio magistralis*, since he is not even capable of giving a correct account of Job’s arguments.³¹ Moreover,

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- 24 Ibid., col. 48 lines 40–45: “Baldach sola vetustas interpretatur, Suhites loquens, et nomine praesignat, quod ad vetustatem dicere debuit, et ad loquacitatem plus quam ad sapientiam se diffundere.”
- 25 Ibid., col. 49 lines 4–7: “Sophar dissipatio speculae, Naamathites interpretatur decorus, nomine praesignans, quod speculam veritatis dissipaturus erat propter eloquentiae decorem.”
- 26 Albert writes the following about the meaning of Elihu’s name: “Eliu enim interpretatur Deus meus iste vel Deus Dominus et significat, quod verba sua divina sunt...*filius Barachel*, qui interpretatur benedictio Domini eo, quod benedictione Domini per inspirationem spiritus dicit se scientiam accepisse” (*Super Iob* 32:2, col. 371 lines 2–10).
- 27 *Super Iob* 37:24, col. 440 lines 15–18: “Haec autem principia communia, quae tres hi supponunt, Eliu coniungit et ad particularia deducit per circumstantias et adiuncta.”
- 28 *Super Iob* 33:12, col. 382 lines 7–14: “*Respondebo tibi*. Hic [Eliu] incipit disputare ad positionem inductam. Et idem dicit fere, quod Eliphaz, sed deducit usque ad particularia, quod ille non fecit; in rhetoricis enim usque ad particularia ultima deducendum est, si praesumptionem debeat facere conclusio.”
- 29 *Super Iob* 36:4, col. 415 line 44—col. 416 line 2: “Et de hoc subdit [Eliu]: *et perfecta scientia*, quae habitus conclusionis probatae est, ut vult Aristoteles in principio posteriorum, *probabitur tibi*.”
- 30 *Super Iob* 32:1, col. 370 lines 1–6: “Non enim alia dicit quam alii; sed quia primorum studia iste coartavit et multiplicavit adiuncta et ex his probabilius arguit, ideo iuniorem se esse dicit, et a spiritu divino se haec accepisse.”
- 31 *Super Iob* 33:9, col. 381 lines 31–33: “Haec his verbis non dixit Iob, sed Eliu elicit ab eo, quod dictum est Iob xvi, (18)”; *Super Iob* 34:4, col. 394 lines 33–37: “Et subdit positionem, quam

his method of disputation is, like that of the others, merely rhetorical: for example, he unjustly accuses Job of blasphemy,³² a tactic which has no place at all in a *disputatio demonstrativa*.³³ On the other hand, in a rhetorical disputation it is not appropriate for Elihu to be operating with ontological first principles.³⁴ In other words, Elihu does not behave in accordance with either the rules of or his role in the disputation, and for this reason he fails in his intention of being the brilliant final speaker in the disputation.

After Elihu's speech, two irreconcilable views on the topic are left confronting each other.³⁵ On the one hand, Job's friends and Elihu believe that each man fares either well or ill according to his merits, though their views of how and when this happens differ. Eliphaz maintains, as he thinks has been the case with Job, that this faring well or ill occurs during his lifetime.³⁶ In Bildad's view, it manifests itself as a just balancing of the books after death.³⁷ And Zophar is of the opinion that discussion of the issue is in any case pointless since no human being can know God's ultimate will.³⁸ Job, on the other hand, believes that God takes nothing temporal into account and for this reason His providence must differ from the ways of man.³⁹

secundum seriem verborum non dixit Iob, sed secundum Eliu interpretationem sequitur ex dictis eius, et est contraria ad positionem Baldach."

- 32 *Super Iob* 34:37, col. 406 lines 30–35: "Quare autem hoc petat, subdit: *Qui addidit super peccata sua, communia sc., quae fecit in se et in proximum, blasphemiam, quae est impositio falsi criminis in Deum, in hoc sc., quod iudicia Dei calumniatur quasi iniusta.*"
- 33 *Super Iob* 6:26, col. 107 lines 33–36: "Male enim disputantium est et sophistarum arguere socium, cum non habent quid dicere ad orationem"; and *Super Iob* 6:1, col. 97 lines 23–25: "Tertia est, quod veritati dictorum nihil valentes obicere ad increpandum sermonem componebant."
- 34 *Super Iob* 32:1, col. 370 lines 6–10: "In rhetoricis enim disputationibus, quae involutae sunt adiunctis, ut dicit Boetius, prima principia et generaliora frequenter falsa sunt."
- 35 On the stances taken by Job and his friends and discussed here, see also the section on "Albert's Doctrine of Divine Providence as Subject of the Disputation" below.
- 36 Albert, *Super Iob* 37:24, col. 440 lines 1–6: "Hoc igitur est determinatio disputationis, et omnes supponunt, quod ex respectu ad inferiora et temporalia merita regimen sit humanae vitae, licet Eliphaz in communi dicat, quod bonis bona et malis mala retribuuntur."
- 37 *Ibid.*, col. 440 lines 6–10: "Baldach autem addat, quod, si aliquando secus fit, quod bonis sc. fiunt mala et malis bona, quod hoc utrisque recompensatur in praemio retributionis finalis."
- 38 *Ibid.*, col. 440 lines 10–15: "Sophar autem licet idem dicat, sed addat hoc, si secus fit aliquando et raro, quod hoc fit secundum altitudinem consilii et voluntatis divinae, cuius causa non est quaerenda."
- 39 *Ibid.*, col. 440 lines 18–24: "Iob autem solus negat hoc, quod respiciendo ad merita hominum provideat et gubernet Deus humanam vitam, sed regimen suum dissimile sit omni regimini humano et ad nihil temporale respiciat gubernando vitam humanam."

Not one of the speakers comes up with a response to the topic set for disputation on which all can agree. This is, as Albert stresses, completely comprehensible, for God alone is in a position to provide such a definitive answer.⁴⁰ He is the *iudex* (judge) who decides—in Job’s favor—the question posed by Job about the governance of man’s life;⁴¹ and Albert ascribes to God the corresponding role of the true master. Albert interprets God’s two speeches in such a way that they convey reliable factual knowledge about natural history, anthropology, demonology, the history of salvation, and the doctrine of divine providence in a manner consistent with a *determinatio usque ad particularia*.

Now, it may be objected that both of God’s speeches, like those by Job and his friends, are rhetorical in character (*more rhetorico*), something Albert admits.⁴² However, this is entirely in keeping with their subject, indeed in both the literal and the figurative, spiritual sense.⁴³ That is to say, both of God’s speeches deal exclusively with natural phenomena, beasts such as Behemoth and Leviathan, whose characteristics are compared to those of real animals. Understood literally, therefore, they are in harmony with the narrative approach common in the natural history of the period.⁴⁴ However, the actual goal of God’s speeches is not the teaching of natural history but the provision of an answer to a theological question; and, similarly, this can take place only *more rhetorico* for, while man’s cognitive abilities are limited, Scripture uses only metaphors and similes to discuss theological matters.⁴⁵ Now, the skill of the exegete lies in uncovering the deeper meaning of these metaphors and similes.⁴⁶ If he succeeds, then a theologian can, with considerable

40 Ibid., col. 440 lines 24–6: “Hanc autem disputationem solus deus determinare potest, et ideo inducitur ut determinans eam.”

41 *Super Iob* 38:1, col. 440 lines 32–35: “Hic inducit iudex quaestionem de regimine humanae vitae determinans. Determinat autem pro beato Job et contra amicos.”

42 *Super Iob* 38:1, col. 442 lines 9–12: “Increpans autem allegantem primo utitur transitu more rhetorico. Transit enim ab auditu allegationum ad determinationem.”

43 Medieval exegesis distinguishes four levels of meaning in a text, namely the literal sense and three spiritual ones: the allegorical (doctrinal or dogmatic), tropological (moral), and anagogical (eschatological). See, for example, Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis. The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. by Marc Sebanc, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1998), esp. vol. 2.

44 See Theodor W. Köhler, “*Processus narrativus*. Zur Entwicklung des Wissenschaftskonzepts in der Hochscholastik,” in *Salzburger Jahrbuch für Philosophie* 39 (1994): 109–127, esp. 114–19.

45 That is also true of the Gospels, in which Jesus—the Word of God made flesh—also speaks to people about the kingdom of heaven and His Father using only metaphors and similes.

46 On Albert’s theory of exegesis see Mikolaj Olszewski, “St. Albert the Great’s Theory of Interpretation of the Bible,” in *Albertus Magnus. Zum Gedenken nach 800 Jahren: Neue Zugänge, Aspekte und Perspektiven*, (eds.) Walter Senner et al. (Berlin, 2001), 467–78.

certainty, employ the principles and causes revealed in Holy Scripture to resolve knotty theological problems. If man, then, wants to achieve the correct insight into theology, he must allow himself to be taught by the Word of God. Precisely this is, for Albert, the crucial difference between Job and his friends when he propounds Job's special role at the end of the disputation.

7.4 Job's Special Role at the End of the Disputation

God's answer, as related in the book of Job, may well be valid for all mankind, but Albert writes that it is apprehended only by Job, namely through illumination.⁴⁷ By this is meant the imparting of insight through God's grace, an insight then employed by human reason if it lacks sufficient strength to recognize the truth on its own.⁴⁸ Albert cites two reasons for Job's being the only one to receive illumination: he alone admitted to God that he had spoken without understanding,⁴⁹ and he alone requested that God Himself instruct him.⁵⁰ By contrast, Job's friends persisted, out of ignorance, in adhering to their all-too-human view and failed to notice possible errors.⁵¹

However, what is remarkable about Albert's characterization of Job is that he sees the latter as changing his mind several times about the topic under debate.⁵² Initially, despite the calamities he has endured, Job does not rail foolishly against God; nor does he omit to rebuke his wife and to instruct her on

47 *Super Iob* 42:4, col. 505 line 45—col. 506 line 1: "Tu [Deus] responde mihi, per illuminationem sc."

48 On the topic of *illuminatio* in Albert see Markus Führer, "Albertus Magnus' Theory of Divine Illumination," in *Albertus Magnus. Zum Gedenken nach 800 Jahren*, 141–56; Henryk Anzulewicz, "Entwicklung und Stellung der Intellekttheorie im System des Albertus Magnus," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 70 (2003): 165–218; and Henryk Anzulewicz, "Vermögenspsychologische Grundlagen kognitiver Leistung des Intellektes nach Albertus Magnus," *Acta Mediaevalia* 22 (2009): 95–116.

49 Albert, *Super Iob* 42:3, col. 505 lines 20–24: "Et subdit de poenitentia: Ideo insipienter locutus sum, in hoc sc., quod non aequo iudicio dixi me afflictum, quia, quidquid Tu, Domine, facis, qui omnia potes et omnia scis, aequo iudicio facis."

50 *Super Iob* 42:4, col. 505 lines 40–42: "Qualiter autem loqui possit, subdit: *interrogabo Te*, a Te ipso sc. inquirendo veritatem, ut illumines me."

51 *Super Iob* 42:8, col. 508 lines 18–21: "Et dicit stultitia innuens, quod ex ignorantia peccaverunt, et ideo facilius recipiuntur ad poenitentiam."

52 Thomas Aquinas, on the other hand, operates on the premise that throughout the entire text Job sticks to a single opinion. See Meyer, "Hanc autem disputationem," 341.

the correct way of seeing.⁵³ Job's (correct) view is expressed in perhaps the best-known quotation from the book of Job: "the Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."⁵⁴ Oppressed by illness, Job, like his friends, sees God's direction of man's fate in all-too-human terms.⁵⁵ After being instructed by God, however, Job realizes that both God's justice and God's guidance differ from those of man⁵⁶ and returns, as Albert stresses, to the correct viewpoint, namely, the one he had initially held.⁵⁷

As Albert demonstrates, Job's return to the truth is accomplished in two stages. In God's first speech, questions are directed at Job which force him to renounce the narrow horizon of questions limited solely to himself and his suffering, and instead to contemplate the inconceivable, enormous entirety of God's complex creation. Consequently, Job humbly admits to having spoken frivolously,⁵⁸ and, as a result, he offers to do penance for his frivolous words and in the future to remain silent rather than be prompted by ignorance to say something else against God.⁵⁹ However, God is by no means in favor of Job remaining silent; rather, He challenges him again with a second speech.

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- 53 Albert, *Super Iob* 2:10, col. 47 lines 17–20: "Non peccavit Iob labiis suis, nec loquendo sc. contra Deum stulte, nec damnabili silentio subtrahens verbum salutis uxori, cui debuit correptionem et instructionem."
- 54 Job 1:21: "Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit [sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est *add. Ω et Albertus*]. Sit nomen Domini benedictum."
- 55 *Super Iob* 3:1, col. 51 lines 22–30: "Quod enim sic gubernari deberet, videtur eo, quod iustitia gubernationis humanae exemplata est ab ordine iustitiae divinae et ita videretur, quod cum illa concordare deberet; et quod nihil esset in una, quod non esset in alia. Unde quasi ex fama per auditum ex ordine iustitiae humanae dicitur iustitia divina."
- 56 *Ibid.*, col. 51 lines 30–43: "Sed quia ex determinatione Domini cognovit postea Iob, quod ordo iustitiae divinae penitus dissimilis est ordini iustitiae humanae; homo enim ex luto factus vilior est, quam quod Deus respiciat ipsum ad ordinem iustitiae humanae. Ideo rediens ad intellectum verum in fine dicit (Iob XLII, 5): 'Auditu auris audivi te,' quasi praedicatum ex ordine iustitiae humanae (Iob XLII, 5): 'Nunc autem oculus meus videt te,' ac si dicat: ex tua determinatione rediens ad intellectum, cognovi gubernationem tuam dissimilem esse humanae."
- 57 See the "rediens ad intellectum verum in fine" in *Super Iob* 3:1, col. 51 lines 36–37.
- 58 *Super Iob* 39:34, col. 470 lines 37–43: "*Qui leviter locutus sum*, leviter loquitur, qui ex hoc, quod uno modo verum est, simpliciter verum esse asserit, sicut Iob, qui ex hoc, quod secundum ordinem iustitiae humanae non iuste percussus est, simpliciter non iuste se esse percussum asseruit."
- 59 *Super Iob* 39:34–35, col. 471 lines 3–15: "*Manum meam ponam super os meum*, cohibendo sc., ne aliquid loquatur contra Deum... Et confitetur peccatum: *Unum locutus sum*, quod sc. 'non aequo iudicio afflixerit me,' Iob XIX, (6). Et subdit poenitentiam: *quod utinam non dixissem*."

Thus God prompts Job to take the decisive step: namely, to ask for divine illumination since, as a mere man, he feels himself incapable of answering God's questions. Albert uses the figure of Job to illustrate developments that should distinguish every man who wishes to become a theologian. Indeed, the enormous challenge to human understanding signified by responding to theological questions should not mislead one either into thinking in strictly human terms or into saying something that is foolish because it contravenes statements from Holy Scripture (*contra Deum*).⁶⁰ Nonetheless, to give up discouraged by the difficulty of the task and remain silent is also not the solution. On the contrary, a man must, like Job, renounce his strictly human understanding and then humbly ask for divine instruction so that he may, through illumination, recognize the truth and give the correct answer.

Thus something truly remarkable happens at the end of the book of Job: because Job allowed himself to be instructed by God, he is, as Albert writes, able to "reach a solution" to "the question" which he himself posed "in accordance with what he had heard from God" *per illuminationem*.⁶¹ Thus Job is allowed to share in the articulation of the *determinatio*, which was previously limited solely to God.⁶² Not only that: Job also becomes the vehicle for expressing the necessary refutations, since God enables him *per inspirationem* to communicate to Eliphaz the criticism due him in God's eyes, so that Eliphaz can relay the criticism further to Zophar and Bildad.⁶³ Inspiration is likewise a gift from God required by man if he is to speak to others with authority about divine matters. Thus the pupil Job ultimately becomes a teacher to his friends, one

60 Job 1:22: "In omnibus his non peccavit Iob [labiis suis *add. Ω et Albertus*], nec stultum quid contra Dominum locutus est."

61 Albert, *Super Iob* 42:4 col. 506 lines 4–7: "Et secundum quod [Iob] audivit a Domino, determinat quaestionem. Is L, (4): 'Erigit mane, mane erigit mihi aurem, ut audiam eum quasi magistrum.'" The use here of the technical terminology *determinat quaestionem* is a clear indication that Albert does not consider the *determinatio magistralis* complete in Chapter 41 of his work on Job, but rather continues it in Chapter 42 of his commentary—namely through Job and not through God. This also explains the use of the future tense, "erit determinata," at the end of Chapter 41 col. 503 lines 34–35: "Et in hoc tota erit determinata disputatio." It also explains the remark that immediately follows in lines 35–36: "Ad hoc ergo sequens inducitur capitulum." This can only refer to Chapter 42.

62 Albert, *Super Iob* 37:24, col. 440 lines 24–26; see n. 40 above.

63 *Super Iob* 42:7, col. 507 lines 1–9: "Postquam autem locutus est Dominus, per inspirationem sc. Os II, (14): 'Ducam eam in solitudinem, et loquar ad cor eius.' *verba haec ad Iob*, de instructione sc. sui regiminis et providentiae. Nm XII, (8): 'Ore ad os loquor ei.' *dixit ad Eliphaz Themanitem*, ad illum [Eliphaz] loquitur, quia praecipuus erat, ut per illum verba ad alios transeant."

endowed with God-given ability. This special role at the end of the disputation is justified by Albert in his exegesis of the so-called “Excursus on Wisdom” (Job 28), to which we will now turn our attention.

7.5 The Justification for Job’s Special Role

For Albert the Great divine providence is an act of will stemming from the wisdom of God, which itself orders the world.⁶⁴ Accordingly, man needs wisdom in order to understand what providence is and how it prevails in creation. Wisdom is not, however, easily attained by man.⁶⁵ Philosophers fail to achieve it even though they, in the words of Albert, seize on what can be known astutely and greedily,⁶⁶ for they are preoccupied only with wisdom in general, which is “a faculty of each individual science (*scientia particularis*) and art (*ars*).”⁶⁷ With the help of wisdom in general it is possible for man to achieve, at most, what is best within the world and to put everything there in order: this, according to Aristotle, is the duty of a wise man.⁶⁸ The object of wisdom in the proper sense is, however, that which is first, highest, and most difficult for the human to understand, that which is furthest from the world of the senses, that which

64 Albertus Magnus, *Super Dionysium De divinis nominibus*, (ed.) Paul Simon (Münster, 1972), 104, lines 19–20: “Providentia est actus voluntatis ex sapientia ordinante.” The substance of the interpretation of Job 28 corresponds to Albert’s interpretation of Bar. 3. See Ruth Meyer, “*Disciplina enim est, qua discitur sapientia*. Albertus Magnus über die *instructio prophetialis* des Baruch,” in *Kirchenbild und Spiritualität. Dominikanische Beiträge zur Ekklesiologie und zum kirchlichen Leben im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Ulrich Horst o.P. zum 75. Geburtstag*, (eds.) Thomas Prügl and Marianne Schlosser (Paderborn, 2007), 87–113.

65 Albert, *Super Iob* 28:10, col. 314 lines 31–39: “*In petris rivos excidit, ad litteram: de solidis lapidibus et duris facit rivos effluere. Exemplum Num xx, (11), ubi cum Moyses virga bis percussit silicem, egressae sunt aquae latissimae, quod Gregorius significare dicit, quod de frigidis et duris sapientia Dei informatis egrediuntur aquae doctrinae, ut de Augustino et aliis quibusdam doctoribus sanctis.*”

66 *Super Iob* 28:8, col. 314 lines 9–14: “*Leaena animal est avidum praedae et significat philosophos fortitudine ingenii et aviditate studii omnia scibilia rapientes, qui tamen viam sapientiae Dei non invenerunt, prout inveniri debuit.*”

67 *Super Iob* 28:12, col. 316, lines 3–5: “*Sapientia communiter dicta est virtus uniuscuiusque particularis scientiae et artis.*”

68 *Ibid.*, col. 316 lines 5–15: “*Qui enim in illis attingit acceptionem ultimi et optimi, ad quod omnia alia ordinantur, et quod ratio est ordinis et dispositionis omnium aliorum, dicitur sapiens et ordinator et dispositor omnium aliorum, secundum quod Aristoteles dicit in primo Metaphysicorum, quod sapientis est ordinare, non ordinari, et talis acceptio ultimi, secundum quod est ratio ordinis et dispositionis omnium aliorum, dicitur sapientia.*”

is known only for its own sake. The object of wisdom is the goal of all knowledge which consists in and of itself and which to recognize is grace, namely God Himself.⁶⁹ For Albert real wisdom consists in “knowing God in Himself and in all of His distinguishing divine characteristics and properties and in His effects.”⁷⁰ And no philosopher is capable of attaining such wisdom; only a theologian is.

In man the location of wisdom is the intellect, but only if this is appropriately trained (*adeptus*),⁷¹ pure,⁷² and untrammelled.⁷³ The first step for anyone wishing to achieve an *intellectus adeptus*⁷⁴ must be to turn away from sin.⁷⁵ Furthermore, he must fear God, a state of mind Albert equates with the veneration that, according to Aristotle, is the font of all philosophy.⁷⁶ Third, he needs to study constantly⁷⁷ in order to devote himself fully to the principles

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- 69 Ibid., col. 315 lines 29–40: “Proprie dicitur sapientia, ut in primo Metaphysicae dicit Aristoteles, acceptio intellectus de primis, altissimis, difficillimis homini scire eo, quod remotissima sunt a sensuum acceptione, eo quod nec sensu accipiuntur nec cum sensibili nec in sensibilibus immixta et confusa nec a sensibilibus per abstractionem separata, et quae propter se et non propter aliud aliquid sciuntur, et haec sunt, quorum finis sciendi in ipsis est et sciendi gratia.”
- 70 Ibid., col. 316 lines 25–29: “Sapientia autem proprie dicta quaeritur hic et non communiter accepta, sc. scire Deum in se et in omnibus differentiis divinorum et proprietatum et effectuum suorum.”
- 71 Ibid., col. 316 lines 37–41: “Locus sapientiae et locus intelligentiae non potest esse, ut dicit Alpharabius in libro de intellectu et intelligibili, nisi adeptus sive possessus intellectus.”
- 72 *Super Iob* 25:4, col. 291 lines 4–11: “Natus de muliere immersum habet intellectum et in carnem et in concupiscentiam, et ideo adeptum et mundum intellectum habere vix potest. Dicit enim Avicenna in VI^o de naturalibus, quod sanctus intellectus est, sive mundus, qui a phantasiis et erroribus liber est, et a carne penitus aversus.”
- 73 *Super Iob* 28:12, col. 316 line 41—col. 317 line 1 and lines 23–24: “Est autem adeptus sive possessus liber intellectus, liber dico ex parte intelligentis et ex parte intelligibilis. Ex parte intelligentis, ut ipse sc. intelligens a passionibus liber sit...Liber autem ex parte intelligibilis est, quod sit liber a continuo et tempore.”
- 74 On Albert’s concept of the *intellectus adeptus* and its position within his doctrine of the intellect, see Anzulewicz, “Entwicklung und Stellung,” 165–218; Loris Sturlese, *Vernunft und Glück. Die Lehre vom “intellectus adeptus” und die mentale Glückseligkeit bei Albert dem Großen* (Münster, 2005).
- 75 *Job* 28:28: “Recedere a malo [est] intelligentia.”
- 76 Albert, *Super Iob* 28:28, col. 327 lines 13–17: “Timor [Domini] est admiratio, quae inquisitionem facit sapientiae. Aristoteles in I. Metaphysicorum: Ex admirari et tunc et nunc philosophari incoeptum est.”
- 77 *Super Iob* 28:27, col. 326 lines 29–33: “Tunc vidit illam, in se sc. ipso et enarravit sapientibus per inspirationem, et praeparavit locum eius per intellectus depurationem et investigavit movens corda ad stadium.”

of cognition through deduction.⁷⁸ In addition, he must free himself from his passions and from *phantasmata* (images in his imagination)⁷⁹ since a reason ensnared by *phantasmata* is not capable of seeing divine wisdom.⁸⁰ Whoever has completed all these steps has matured into a teacher (*doctor*)⁸¹ who knows the location of wisdom and whose countenance is radiant with the brilliance of wisdom.⁸² A teacher like this knows that God has ordered all things hierarchically, leading to the ultimate goal of perfection.⁸³ He sees God in Himself and is capable of communicating with others in such a way, and of moving their hearts with such a desire to study, that they too purify their intellects in preparation to receive wisdom.⁸⁴

Albert explains the qualities of such a consummate teacher by making reference to the traditional allegorical interpretation of Job 42:12–15, thereby simultaneously identifying Job as one such teacher. The 14,000 sheep signify the four cardinal virtues and the Ten Commandments as well as Job's steadfastness, love, and wisdom.⁸⁵ The 1,000 yoke of oxen stand for the perfection of

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- 78 *Super Iob* 28:18, col. 322 lines 7–17: “Omnis enim scientia sive sapientia intellectiva, ut dicit Aristoteles in principio Posteriorum, ex praeexistenti fit cognitione principiorum sc., ita etiam sapientia, quae cognitio divinatorum est, si debeat haberi ab homine, necesse est, quod de principiis suis trahatur; non enim habetur nisi per modum conclusionis. Notitia autem conclusionis non habetur nisi ex principiis.”
- 79 Albert, *Super Iob* 28:28, col. 327 line 19–21: “Recedere enim a malo passionum et phantasmatis locum dat sapientiae in intellectum.”
- 80 See Carlos Steel, *Der Adler und Nachteule. Thomas und Albert über die Möglichkeit der Metaphysik* (Münster, 2001).
- 81 *Super Iob* 28:20, col. 324 line 4: “Et subdit quaestionem de doctore.”
- 82 *Super Iob* 28:23, col. 325 lines 28–30: “*Ipse novit* per approbationem et dilectionem *locum eius*, unde ei, cuius facies respandit claritate sapientiae.”
- 83 *Super Iob* 28:24, col. 325 line 35—col. 326 line 5: “*Ipse enim* sc. Deus *finis mundi intuetur*, hoc est omnium rerum mundi, in quem finem quodlibet dirigatur, ut perfectum sit. Sap VIII, (1): ‘Attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit omnia suaviter.’ *Et id est omnia, quae sub caelo sunt, respicit*, hoc est, providentia et finem praestituit et qualiter in illum deveniat, disponit. Unde Sap VIII, (1), postquam dixit: ‘attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter,’ statim subiunxit: ‘et disposuit omnia suaviter.’ Dicit autem, quae sub caelo sunt, illa enim minus videntur esse ad finem ordinata. Et cum illa sint ad finem ordinata, intelligitur, quod etiam omnia alia similiter.”
- 84 *Super Iob* 28:27, col. 326 lines 29–33: “*Tunc vidit illam*, in se sc. ipso *et enarravit* sapientibus per inspirationem, *et praeparavit* locum eius per depurationem *et investigavit* movens corda ad studium.”
- 85 *Super Iob* 42:12, col. 511 lines 1–9: “*Et facta sunt ei quatuordecim millia ovium*, cum a principio non haberet nisi septem millia, quae perfectionem quatuor virtutum cardinalium et doctrinae quatuor evangeliorum et decalogi in unum ducta figurant, ut dicit Gregorius. Hoc est in longum perseverantiae et latum caritatis et profundum sapientiae.”

Job's endeavors and obedience;⁸⁶ and the 1,000 asses symbolize Job's simplicity and readiness to shoulder his neighbor's burdens.⁸⁷ The seven sons presented to Job symbolize the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit; the three daughters signify the three theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity.⁸⁸ Thus Job's special role, as brought to the fore by Albert through his charting of the way the disputation progresses, is based not only on Job's intellectual abilities, perfected though they are by grace, but above all on his always exemplary life.

Of course, the theme of *Super Iob* is not only Job's fate (*fatum*) and his development throughout the biblical text, but above all the beliefs about divine providence mediated by the book of Job. Thus let us now examine the means by which Albert, in the course of the commentary, conveys to his readers the solution to the questions about the doctrine of divine providence that were actually being discussed at the time.

7.6 Albert's Doctrine of Divine Providence as Subject of the Disputation⁸⁹

While Albert was writing his commentary on Job, he was concurrently working on a systematic exposition of the doctrine of divine providence in the first part of his *Summa theologiae*.⁹⁰ In *Super Iob* he accordingly formulates three concepts upon which all three disputants agree and three on which they differ.

86 Ibid. col. 511 lines 14–15: “*Et mille iuga boum, quae perfectionem laboris significant et oboedientiae.*”

87 Ibid. col. 511 lines 15–17: “*Et mille asinae, quae significant simplicitatis perfectionem et portandi onera proximorum.*”

88 *Super Iob* 42:13, col. 511 lines 20–26: “*Et subdit de restitutione liberorum: Et fuerunt ei septem filii, sicut primo sc., qui, sicut dicit Gregorius, significant septem dona spiritus sancti, et tres filiae, quae, sicut dicit Gregorius, tres virtutes theologicas, fidem, spem et caritatem significant.*”

89 See Josef Goergen, *Des hl. Albertus Magnus Lehre von der göttlichen Vorsehung und dem Fatum, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Vorsehungs- und Schicksalslehre des Ulrich von Straßburg* (Vechta, 1932); Henryk Anzulewicz, “Alberts des Großen Stellungnahme zur Frage nach Notwendigkeit, Schicksal und Vorsehung,” *Disputatio philosophica. International Journal on Philosophy and Religion* 1 (2000): 141–52.

90 The first part of his *Summa theologiae* was written after 1268 and completed before 1274. See Dionysius Siedler and Paul Simon (eds.), *Prolegomena*, in: Albertus Magnus, *Summa Theologiae I Liber 1 Pars 1 Quaestiones 1-50A*, Editio Coloniensis 34,1 (Münster, 1978), XVI–XVII. The doctrine of divine providence is discussed in Tractatus 17 Quaestio 67. See Albertus Magnus, *Summa theologiae I*, (ed.) Stephanus Borgnet, Editio Parisiensis 31 (Paris, 1895), 674a-694b. There is insufficient space here for a detailed comparison with

All three agree that God directs man's affairs through providence or *cura* and that God, as Creator and Ruler, possesses perfect knowledge of everything concerning mankind.⁹¹ Furthermore, all three share the opinion that God's care and direction exhibit no malevolence or flaw.⁹² Third, they all agree that God weighs man's actions more closely than man himself and therefore detects every imperfection, including those unknown to man.⁹³ Dissent arises because Job, prompted by his suffering, complains that his deeds are judged according to neither human reason nor divine providence.⁹⁴ This raises three questions: first, whether man can really gain any sort of insight into the nature of divine providence; second, whether the workings of providence really do reach every individual creature; and, third, whether suffering is always the just punishment for guilt. Zophar and Elihu devote themselves to the first question; Job and Eliphaz to the second; and Eliphaz and Bildad to the third.

With regard to the first question, according to Albert, Zophar supports the thesis that no man can discover the causes of suffering because God's will remains inscrutable to man,⁹⁵ the view held by the theologian John Damascene.⁹⁶ To Elihu Albert ascribes a somewhat modified version of the doctrine attributed to Gregory the Great, who did, at least, consider it possible that God either admonishes man directly through dreams and distress or sends an angel to admonish man indirectly. Thus it is impossible for an innocent man to perish.⁹⁷

Super Iob, but the text of the *Summa* makes it possible to attribute the positions ascribed to Job and his friends to authorities who are subsequently discussed in the 13th century.

- 91 Albert, *Super Iob* 3:1, col. 50 lines 39–47: “Praemittendum est in libro isto, quod disputatio, quae est inter quinque, videlicet: Iob, Eliphaz, Baldach, Sophar et Eliu, tota est de providentia sive cura, qua creator regit res humanas et gubernat; et omnes in hoc conveniunt, quod apud Deum creatorem et gubernatorem perfecta notitia est omnium humanorum.” On the doctrine of providence as *cura* in John of Damascus, see Albertus Magnus, *Summa theologiae* I tr. 17 q. 67 membr. 2, (ed.) Borgnet, 677b.
- 92 Ibid. col. 51 lines 2–4: “Item [conveniunt] in hoc, quod in cura et regimine et gubernatione sua nulla prorsus est iniquitas vel peccatum.”
- 93 Ibid., col. 51 lines 4–8: “Item [conveniunt] in hoc, quod actus humanos magis intus considerat, quam homo ipse, qui agit, et ideo in eis defectum aliquando comprehendit, qui etiam ipsum hominem latet.”
- 94 Vgl. *ibid.*, col. 51 line 8–11: “Differunt autem in hoc, quod Iob primo conqueritur, quod actus sui ad humanam rationem et providentiam non iudicantur.”
- 95 Ibid. col. 52 lines 35–38: “Sophar autem ponit, quod gubernatio sit secundum solam Dei voluntatem et illius causa querenda non est, quia ab homine cognosci non potest.”
- 96 Albert, *Summa theologiae* I tr. 17 q. 67 membr. 2, (ed.) Borgnet, 678a.
- 97 Albert, *Super Iob* 33:14, col. 383 lines 1–22: “Semel loquitur Deus, hoc est uno modo admonet flagellando in communi, et secundo id ipsum non repetit, ut sc. per singula peccata

The solution to the first question can be found in Albert's interpretation of God's first speech, according to which – as Augustine teaches – man, because made in the likeness of God, has the reflected capacity to know and to love,⁹⁸ but no man is in a position to grasp the immense complexity of creation. Thus no one can, for example, calculate the exact moment a living being will be born, since this is concealed within divine providence and hence remains hidden from man.⁹⁹ For Albert, Zophar and Elihu are right when they say that no man can understand the workings of divine providence in its entirety. However, in *Super Iob* Albert fails to discuss further Elihu's view that dreams, distress, or angelic messages do permit a certain insight. In this way he tacitly allows this possibility, a stance which reflects his view in other works.¹⁰⁰

With regard to the second question, on the extent of the workings of providence, in the course of the disputation Job forms the erroneous view that God completely disregards him as an individual, as well as his life and merits.¹⁰¹ The fate Job laments for himself alone is falsely assumed by Eliphaz to be valid for everything in existence when he denies that divine providence encompasses individual objects.¹⁰² Albert brands Eliphaz's understanding an

admoneat eum. Et ponit tres modos, in quorum quolibet semel loquitur in communi, et per singula admonendo non repetit, quorum primus est per inspirationem occultam, secundus per tribulationem immissam, tertius per admonitionem angeli exterius exhibitam. Et quolibet istorum modorum, si corrigitur, a Deo liberatur et in pristinum statum sanitatis et prosperitatis restituitur. Nec oportet, quod per singula peccata peccator admoneatur. Et Gregorius dicit, quod admonitio per scripturam reducitur ad admonitionem per inspirationem. Et hoc est ergo, quod dicit, et hoc solum est, quod Eliu addit ad rationem Eliphaz, ut ostendat, quod numquam innocens periiit."

98 *Super Iob* 38:36, col. 455 lines 7–12: "Gn I, (26) et Gn II, (7 et 18) 'Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.' Augustinus: Secundum imaginem in potentia cognoscendi, et secundum similitudinem in potentia diligendi."

99 *Super Iob* 39:1, col. 458 lines 9–15: "Numquid nosti tempus, et intelligitur de notitia activa, quae facit esse, quod noscit, sicut est divina providentia; tempus autem intelligitur, quod est inter primum conceptum usque ad partum completum, quod apud Aristotelem vocatur tempus impraegnationis."

100 On dreams as a means of prophetic insight and on mediation by angels, see, for example, Marianne Schlosser's study of Albert's teaching on prophecy: *Lucerna in caliginoso loco. Aspekte des Prophetie-Begriffes in der scholastischen Theologie* (Paderborn, 2000), esp. 58 n. 91 and 61–63, 92–96.

101 *Super Iob* 37:24, col. 440 lines 18–24: "Iob autem solus negat hoc, quod respiciendo ad merita hominum provideat et gubernet Deus humanam vitam, sed regimen suum dissimile sit omni regimini humano et ad nihil temporale respiciat gubernando vitam humanam."

102 *Super Iob* 22:14, col. 265 lines 22–29: "Ad litteram hoc fuit quorundam philosophorum opinio sive error, quod providentia Dei ultra motum caelorum non extenderetur, et ad

error, one which may be discovered, without exception, in the works of such philosophers as Alexander Aphrodisias, Averroës, and other members of the Peripatetic School.¹⁰³ Albert also demonstrates these philosophers' grave errors concerning the doctrine of providence in his *Summa theologiae*.¹⁰⁴ As far as the solution to the second question is concerned, the complexity of creation is again responsible for man's inability to recognize that God takes care of every creature. In both of God's speeches many examples from nature attest that God alone possesses the necessary foresight and ability, and thus most certainly looks after every being.¹⁰⁵

In order to answer the third question—namely, the extent to which man himself is, or is not, responsible for his fate—Eliphaz and Bildad make use of the so-called “act-consequence nexus.” What Eliphaz works out is very simple: good happens to the good man and evil happens to the evil one.¹⁰⁶ The fact that Job experiences evil is, in Eliphaz's eyes, proof of Job's guilt. Job's insistence on his innocence is taken by Eliphaz as evidence that Job denies the wickedness inherent in human nature.¹⁰⁷

In his interpretation of God's first speech Albert demonstrates, on the one hand, that Eliphaz arrives at a mistaken conclusion, one easily refuted by formal logic.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, he shows Eliphaz's anthropological premise

inferiora non veniret nisi per aliud et per accidens; per aliud, per partes sc. periodi; per accidens, quia per impressiones accidentales inferioribus.”

- 103 Ibid., col. 265 lines 29–31: “Et videntur in hunc errorem consentire et Alexander et Averrois et quidam alii Peripateticorum.” See Goergen, *Des hl. Albertus Magnus Lehre*, 73–74 and n. 123.
- 104 See, for example, Albert, *Summa theologiae* 1 tr. 17 q. 67 membr. 1, (ed.) Borgnet, 675a–b. See also 677a: “Quidam autem Philosophi non satis rationem providentiae intelligentes, sed opinantes, quod communis gubernator secundum merita singulorum bona vel mala unumquodque secundum suum sensibile bonum regere debeat, obscurato et insipiente corde providentiam negaverunt.”
- 105 Examples include the alignment of the stars (Job 38:31–33) and meteorological phenomena (Job 38:34–35), as well as God's care for lions (Job 38:39), ravens (Job 38:41), wild goats (Job 39:4), wild asses (Job 39:8), the unicorn (Job 39:12), the ostrich (Job 39:18), the horse (Job 39:19), and the hawk and eagle (Job 39:29–30).
- 106 Albert, *Super Iob* 3:1, col. 52 lines 7–10: “Eliphaz autem ponit, quod gubernatio divina in rebus humanis est secundum merita, quod bonis bona, malis mala fiant.”
- 107 Ibid., col. 52 lines 10–13: “Sed quod aliquando latet hominem, quod mala sunt sua merita, et quod propter vilitatem naturae homo sine peccato esse non potest.”
- 108 *Super Iob* 38:2, col. 442, line 32—col. 443 line 6: “Sententia est confirmata et determinata et certa veritas ex multis allegatis elicita. Et quia tales sententiae possunt proferri de regimine providentiae, patet ex praedictis. Has autem sententias involvere est ex adiunctis, quibus involvuntur, ostendere; quaestio enim rhetorica involuta est adiunctis, ut saepe

that everyone is subject to original sin to be correct by interpreting Leviathan as a symbol for it.¹⁰⁹ However, man is not at the mercy of the consequences of original sin. The power of desire—for which Albert understands Behemoth as a symbol—can, for example, be diminished through moderation.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, man is cleansed of guilt through suffering and can thereby gain patience and virtue.¹¹¹ As Albert asserts in his *Summa theologiae*, the prime example for this is Job.¹¹² Bildad concedes the possibility that evil may befall a man even though he is at pains to be virtuous. Albert seeks to highlight Bildad's use of teleological argumentation and thinking that can also to be found in Aristotelianism, since Bildad starts from the premise that God's rule always serves to regulate things in the best way possible and has man's blessedness as its goal.¹¹³ From this he concludes that if God allows evil to befall a good man during his lifetime, He does so only with the purpose of rewarding him abundantly with good at the end, whereas an evil man who prospers during his life is cast into damnation with all the more justification.¹¹⁴ This doctrine

dictum est, *sermonibus imperitis?* adiuncta imperita sunt communia, quae ad subiectum se habent, ut communiora subiecto, ex quibus argui non potest nisi in secunda figura sic: fur est errabundus de nocte, et iste est errabundus de nocte, ergo iste est fur; qui sermo, licet figuram habeat, tamen, quia ad nullum modum reduci potest, ideo inutilis coniugatio est. Et talis argumentatio est omnium quatuor sic: Non nisi impium Deus punit; te punivit; ergo tu es impius; et propter hoc, quia coniugatio inutilis est, sermones dicuntur imperiti.”

- 109 *Super Iob* 40:20, col. 484 line 6–10: “Per Leviathan infectio primi serpentis intelligitur, quae sicut venenum infusa in Evam primam matrem in totum genus humanum sicut in mare quoddam redundavit.”
- 110 *Super Iob* 40:14, col. 479 line 40—col. 480 line 9: “Ne tamen omnino sit desperatio, quin redigibilis sit ad medium virtutis temperantiae, subdit: *quifecit eum*, Vehemoth sc. virtute divina supple, *applicabit gladium eius*, quo pugnat, sc. contra rationem, ne omnino sc. eam confodere possit. Est enim oboedibile rationi, ut dicit Aristoteles, et tunc impletur illud Is II, (4): ‘Conflabunt gladios suos in vomeres et lanceas suas in falces.’ Tunc enim vomere disciplinae excolitur concupiscibilis, ut frugem ferat iustitiae et virtutis.”
- 111 *Super Iob* 41:1, col. 490 lines 38–43: “Et respondet Dominus, quod non ut crudelis, sed ut pius pater suscitavit eum permissa potestate, suscitavit enim eum ad peccati purgationem et virtutis exercitium et humilitatis custodiam.”
- 112 Albert, *Summa theologiae* I tr. 17 q. 67, membr. 4 art. 5, (ed.) Borgnet, 692b: “Primo quidem modo [providentiae], quando ex patientia magni mali ad exemplum manifestat aliquando virtutem patientis,...ut in Job.”
- 113 Albert, *Super Iob* 3:1, col. 52 lines 21–24: “Baldach autem ponit, quod gubernatio non fit secundum merita, sed secundum ordinem optimum ad finem humanae felicitatis.”
- 114 *Ibid.*, col. 52 lines 24–28: “Et ideo, si Deus aliquando bonis mala facit, hoc in fine multiplicibus bonis recompensat, et si malis bona, hoc fit, ut iustior sit condemnatio eorum et hoc sonat in verbis suis.”

stems from the Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides,¹¹⁵ highly regarded by Albert, who also agrees with this doctrine in other works.¹¹⁶ Hence it is not refuted in *Super Iob*.

Thus Bildad's argumentation is rooted in two things: knowledge which is both accessible to man and justifiable philosophically, and the experience that evil exists in the world and even innocent people suffer from it. However, man's natural reason does not suffice for him to grasp why evil endures in this world despite Christ's act of redemption. In order to render this perpetual outrage comprehensible, Albert interprets Leviathan's qualities as anger,¹¹⁷ pride, and obduracy,¹¹⁸ as well as immoderation¹¹⁹ and hard-heartedness,¹²⁰ characteristics with which Satan¹²¹ pursues and oppresses man throughout his life. With the help of his knowledge of natural history and by means of traditional allegory, Albert deduces the following from the description of Leviathan: that God permits the affliction of mankind; that Satan is evil personified which, until Judgment Day, will be overcome by neither the Word of God¹²² nor Divine Truth¹²³

115 See Caterina Rigo, "Zur Rezeption des Moses Maimonides im Werk des Albertus Magnus," in *Albertus Magnus. Zum Gedenken nach 800 Jahren*, 29–66, esp. 64.

116 See Albert, *Summa theologiae* 1 tr. 17 q. 67 membr. 3, (ed.) Borgnet, 684a.

117 See, for example, Albert, *Super Iob* 41:10, col. 495 lines 34–37: "Lampas in Graeco idem est, quod flamma in Latino, et intelliguntur per hoc verba ira succensa et alios in ira concremantia."

118 *Super Iob* 41:13, col. 496 lines 34–39: "Et subdit de collo et effectus nocivitate, et hoc est: *In collo eius, erecto sc. et superbo et cervicoso, morabitur, ex habitu sc., non ex levi tactu tentationis, fortitudo, hoc est inflexibilitas ad humiliationem.*"

119 *Super Iob* 41:14, col. 497 lines 14–16: "*Cohaerentia sibi, hoc est consentientia, sicut gula ebrietati et gula et ebrietati fornicationi.*"

120 *Ibid.*, col. 497 lines 24–26: "Et hoc dicit de cordis induratione, et dicit duo sc. contra quod induratur, et cordis indurationem."

121 *Super Iob* 41:22, col. 501, lines 42–44: "Satan enim ignito spiritu suo ita incendit fomitem, quod totum cor interius incalescit in malum." The interpretation of Leviathan as Satan is traditionally based on Is. 27:1. Albert follows this tradition.

122 *Super Iob* 41:17, col. 499 lines 1–13: "*Cum, sc. ante iudicium, apprehenderit eum gladius, impugnationis sc. sanctorum, subsistere non poterit, gladius sc., repellit enim omnes ictus talis gladii. Ps (XLIV, 4): 'Accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum, potentissime.' Ct III, (7 8): 'En, lectulum Salomonis LX fortes ambiunt ex fortissimis Israel, omnes tenentes gladios, et ad bella doctissimi. LX fortes sunt, qui omnia, quae in mundo in sex diebus facta sunt, ad decalogum referunt, et in hoc confortati gladio verbi Dei Leviathan impugnant.'*"

123 *Ibid.*, col. 499 lines 15–19: "*Neque hasta, supple poterit subsistere, hastam enim avertit nec curat. Hasta autem est eminus feriens auctoritas, et dicitur eminus ferire, quia de aeterna veritate ferit.*"

nor the righteousness of saints;¹²⁴ and that this righteousness is achieved only through affliction.¹²⁵

In the biblical text Behemoth and Leviathan are described by means of comparisons to real creatures. Albert uses Aristotelian natural history to explain these comparisons to his readers but does not—in contrast, for example, to Thomas Aquinas—equate Behemoth and Leviathan with creatures on this earth.¹²⁶ This would not have served Albert's interpretative purpose, since he wishes to derive from these characteristics statements about Satan as the cause of all evil and about the life-long testing of man. This is only possible if the biblical text is understood figuratively.¹²⁷

Gradually Albert's commentary reveals the deeper, underlying reasons for Job's fate concealed in the biblical text. Thus his readers are able to comprehend why, at the end, God says that Job is, in fact, innocent and that his friends had condemned him unjustly.¹²⁸ Part of the vindication of Job is what we learn in Job 1 and 2 about the real reason for his tribulations, namely that God, prodded by Satan, enters into a bet: He will allow Satan to test Job in order to establish whether the latter really is a model servant of God and, Albert adds by way of elucidation, a stoical wise man.¹²⁹ This justification for Job's immeasurable

124 Ibid., col. 499 lines 23–30: “*Neque thorax, supple subsistere poterit. Thorax autem significat iustitiam sanctorum. Sap v, (19): ‘Induet pro thorace iustitiam.’ Et est sensus, quod nec gladio verbi Dei vulneratur, nec hasta compungitur, nec thorace convertitur ad poenitentiam, unde iudicio extremo reservandus est.*”

125 See also modus 1 and 3 of providence in Albert, *Summa theologiae* I tr. 17 q. 67 membr. 4, (ed.) Borgnet, 692b–693a.

126 In his commentary on Job Thomas Aquinas speculates that, based on the textual description, Behemoth is actually meant to be an elephant. And for him Leviathan resembles a whale. See Carlos Steel, “Animaux de la Bible et animaux d’Aristote. Thomas d’Aquin sur Béhémoth l’éléphant,” in *Aristotle’s Animals in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, (eds.) Carlos Steel, Guy Guldentops, and Pieter Beullens (Leuven, 1999), 11–30, esp. 18 and 20–29.

127 One example will suffice. Albert says the following about man's inability to defend himself against Leviathan: “*Ligabis linguam eius? Lingua serpentis, ut dicit Aristoteles, bifurcata est et fissa, per quam venenum infundit, quae ligari non potest, quin semper per naturam serpat venenum infusum per linguam serpentis*” (*Super Iob* 40:20, col. 486 lines 9–14). In his interpretation of Leviathan as a poisonous snake, Albert assumes his readers' knowledge of Is. 27:1, in which Leviathan is described as an “old snake.”

128 Job 42:7–8.

129 Albert, *Super Iob* 2:1, col. 39 lines 31–37: “*Ideo istud inducitur capitulum, ut perfecte constans Iob esse probetur, secundum quod Stoici de sapiente probaverunt, quod non cadit perturbatio in sapientem, ut propter aliquid perturbans in rebus, filiis et persona aliquid indecens meditetur, dicat vel faciat. Ideo oportuit Iob probari in periculis personae, famae et honoris.*”

suffering may be precisely the part of the book of Job that we find most repugnant since natural human reason rebels against making a person into the object of such a bet. For Albert and his contemporaries, however, there was no question that here, too, the biblical text reveals a theological truth that faith obliges one to accept.

7.7 The Conciliatory End of the Disputation

An integral part of every disputation is the ultimate confirmation or refutation of the arguments advanced during its course. As demonstrated above, in this process Job functions as the mediator of God's arbitration: Job's friends have not conveyed the correct message about divine providence; Job, on the other hand, has, since he alone is witness to the truth.¹³⁰ This rectification concludes the main substance of the disputation. However, a disputation only reaches a satisfactory conclusion when all participants accept the conclusion and, when they have fought as passionately and implacably as Job and his friends, are once more reconciled. Albert highlights this reconciliation by means of Job 42:8–11. In accordance with the sacrament of confession, a double reconciliation is required: one between Job and his friends and one between Job's friends and God. Because, as Albert stresses, Truth—that is, God Himself—is moved to anger by, and condemns, falsehood,¹³¹ God demands from Job's friends amends in the form of intercession as well as a *holocaustum*, which Job is to offer up on their behalf (Job 42:8). This is, Albert adds, necessary so that Job's friends are spared the price for their stupidity, namely punishment and damnation.¹³²

Man is not fully culpable when he errs out of ignorance or conceives of God in strictly human terms. However, he would be culpable if he did not allow himself to be instructed in the truth. However, Job's friends are not guilty of such obduracy. Albert tells us that they are converted,¹³³ accept God's judgment, realize their error, and obediently do penance.¹³⁴ Albert describes this positive change by once again having recourse to the etymology of names that

130 *Super Iob* 42:7, col. 507 lines 18–21: “*Non locuti estis coram Me rectum, hoc est verum de providentia Mea, sicut servus meus Iob, qui solus testis est veritatis.*”

131 *Ibid.*, col. 507 lines 11–13: “*Veritas enim irascitur falsitati et condemnat eam.*”

132 *Super Iob* 42:8, col. 508 lines 14–16: “*Ut non vobis imputetur stultitia, in poenam sc. et condemnationem.*”

133 *Super Iob* 42:11, col. 509 lines 40–42: “*Et subdit de conversione amicorum: Venerunt autem ad eum ut amici, qui prius contradictores erant.*”

134 *Super Iob* 42:9, col. 508 lines 33–35: “*Et subdit de oboedientia amicorum et satisfactione operis et poenitentiae susceptione.*”

he had initially used to characterize Job's friends.¹³⁵ By allowing himself to be converted to the true view of divine providence, Eliphaz discards the attitude of contempt he displayed during the disputation. Bildad overcomes the "antiquated error" of garnering posthumous fame (*vetustas*) through loquaciousness; and Zophar ceases to splinter the truth through his eloquence. However, according to Albert, there is no further mention of Elihu at the end of the biblical text since he had added nothing new to the friends' position.¹³⁶

The hallmark of friendship regained and of brotherly harmony (*concordia fratrum*)¹³⁷ is that Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar go to Job¹³⁸ and dine in his house with members of his family and other guests.¹³⁹ Albert himself had once complained bitterly about how easily ignorance and obstinacy can cause concord to shatter during a common striving for the truth.¹⁴⁰ Thus his interpretation of Job 42:9–11 could be read as an appeal by the elderly Dominican to his readers, schooled in disputation as they were, to reach, through rational insight, a unanimous recognition of the truth, particularly when engaged in passionate disputation. In *Super Iob* Albert has shown, quite realistically and vividly, that a disputation is threatened with failure when one is either not willing to allow oneself to be instructed, by God's Word, like Job, or (in contrast to Job's friends) is not prepared to accept the justified censure expressed by an already enlightened teacher like Job and to alter one's own opinion.

7.8 Conclusion

By picking up on the idea of his pupil Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great succeeds in producing a commentary on the biblical text of Job most appropriate

135 See the section "Job and His Friends as Disputants" above.

136 *Super Iob* 42:9, col. 508 lines 35–42: "Abierunt ergo Eliphaz Themanites contemptu Domini deposito, quod interpretatur nomen eius, et Baldach Suhites vetustate prisci erroris abiecta et Sophar Naamathites speculam veritatis amplius non dissipans. De Eliu nihil dicit, quia nihil novi attulit, sed aliorum positiones determinavit."

137 See Eccles. 25:1–2, one of the many biblical passages cited by Albert in *Super Iob* 42:11, namely in col. 510 lines 2–6.

138 Job 42:11 and Albert, *Super Iob* 42:11 col. 509 lines 41–2: "Venerunt autem ad eum ut amici, qui prius contradictores erant."

139 Job 42:11.

140 See Yves Congar, "In dulcedine societatis quaerere veritatem." Notes sur le travail en équipe chez Albert et chez les prêcheurs au XIII^e siècle," in *Albertus Magnus, Doctor universalis 1280/1980*, (eds.) Gerbert Meyer, OP, and Albert Zimmermann (Mainz, 1980), 47–57, esp. 56–7.

to his era, one that is unique in the history of exegesis and, in its application of the model of a disputation to the text, is only possible in this form from the thirteenth century onward. Albert makes skilful use of the already extant body of rules for disputations to interpret the book of Job as a passionate disputation about important aspects of the contemporary doctrine of divine providence. In this context the unusual interpretation of Job as a model theologian and teacher should be highlighted. It should also be stressed just how fruitful Albert's combination of traditional exegesis and the most up-to-date thirteenth-century studies of Aristotle proved to be for understanding the text. This essay aims to encourage the reader to read and thereby discover for himself this masterpiece of medieval commentary on the book of Job.

Nicholas of Lyra's Literal Commentary on Job

Aaron Canty

8.1 Introduction

The most famous work of Nicholas of Lyra (1270–1349), the early 14th-century Franciscan theologian and exegete, is his *Postilla litteralis super totam Bibliam*, composed between 1322 and 1331.¹ The reception history of the *Postilla litteralis* was such that it was published along with Nicholas's later *Postilla moralis* (1339), the *Glossa ordinaria*, and the text of Scripture “to become the standard multi-volume Glossed Bible in the 15th and 16th centuries.”²

Nicholas was well known for his interest in the literal sense of Scripture and for his familiarity with Hebrew and with Jewish exegesis of the Old Testament. According to Deana Copeland Klepper, Nicholas was considered “a second Jerome,” and she adduces 14th-century manuscripts that depict Nicholas learning directly either from Jerome or from Moses.³ Not only did Nicholas know Hebrew well, but he also incorporated the insights of Jerome and Rashi into his commentaries.⁴

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- 1 See Lydwine Scordia, “*Subjectio, subventio et dilectio*. Les devoirs des sujets envers le prince dans la *Postille* de Nicolas de Lyre,” in *Nicolas de Lyre, franciscain du XIV^e siècle: exégète et théologien*, (ed.) G. Dahan (Paris, 2011), 75–96; Philip D.W. Krey, “The Eschatology of Nicholas of Lyra in the Apocalypse Commentary of 1329,” in *Nicolas de Lyre, franciscain du XIV^e siècle: exégète et théologien*, 153–66; Deana Copeland Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and the Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2007), 117–18; Lesley Smith, *The Glossa ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden, 2009), 225–28; and the introduction to *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, (eds.) Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden, 2000), 3–8.
 - 2 William J. Courtenay, “The Bible in Medieval Universities,” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, (eds.) Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge, 2012), 555–78, at 572. For a more detailed description of the transmission of the *Postilla litteralis*, including the insertion of the *Additiones* of Paul of Burgos and the *Replicationes* of Matthias Döring, see Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1959–1964), 4:351–61; and Klaus Reinhardt, “Les controverses autour de la *Postille* au XV^e siècle,” in *Nicolas de Lyre, franciscain du XIV^e siècle: exégète et théologien*, 269–79.
 - 3 See Klepper, *Insight of Unbelievers*, 125–33.
 - 4 For more on Nicholas's debt to Rashi, see Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (Pittsburgh, 1963), 137–246. For an overview of medieval Jewish interpretations of Job that

Recent accounts of the *Postilla litteralis*, which was influential well into the 16th century, have varied considerably. On the one hand, some scholars have viewed its emphasis on the literal sense as innovative and even revolutionary, foreshadowing the modern historical-critical method.⁵ On the other hand, a number of recent interpreters find it relatively traditional, a literal commentary in the style of Jerome that makes room for the spiritual senses elsewhere. Insofar as the *Postilla litteralis* integrates commentary and scriptural text, it is like the *Glossa ordinaria* and the *postillae* of Hugh of St. Cher; and insofar as it makes use of Jewish exegesis, it is innovative, without being critical in the modern sense of the word.⁶

Although Nicholas sometimes criticizes certain allegorical interpretations of the Fathers, he also implements a twofold literal sense that allows him to interpret the letter of Scripture to have at least two historical referents (even if one referent could exist in the future).⁷ Because of Nicholas's interest in the

situates Rashi within a more philosophical trajectory of exegesis, see Robert Eisen, *The Book of Job in Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (Oxford, 2004), 203–20.

- 5 For a review of these positions, which he did not hold, see de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, 4:353–54. For a more recent example, see Stephen J. Vicchio, *The Image of the Biblical Job: A History. Vol. 2, Job in the Medieval World* (Eugene, Or., 2006), 147–49.
- 6 See Jacques Verger, “L'exégèse de l'Université,” in *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, (ed.) Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris, 1984), 199–232; and Gilbert Dahan, “Nicolas de Lyre. Herméneutique et méthodes d'exégèse,” in *Nicolas de Lyre, franciscain du XIV^e siècle: exégète et théologien*, 99–124. The question of relative continuity and innovation is conditioned by one's focus. A.J. Minnis and A.B. Scott, for example, although referring to Nicholas as an “arch-literalist,” generally find Nicholas in continuity with Thomas Aquinas, but not with the allegorical tendencies of the 12th century (see *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c.1100–c.1375: The Commentary Tradition*, (eds.) A.J. Minnis and A.B. Scott with David Wallace, rev. ed. [Oxford, 1988], 199). Henri de Lubac considers Nicholas to be relatively traditional with respect to the formulation and application of the four senses, but he finds in Nicholas too much evidence of Joachim of Fiore's historicizing interpretations (see de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, 4:344–55). De Lubac's interpretation of Nicholas has been called into question by Dahan, among others; Kevin Madigan has found Nicholas's Matthew commentary “a highly traditional and conservative effort...completely devoid of Joachite presuppositions” (see “Lyra on the Gospel of Matthew,” in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, 195–221, at 220). Beryl Smalley, for her part, considers Nicholas's knowledge of Hebrew and his appropriation of rabbinic exegesis as a “culmination” of previous scholarly efforts to do the same (see *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* [Notre Dame, Ind., 1964], 355).
- 7 Nicholas's twofold literal sense can apply to passages in a variety of ways. For examples and further explication, see Mary Dove, “Literal Senses in the Song of Songs,” in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, 129–46; Theresa Gross-Diaz, “What's a Good Soldier to Do? Scholarship and Revelation in the Postills on the Psalms,” in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, 111–28; Philip D.W. Krey, “‘The Old Law Prohibits the Hand and Not the Spirit’: The Law and

literal sense in this commentary, there is little recourse to the Fathers, although he does mention occasionally Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*. The continuing influence of Thomas Aquinas's literal commentary on Job, however, allowed Nicholas to appropriate or criticize numerous interpretations from that text.⁸ Of all of Nicholas's commentaries on the books of the Old Testament, his commentary on Job is unique precisely because he was faced with making interpretive decisions in light of these two exegetes in a way that did not influence his interpretations of other scriptural books.

This essay will examine Nicholas's interest in the literal sense of Job and his reliance on and criticism of authoritative literal interpretations in his commentary. It will highlight Nicholas's interest in questions that pertain to the intentions of the human author of Job as well as indicate Nicholas's departure from and reliance on Gregory the Great and Thomas Aquinas. The first part of the essay will describe Nicholas's understanding of the book of Job as found in the prefatory material of his commentary, and the second part will summarize the contents of the literal commentary in general.

8.2 Nicholas on the *Argumentum in Librum Iob*

Before Nicholas comments on the text of Job, he reflects on the *argumentum* supplied by the *Glossa ordinaria*. This preface summarizes very briefly the book of Job and explains who Job was. Nicholas uses in a protheme Jesus' parable from the Gospel of Matthew in which the Savior illustrates forgiveness by telling a parable about a servant who owed his king 10,000 talents. This story from Matthew 18 portrays a merciful king who forgives the servant's debt after the debtor pleaded with the king to have patience with him. Leaving the king, the servant encountered a fellow servant who owed him much less. The second servant begged for patience, but the first servant had this debtor thrown in prison. When the king discovered his servant's cruelty, he "delivered him to

the Jews in Nicholas of Lyra's Romans Commentary of 1329," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, 251–66; Klepper, *Insight of Unbelievers*, 34–38; Ian Christopher Levy, "Nicholas of Lyra (and Paul of Burgos) on the Pauline Epistles," in *St. Paul in the Middle Ages*, (ed.) Steven R. Cartwright (Leiden, 2013), 265–91; and Lesley Smith, "The Gospel Truth: Nicholas of Lyra on John," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, 223–49.

8 For more on the influence of Thomas's Job commentary, including on Nicholas's exegesis, see Antoine Dondaine's preface to the critical edition of Thomas's *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*, in vol. 26 of *Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia iussu Leonis XIII P.M. edita, cura et studio Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1965), 1*–144*, especially 33*–43*.

the torturers until he paid all the debt.”⁹ According to Jesus, the lesson to be learned is that, “So also shall my heavenly Father do to you, if you do not forgive your brother from your hearts.”¹⁰

If this parable pertains to the story of Job, one might find a correlation between the king and Jesus’ Father and between the servant and Job. Nicholas, however, reverses the correlation that Jesus Himself offers and opines that the words spoken by the servant, “Have patience with me, and I will pay you all,” could be spoken by God the Father to Job.¹¹ Applying the Pauline imagery of Christ’s body, the Church, Nicholas says that because Job was incorporated into Christ’s body through faith, the plea of the servant could have been spoken by God to his servant Job.¹² That plea, namely, “Have patience with me, and I will pay you all,” reflects Job’s steadfastness (*stabilitas*) and the generous reward God gives to Job at the end of the book (“And the Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before”).¹³ Although Nicholas does not interpret the words of Job 42:6, “Therefore I reprehend myself, and do penance in dust and ashes,” much debated in contemporary exegesis, as being spoken by God,¹⁴ nonetheless Nicholas does believe that Job’s incorporation into the *totus Christus* brings about a profound intimacy between God and Job, accentuated both by Job’s suffering and God’s mercy.

These reflections are about all one will find that acknowledge a meaning beyond the literal. Nicholas’s further comments pertain almost entirely to history and the literal sense. Before beginning his commentary, he addresses two important historical questions. The first question is whether the book of Job is a parable or whether it is historical. Nicholas notes that “some Jews” regard

9 Matt. 18:34.

10 Matt. 18:35.

11 “Quamvis verbum propositum sit verbum servi ad dominum, tamen potest accipi e converso, ut sit verbum dei ad sanctum Iob servum suum” (Nicholas of Lyra, *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, 7 vols., (eds.) Franciscus Feu-Ardentius, Joannes Dadraeus, and Jacobus de Cuiilly [Lyons, 1589], vol. 3, col. 3 [the orthography has been standardized]).

12 “Sic igitur verbum praeassumptum convenienter potest accipi, ut sit verbum Dei ad sanctum Iob sibi per fidem incorporatum” (Ibid.).

13 “In quo quidem verbo, duo notantur, in quibus processus huius libri et materia continentur. Primum est sancti Iob stabilitas in adversis” (Ibid.).

14 For a variety of translations and interpretations, see Samuel E. Balentine, *Job* (Macon, Ga., 2006), 692–704; and Thomas Krüger, “Did Job Repent?” in *Das Buch Hiob und seine Interpretationen*, (eds.) Thomas Krüger, Manfred Oeming, Konrad Schmid, and Christoph Uehlinger (Zürich, 2007), 217–29.

Job as a fictional figure who illustrates the virtue of patience.¹⁵ Nicholas refers to a discussion in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Baba Bathra, that addresses the authorship of Job and Job's historical context.¹⁶ It seems likely that Nicholas did not have first-hand knowledge of this text, not only because he begins his comment by acknowledging "some Jews," but also because Tractate Baba Bathra never questions whether Job was a historical person; it gathers, rather, numerous arguments from the rabbinic tradition about when exactly Job lived, while refuting objections that Job was only a figurative symbol.¹⁷ Nicholas refers to the 9th- or 10th-century treatise attributed to Gottschalk of Orbais, the *Eclogue of Theodulus*, to show that Christians have tended not to view the book of Job as a fictional allegory, but as history. He argues that the book's care to note Job's homeland, habits, possessions, children, and friends is not characteristic of a fable. Also, other passages of sacred Scripture, namely Ezekiel 14:11–20 and James 5:11, allude to Job as if he truly existed. In the passage from Ezekiel, God rebukes the people of Israel for their idolatry and claims that even if Noah, Daniel, and Job were living, "they shall deliver neither son nor daughter: but they shall only deliver their own souls by their justice." Nicholas argues that if Noah and Daniel are treated as historical personages in this prophetic passage, Job should also be considered as such. The fifth chapter of James contains an exhortation to Christians that they should have patience as they wait for the Lord's coming. The author adduces biblical examples when he says, "We consider blessed those who have endured. You have heard of Job's endurance, and you have seen the end of the Lord, that the Lord is kind and merciful." This passage seems to indicate that Job was a historical person. Aside from the references to the Babylonian Talmud and the *Eclogue of Theodulus*, Nicholas follows the basic argument of Thomas Aquinas's treatment of this question in his literal commentary on Job.¹⁸

The second question Nicholas raises is how to understand the intention of the human author of the book, and regarding this question, Nicholas finds fault with the opinion of Thomas. In the prologue to his commentary, Thomas outlines various theories about divine providence. For example, Thomas mentions that some ancient philosophers believed that everything that occurs

15 "Primum est, utrum illud quod in hoc libro est tractatum fuit parabola vel res gesta. Ad quod dixerunt aliqui Iudaei, quod est parabola, et quod Moyses scripsit librum istum, ut habetur in libro qui apud Hebraeos dicitur Babathra [*sic*]" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 3–4).

16 See *Baba Bathra*, 2 vols., trans. Maurice Simon and Israel W. Slotki (London, 1976), 14b–16b.

17 See *Baba Bathra*, 15a–15b.

18 See Thomas Aquinas, *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*, 3–4.

happens by chance. Others, such as Democritus and Empedocles, thought that most events happen by chance. Later philosophers began to believe correctly in a providential design to the universe, “for one would not find such a reliable course in the movement of heaven and of the stars and in the other effects of nature unless all these things were ordained and governed by some supereminent intelligence.”¹⁹ The fact that human actions do not possess this regularity invited some philosophers to doubt that they were governed by providence. Since believing that there is no God or that God is removed from the sphere of human actions is morally dangerous, undermining the basis for morality and providing no incentive for the cultivation of virtue, the book of Job was included in the section of hagiographic writings of the Old Testament so that it could offer “plausible arguments that human affairs are ruled by divine providence.”²⁰

Nicholas praises Thomas on this point, saying that Thomas was right to say in his Job commentary that the belief either in chance or fate was detrimental to human behavior because it removed any reason to have a fear of God: “Here Saint Thomas Aquinas expounds on this book elegantly [when he says], ‘the first and most important concern [*studium*] of those who pursued wisdom in a divine spirit for the instruction of others was to remove this belief from the hearts of men.’ And the first of these was Saint Job.”²¹ Commenting more specifically, Nicholas praises Thomas’ commentary on Job for its penetrating insight and close attention to the details of the sacred text.

19 “Sed posteriorum philosophorum diligentia perspicacius intuens veritatem, evidentibus indiciis et rationibus ostenderunt res naturales providentia agi: non enim tam certus cursus in motu caeli et siderum et in aliis naturae effectibus inveniretur nisi haec omnia a quodam intellectu supereminente ordinata gubernarentur” (*Expositio super Iob ad litteram*, 3. Translations are from *The Literal Exposition on Job: A Scriptural Commentary Concerning Providence*, trans. Anthony Damico, interpretive essay and notes Martin D. Yaffe [Atlanta, Ga., 1989], 67).

20 “et ideo post Legem datam et Prophetas, in numero hagiographorum, idest librorum per Spiritum Dei sapienter ad eruditionem hominum conscriptorum, primus ponitur liber Iob, cuius tota intentio circa hoc versatur ut per probabiles rationes ostendatur res humanas divina providentia regi” (Ibid.; Damico, 68).

21 “Sed hoc dictum est fidei et moribus contrarium, quia tollit poenas et praemia a Deo pro demeritis et meritis reddenda: et per consequens timorem Dei pariter et amorem, propter quod dicit hic sanctus Thomas de Aquino, qui hunc librum exposuit eleganter, quod studium sanctorum doctorum, qui scientiam habuerant per infusionem vel acquisitionem, fuit hunc errorem a cordibus hominum removere, inter quos de primis fuit sanctus Iob: et in hoc bene dicit” (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 5).

He nevertheless criticizes Thomas for failing to understand the overall message of the book. Thomas claims that the primary aim of Job is to show that human affairs and all natural things are governed by divine providence. In Nicholas's view, this assessment of Job's purpose is misguided, and he argues that a close reading of the text shows that Job's purpose is deeper. Nicholas acknowledges the importance of the question of providence and even mentions some of the philosophical positions that Thomas mentions. He notes the position of Democritus and the Epicureans, namely, that events occur by chance; he associates a quotation from Cicero with the position that divine providence governs most things except for free human actions. He also cites a line from Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy* ("Governing all things toward their fixed end, you, O Ruler, refuse only to restrain human acts as they deserve") that in his view implies that God's providence must be removed from free human actions and their consequences, since often the wicked prosper and good suffer tribulations.²² Nonetheless, Thomas's view that the book of Job is about divine providence cannot be correct. Nicholas argues that the vast majority of Job is an argument not about whether temporal affairs are guided by divine providence—Job and his friends are agreed about that—but about why the good suffer and the wicked prosper. Job and his friends are not agreed about that topic.

The genre of the book of Job provides clues for Nicholas's divergence from Thomas's argument. Nicholas argues that the book of Job is essentially a debate and as such merits consideration of the differences between Job and his friends. Thomas's opinion highlights the agreement between Job and his friends, namely the belief that temporal affairs are governed by providence. Nicholas, however, asserts that "the goal of someone debating others is not to state or prove that upon which they agree, but rather, having presupposed and conceded that, he proceeds to prove or disprove that about which they disagree."²³ Job and his friends disagree about the cause of rewards and punishments in the present life. Job's friends argue that rewards and punishments are merited by individuals in this life, but Job will argue against them that apparent blessings and curses are ordained by divine providence and that rewards and punishments are distributed not only in the present life, but in the afterlife

22 "Omnia certo fine gubernans/hominum solos respuis actus/merito rector cohibere modo" (*Philosophiae consolatio*, (ed.) Ludwig Bieler [Turnhout, 1984] CCSL 94, Lib. 1, carm. 5., 12).

23 "Intentio vero disputantis contra aliquos non est declarare vel probare illud in quo cum eo conveniunt: sed eo supposito tanquam vero et concessio procedere ulterius ad probandum vel improbandum illud in quo dissentiunt" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 5).

as well. The book of Job, then, is not a general philosophical refutation of ancient cosmologies that deny the existence of God and human freedom; rather the book functions as a theologically rich narrative that explains why and how good things happen to the wicked and bad things are visited upon the just.

8.3 Nicholas on the Text of Job

According to Nicholas, the book of Job is divided into three sections: an introduction, a *disputatio*, and a *determinatio*.²⁴ The introduction describes Job's suffering and affliction, the *disputatio* involves the debate between Job and his friends about Job's claimed innocence, and the *determinatio* is God's resolution of this debate. The introduction consists of the first two chapters of Job. The opening verses of Job (Job 1:1–5) describe Job's blessings, namely his personal virtues, his children and their mutual affection, and also his cattle. The remainder of the introduction (Job 1:6–2:13) explains the loss of these blessings.

Nicholas has three primary concerns in his commentary on the first two chapters of Job. The first concern is to establish who Job was. He refutes the opinion of Augustine and Ambrose that Job was Jobab, the son of Zara, mentioned in Genesis 36:34. Noting that this interpretation has been appended to some Bibles or at least to some editions of Jerome's prologues to Job, Nicholas claims that it is better to think of Job instead as a descendant of Abraham's brother Nachor. The reason for this interpretation is because of Job's residence in the land of Hus. Based on Rashi's opinion that the land of Hus is named for the older son of Nachor, some Jews ("alii Hebraei") say that Job must be descended from Nachor.²⁵ The opinion of Augustine and Ambrose derived from the similarity of names "Job" and "Jobab," but Nicholas

24 Nicholas's *divisio textus* here follows Albert the Great, rather than Thomas, who does not offer a *divisio textus* of the whole book at the outset, as Albert does. See Albert the Great, *Commentarium in Iob*, (ed.) Melchior Weiss (Freiburg, 1904), col. 17. In addition to Albert's more developed *divisio textus*, Ruth Meyer has noted how Albert's application of the model of *disputatio* to the book of Job is more fully developed than that of Thomas. See "Hanc autem disputationem solus Deus determinare potest." Das Buch Hiob als *disputatio* bei Albertus Magnus und Thomas von Aquin," in *Via Alberti: Texte-Quellen-Interpretationen*, (eds.) Ludger Honnefelder, Hannes Möhle, and Susana Bullido del Barrio (Münster, 2009), 325–82.

25 "Vir erat. Gen. xxii.d. habetur quod Melcha peperit ipsi Nachor, Hus primogenitum et Buz secundum, ubi dicit Rabbi Salomon quod ab isto Hus denominata est terra ista de qua fuit Iob: et ex hoc consequenter dicunt alii Hebraei, quod Iob descendit de Nachor fratre Abraham" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 10).

displays his knowledge of Hebrew by noting that Job begins with the letter alef, while Jobab begins with a yod. Nicholas, in siding with the Jewish interpretation, is generally following Jerome's explanation in his *Book on Hebrew Questions*.²⁶

Nicholas's second concern is the reason behind Job's sadness. Nicholas argues that Job's sadness was virtuous and that Job was innocent of any sinful feelings towards God. Nicholas begins his commentary on Job 1:20 ("Then Job arose, and tore his garments; and he shaved his head, and fell down to the earth to do reverence") by citing some observations of Thomas Aquinas without attribution. In his literal commentary on Job, Thomas says:

After the adversity of blessed Job has been narrated, there is a discussion here of the patience which he demonstrated in adversity. Now as evidence of the things which are said here, one should know that concerning corporeal goods and concerning the passions of the spirit the opinion of ancient philosophers was different. For the Stoics said that external goods are not the goods of man and that there could be no sadness in the spirit of the wise man over their loss. The opinion of the Peripatetics, however, was that external goods are indeed a kind of goods for man—not his principal goods, of course, but ordered as it were instrumentally toward the principal good of man, which is the good of his mind. And on this account they conceded that the wise man is moderately saddened at the loss of external goods, namely, in such a way that his reason is not engrossed through sadness so that it deviates from straightforwardness. And this opinion is the truer one and agrees with Church doctrine, as is clear in Augustine in his book *City of God*. Following this opinion, then, Job indeed displayed sadness in adversity, yet such moderate sadness that it was subject to reason, and therefore it is said that *Then Job rose up and rent his tunic*, which among men is usually an indication of sadness. One should note, however, that he says *Then*, namely, after hearing of the death of his children, so that he seems to have been pained over them more than over the loss of his property. For not to be pained over dead loved-ones seems to be the mark of a hard and insensitive heart, but it is the mark of a virtuous man to experience this not immoderate pain, according to the Apostle in 1 Thessalonians 4:13: "We do not want you to be in ignorance about those sleeping in death so that you may not be saddened just as the others who have no hope." And this was the disposition

26 See *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, (ed.) P. de Lagarde, in *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera, pars 1* (Turnhout, 1959), CCSL 72, 45.

in blessed Job. Hence, the state of his mind appeared through his external action.²⁷

Nicholas abbreviates Thomas's summary of the views of the Stoics and Peripatetics and modifies Thomas's emphasis on the reasonableness of Job's sadness by interpreting it in light of Job's later confidence in God's redemption: "This at least I know, that one lives on who will vindicate me, rising up from the dust when the last day comes" (Job 19:25). According to Nicholas, the reason why Job's sadness was moderate and subordinate to reason was precisely because of his "faith and hope" in the resurrection. Thomas never makes this connection, but rather ascribes Job's moderate sadness primarily to his trust in God's providence.²⁸

Nicholas's third concern is to highlight the patience of Job in the midst of his suffering. One can find a discussion of Job's patience at the beginning of Nicholas's commentary on Job 2, which describes Satan's affliction of Job's body. Following Thomas Aquinas, Nicholas notes that three goods pertain to the human person: exterior goods, those of the body, and those of the soul. To the extent that there is a proper order among these goods, the human person will be happy. That is, exterior goods must be subordinated to those of the body, and bodily goods must be subordinated to spiritual goods.

27 "Enumerata adversitate beati Iob, agitur hic de patientia quam in adversitate monstravit. Sciendum autem est ad evidentiam eorum quae hic dicuntur quod circa corporalia bona et circa animi passiones antiquorum philosophorum diversa opinio fuit. Nam Stoici dixerunt bona exteriora nulla bona hominis esse, et quod pro eorum amissione nulla tristitia animo sapientis poterat inesse; Peripateticorum vero sententia fuit quod bona exteriora sunt quidem aliqua hominis bona, non quidem principalia sed quasi instrumentaliter ordinata ad principale hominis bonum, quod est bonum mentis: et propter hoc sapientem in amissionibus exteriorum bonorum moderate tristari concedebant, ita scilicet quod per tristitiam ratio non absorberetur ut a rectitudine declinaret. Et haec sententia verior est et ecclesiasticae doctrinae concordat, ut patet per Augustinum in libro De civitate Dei. Hanc igitur sententiam Iob secutus, tristitiam quidem in adversitate monstravit, tamen sic moderatam ut rationi subiecta esset, et ideo dicitur quod *Tunc surrexit Iob et scidit tunicam suam*, quod apud homines solet esse tristitiae indicium. Notandum vero est quod dicit *tunc*, scilicet post mortem filiorum auditam, ut de eis magis quam de amissione rerum doluisse videatur. De amicis enim mortuis non dolere duri et insensibilis cordis esse videtur, sed virtuosi est hunc dolorem non immoderatum habere, secundum illud Apostoli Thess. iv 'Nolumus vos ignorare de dormientibus, ut non contristemini sicut et ceteri qui spem non habent': et hoc in beato Iob fuit, unde et status mentis eius per actum exteriorem apparuit" (*Expositio super Iob ad litteram*, 13–14; Damico, 87–88).

28 See *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*, 14–15.

These reflections pertain to the opening of the second chapter of Job, because Satan, having afflicted Job through the loss of his children and property, sought to afflict Job's body after Job refused to express anger towards God. Satan's request of God implies that Job is devoted to God only on account of his health: "All that a man has he will give for his life. But put forth your hand, and touch his bone and his flesh, and then you will see that he will bless you to your face."²⁹ Satan wants to test Job further in order that the alleged disordered attachment to bodily health will manifest itself in Job's turn against the Creator.

Like Thomas, Nicholas is concerned that God's statement in Job 2:3, that Satan has pressured God, not be misunderstood ("You have moved me against him, that I should afflict him without cause"). It is not that God changed His mind after Satan's discourse, but rather God, from all eternity, chose to test Job in order to reward him, and He used Satan's apparent interference in order to do it. Also, the fact that this testing of Job was "without cause" (*frustra*) should not be understood to mean that God's intention was frustrated, but ultimately that Satan's intention was.³⁰

Disputatio

The second part of Job, according to Nicholas's *divisio textus*, is the *disputatio*, which runs from Chapters 3 to 37. Chapter 3 contains Job's *propositio*, namely the claim of his own innocence, while Chapters 4 through 37 describe the "calumnious" objections of his friends.³¹ No rehearsal will be made here of all the friends' arguments against Job, but rather this section of the essay will describe Job's opening response to his suffering followed by a brief summary of his friends' rejoinders.

In Chapter 3, Job rues the day he was born and complains bitterly about the injustices attending his life. Here Nicholas criticizes the interpretations of both Gregory the Great and Thomas. Gregory claims that Job's complaint cannot be interpreted literally because he had already demonstrated such patience when he lost his children and possessions and when his body was afflicted with sores. Also, Gregory thinks that since Job was such a holy man, it would have been irrational to curse something that no longer exists, namely the day of his birth.³² Thomas Aquinas believes that Job's curse can be interpreted literally, but not to Nicholas's satisfaction. Thomas says that Job accepted the various afflictions

29 Job 2:4–5.

30 *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 36.

31 *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 44.

32 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, 3 vols., (ed.) Marc Adriaen (Turnhout, 1979–1985), CCSL 143, 143A, and 143B, IV.1.1, vol. 1, 163–64.

allowed by God's providence because he knew that he would be rewarded in the afterlife. Job's curse, however, does not express this intention, but rather it expresses the pain felt in the sensitive part of his soul.³³

Nicholas is not persuaded by these interpretations. The problem with Gregory's interpretation is that, in Nicholas's view, there can be no literal sense of this chapter. The entirety of Job's complaint must be interpreted mystically (although this is not quite true for Gregory).³⁴ Thomas's interpretation seems like a better solution, because it allows for a literal interpretation, but because Thomas views Job's complaint as deriving from the pain of the sensitive part of his soul and not from his rational faculty, the remainder of the dispute between Job and his friends is rendered somewhat unintelligible. That is, if Job is not truly complaining but simply expressing the anguish felt by his body and the "lower powers" of his soul, his friends seem to fail to make that distinction in their remonstrances of him. When his friends criticize him, they seem to believe that Job is expressing more than just the pain of soul and body. They seem to believe that Job is finding fault with God and trying to justify himself before the Almighty. If Job and his friends have the intentions and presuppositions ascribed to them by Thomas, they would be talking past one another, failing to address the fundamental concerns and ideas of the others.³⁵

Nicholas articulates another interpretation "according to the letter" (*ad litteram*). Job and his friends agree about the complete subjection of natural and free human events to divine providence, but their dispute concerns when and how the good are rewarded and the wicked punished. Nicholas argues that Job's complaint must be seen in light of his friends' contention that rewards and punishments are distributed during one's earthly life. If that is the case, the calamities that have afflicted his life reflect God's unhappiness with Job's sinfulness. From such a perspective, Job's life and the events that accompanied the various stages of his life are accursed. This is precisely the nature of the debate in Chapters 4 through 35. Is Job a righteous man? If so, he should be rewarded with God's blessings in this life. Job maintains his innocence before his friends, while the outlook of his friends demands that Job be considered

33 See *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*, 21.

34 Nicholas asserts that Gregory does not interpret Job's words "ad litteram," which is true in some sense, but it does not follow from that position that they must be interpreted "mystice" (see *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 44–45). Nicholas fails to point out that Gregory makes a distinction between "verba litterae" and "verba historiae" and so gives the impression that Gregory is not interested in the literal sense, which is not the case (see the preface to Book Four of the *Moralia in Iob*, vol. 1, 158–163).

35 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 45–46.

unjust since he is perceived as being punished by God. The fact that Job regards himself as guiltless in some sense, while simultaneously being afflicted, demonstrates that Job must have regarded the reward for his faithfulness to God as something to be received in the afterlife. It is precisely this belief that Job's friends do not accept, and this disagreement is why there is a debate for the next 32 chapters. Another implication of Nicholas's interpretation is that Job is not seen as being irrational or simply being moved to speak by the passions of his soul. Nicholas believes that Job is being perfectly rational, since he is speaking as though accepting his friends' beliefs about the bestowal of rewards and punishments in the present life. A purely spiritual interpretation fails to consider the historical character of Job and the recorded dispute, and Thomas's literal interpretation fails to make sense of the main point of contention, which is why the good experience evil in the present life while the evil experience good.

There is another literal interpretation of Thomas that Nicholas does not follow. When Job says, "Let them curse it who curse the day, who are ready to raise up a Leviathan" (Job 3:8), Thomas interprets the Leviathan to be a whale or the devil. Since Nicholas is not interested in the spiritual senses in this exercise, he labels the association of Leviathan with the devil as "mystical."³⁶ He agrees with Thomas that the Leviathan is a whale but disagrees with further comments Thomas makes about this animal. Thomas notes that Job 40:20 asks, "Can you draw out the Leviathan with a hook, or can you tie his tongue with a cord?" This question implies that the Leviathan is extremely large, but more than that, Thomas believes that "From this question one should understand that those who fish for such large fish attack them by night in the darkness; therefore, when day begins to appear they curse the day, because by it their labors and aims are thwarted."³⁷ Nicholas is convinced that Thomas' explanation is erroneous because he knows fishermen and how they try to catch various kinds of fish. He says, "I have heard from those who know how to capture this kind of fish, and they say that this kind of fish is never hunted at night; instead, they hunt it during the light of day, so that they can pierce it from a distance with darts, because if it should approach they would be in danger of capsizing on account of the significant turbulence it would create in the water."³⁸

36 *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 51.

37 "[E]t secundum hoc intelligendum est quod illi qui huiusmodi magnos pisces piscantur de nocte eos invadunt in tenebris, et ideo quando incipit apparere maledicunt diei quia per hoc eorum opus et intentio impeditur" (*Expositio super Iob ad litteram*, 23; Damico, 104).

38 "Sed prima expositio non videtur vera, quia audivi ab illis qui noverunt captionem illius piscis dicentibus, quod nunquam invaditur de nocte, sed magis in clara die: ita quod pis-

Nicholas, however, follows not only his fishing or fishmongering acquaintances for this interpretation, but also the Jews. He says that the “true letter” (*vera littera*) is as follows: “Let them curse it who curse the day, expecting to be separated from society.” Weary of their miserable lives, people no longer wish to live, and so they curse the “day” of their birth and continuation of their earthly existence, which began during the “night” of their conception. Without providing a source, Nicholas justifies this interpretation by claiming that he is following the interpretation of the Jews, for whom the verse means that these miserable people expect “to be separated from their wives or from society in general.”³⁹ This interpretation is thus a return to Job’s original complaint, since he himself is complaining about the “night” of his conception and the “day” of his birth.⁴⁰

The second part of the *disputatio* consists of two sections: the first section records the objections of Job’s three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, and Job’s replies to them; and the second section records the objections of Job’s friend Elihu.

Eliphaz’s principal concerns about Job’s profession of innocence are not only that Job’s claim could sound presumptuous, but also that God’s goodness and holiness seem to be compromised with the assertion that God inflicts suffering on the innocent during their earthly lives. Since Eliphaz believes that God’s goodness is irreconcilable with afflicting the righteous, he can interpret Job’s protestations from the previous chapter as “impatience.”⁴¹ He asks Job, “Can you recall anyone who ever perished being innocent? Or when were the just destroyed? On the contrary I have seen those who commit grave evil, and sow sorrows, and reap them, perishing by the blast of God, and consumed by the spirit of his wrath.”⁴² This response of Eliphaz constitutes his refutation of Job’s “impatience.”

Eliphaz attempts to confirm his position by claiming to have received a special revelation. He heard a spirit say:

catores a longe possint contra eum tela directe proicere: quia si appropinquent, essent in periculo submersionis ex motu illius piscis, mare notabiliter perturbantis” (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 51).

39 “Maledicant illi qui maledicunt diei, expectantes orbari de societate sua...et sic per mortem expectant a societate sua separari, id est ab uxoribus suis vel a communi societate hominum” (*Ibid.*).

40 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 52.

41 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 66.

42 Job 4:7–9.

Shall man be justified in comparison of God, or shall a man be more pure than his maker? Behold, those who serve Him are not steadfast, and in his angels he found wickedness. How much more shall they who dwell in houses of clay, who have an earthly foundation, be consumed as by the moth? From morning till evening they shall be cut down; and because no one understands, they shall perish for ever.⁴³

Nicholas does not believe that this communication is an authentic revelation. He notes that Thomas Aquinas, in his commentary, doubts whether Eliphaz received a revelation, but Thomas does not rule out that possibility.⁴⁴ Nicholas, however, does rule out that possibility on the grounds that God rebukes Eliphaz in His response to this debate between Job and his friends.⁴⁵

Bildad in his criticism cites Job's response to Eliphaz, in which Job affirmed not that he had sinned, but rather that the afflictions sent by God outweighed his sins. He asks, "How long will you speak these things, and how long shall the words of your mouth be like a strong wind?"⁴⁶ Commenting on this response, Nicholas explains that what Bildad means by this question is that Job's assertion "is impossible, since [the proper proportion between deed and punishment] is the first rule of justice," and therefore God should be thought to be unjust if Job's assertion were believed to be true.⁴⁷ Nicholas notes that Bildad's criticism of Job presupposes Eliphaz's assumption that temporal punishments are proportionate to past misdeeds.

Job's response to Bildad in chapters nine and ten acknowledges Bildad's concern about imputing injustice to God; hence he says, "Indeed I know it is so, and that man cannot be justified compared with God."⁴⁸ Job reaffirms Bildad's lofty praise of God's infinite power and wisdom as well. Job articulates his claim against Bildad in Chapter 10, in which Job acknowledges that the afflictions of the innocent can derive neither from divine malice nor from God's ignorance, since God is supremely good and wise. When Job asks the question, "Your hands have made me, and fashioned me completely, and will you cast me aside suddenly?" Nicholas interprets this expression as a rhetorical question

43 Job 4:17–20.

44 See *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*, 29–33; Damico, 118–25. See also Nicholas's criticism of Thomas in commenting on 4:12 (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 70–71).

45 See Job 42:7–9.

46 Job 8:2.

47 "Hoc est impossibile, cum sit regula prima iustitiae est" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 113–14).

48 Job 9:2.

that implies that God does not destroy humans after He lovingly created them, nor does He allow them to cease to exist after death.⁴⁹

Nicholas believes that the position of Job's friends, namely that God's rewards and punishments follow human actions in the present life, is logically connected with the belief that the soul will not exist after death nor will there be a resurrection from the death. On such a view, God gives rewards and punishments in the present life because that is the only kind of human existence there is. When Job acknowledges simultaneously his sinfulness and the lack of proportion between his sinfulness and his affliction, he also begins to adopt rhetorically the eschatological principles of his friends. Thus, when Job, in 10:3 and following, complains to God of his misery and questions why God brought him into being, Nicholas asserts that Job is not speaking from any desperation or feeling of abandonment on his part.⁵⁰ Job, rather, is adopting the position of his friends for rhetorical purposes in order to show that God is just and merciful and may be afflicting him in order that he may merit greater rewards in the afterlife. This interpretation may not be the most straightforward, but for Nicholas it helps to explain why Job sounds despairing at times, and at others he seems confident in God's salvation and his future resurrection.

The third friend of Job to offer a criticism is Zophar. Zophar believes that Job is a sinner and that Job's sin is being punished justly: "I wish that God would speak with you, and would open His lips to you, that He might show you the secrets of wisdom, and that his law is manifold. And then you would understand that He exacts much less of you than your sins deserve."⁵¹ Nicholas says that Zophar attributes loquacity and foolishness to Job's complaint and believes that because of the profundity of God's wisdom, no sinner could know precisely the proportionate punishment for a sin.⁵² Only God could know the proper recompense, and therefore no human could judge whether one's punishment exceeded the gravity of his sin.

Job, in his response in Chapter 12, acknowledges the truth of what Zophar claims about God's incomprehensible judgment. According to Nicholas, the "beasts" and "birds of the air" (verse 7) show that God is "the first cause of all things."⁵³ The "ear" and the "palate" (verse 11) show that knowledge derives

49 See Job 10:8 and Nicholas's commentary on that verse in *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 136.

50 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 134.

51 Job 11:5-6.

52 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 141.

53 "Interrogare creaturas, est earum naturas considerare: et responsio earum est in hoc, quod ex tali consideratione homo assurgit ad cognitionem Dei, qui est prima causa om-

from the sense perceptions.⁵⁴ When Job asserts, "He changes the heart of the princes of the people of the earth," Nicholas interprets this phrase to imply that Job acknowledges the infinite knowledge and understanding of God.⁵⁵

Despite these concessions to his friends, Job maintains his innocence in Chapter 13. The opening of Job's response could be interpreted as proud or even arrogant:

Behold, my eye has seen all these things, and my ear has heard them, and I have understood them all. According to your knowledge I also know. Neither am I inferior to you. But yet I will speak to the Almighty, and I desire to reason (*disputare*) with God, having first shown that you are forgers of lies, and maintainers of perverse opinions.⁵⁶

Nicholas, as is his tendency, defends Job from any wrongdoing here. With respect to Job's desire to reason or to debate with God, Nicholas argues that Job said this "not rashly, by arguing by means of his deeds, but humbly by inquiring into the truth."⁵⁷ Highlighting God's *determinatio* in Chapter 42, Nicholas emphasizes God's criticism of Job's friends and His vindication of Job. That observation is important here because now that all three friends have spoken, the *disputatio* begins in earnest. For Nicholas, Job needs to begin by showing the error of his friends regarding the afterlife; only then can Job defend himself.⁵⁸

After criticizing his friends for their false accusations regarding his foolishness and impatience, Job seems to acknowledge both his sinfulness and his trust in God:

Why do I tear my flesh with my teeth, and carry my soul in my hands? Even if he should kill me, I will trust in Him; yet I will attempt to justify my ways in his sight.... Withdraw your hand far from me, and let not your dread terrify me. Call me, and I will answer you or else I will speak, and you answer me. How many are my iniquities and sins? Make me know my crimes and offences. Why do you hide your face, and think me your

nium" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 151).

54 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 152.

55 See Job 12:24 and Nicholas's commentary on that verse in *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 156.

56 Job 13:1-4.

57 "Non temerarie eius facta arguendo, sed humiliter veritatem inquirendo" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 158).

58 See *ibid.*

enemy? Against a leaf, that is carried away with the wind, you show thy power, and you pursue a dry straw. For you write bitter things against me, and will consume me on account of the sins of my youth.⁵⁹

Nicholas believes that this profession of guilt is not quite consistent with his profession of innocence earlier. The tension Nicholas perceives is resolved by supposing both that Job's acknowledgment of his sinfulness is true and also that Job's knowledge of the gravity of his sins allows him to be confident that his afflictions exceed the weight of those sins. With the awareness that his afflictions are not proportionate to his sins, Job can infer that a just God can bestow those afflictions only as an opportunity to increase his merit and consequently his reward in heaven.⁶⁰ In his commentary on the remainder of Job's response to Zophar, Nicholas shows how from Job's conclusion about a reward in the afterlife, Job infers various qualities about human persons in the afterlife, namely that a rational soul continues to exist and that it will be rejoined to the body it animated on earth. He also explains how this existence in heaven will come to pass.⁶¹

After Job's three friends continue their debate with Job, a fourth person, Elihu, offers his criticism of Job:

Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite, of the family of Ram, was angry and was moved to indignation. He was angry at Job, because he said he was just before God. And he was angry with his friends because they had not found a reasonable answer, but only had condemned Job. So Elihu waited while Job was speaking, because his elders were speaking. But when he saw that the three were not able to answer, he was exceedingly angry.... I do not care about human respect, and I will not equate God with man. For I do not know how long I shall continue, and whether after a while my Maker may take me away.⁶²

As the youngest of Job's friends, Elihu waited until his elders had finished debating before articulating his criticism of Job. According to Nicholas, one of the reasons that Elihu was angry with the three friends was because of their denial of punishments and rewards in the afterlife.⁶³ That is why Elihu says, "For I do

59 Job 13:14–15, 21–26.

60 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 163–64.

61 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 165.

62 Job 32:2–5, 21–22.

63 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 306.

not know how long I shall continue, and whether after a while my Maker may take me away." Nicholas interprets this statement to mean that Elihu feels compelled to correct Job for fear of what might happen to him after his death.⁶⁴

Elihu rehearses Job's professions of innocence and finds him arrogant and presumptuous. Elihu also finds Job's desire to "dispute" with God ludicrous.⁶⁵ Elihu says, "God speaks once, and does not repeat the same thing a second time, by a dream in a vision by night, when deep sleep falls upon men, and they are sleeping in their beds. Then He opens the ears of men and teaches them what they are to learn.... He rebukes also through sorrow in one's bed, and He makes all his bones to wither."⁶⁶ In this response, Nicholas finds three ways that God communicates with humanity. First, God "speaks" to every person by means of the "natural light of the intellect"; second, God reveals Himself by means of dreams at night "when the soul is more apt to perceive divine revelations"; and third, God communicates by means of "sorrow in the bed" and by making "all his bones to wither."⁶⁷ This last mode of divine communication, the affliction of the body, is what Job has experienced. Nicholas claims that this affliction is especially important because "it gives anguish to the intellect and makes it turn back to God."⁶⁸ Nicholas summarizes Elihu's continued attack on Job in Chapter 34 by claiming that the two parts of this attack consist of finding in Job an imputation of unrighteousness to God and an imputation of justice to himself.⁶⁹ Elihu articulates both parts of this indictment when he has Job say, "I am just, and God has overthrown my judgment."⁷⁰ Job's affirmation of innocence is to Elihu an implication of God's injustice. Elihu responds by saying, "May wickedness be far from God, and iniquity from the Almighty. For he will render to a man his work, and according to the ways of every one

64 See *ibid.*

65 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 309–10.

66 Job 33:14–16, 19.

67 "Hic consequenter declarat, quod Deus sufficienter ei responderit. Circa quod ponit primo triplicem divinae responsionis. Et secundo infert propositum per modum conclusionis.... Primus autem modus est per hoc quod Deus dedit homini naturale lumen intellectus.... Hic ponitur secundus modus divinae locutionis cum homine seu responsionis, scilicet per revelationem divinam.... Hic ponitur tertius modus divinae locutionis cum homine seu responsionis, scilicet per infirmitatem carnis a Deo immissam" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 310–12); and see Job 33:19.

68 "Hic ponitur tertius modus divinae locutionis cum homine seu responsionis, scilicet per infirmitatem carnis a Deo immissam, quia vexatio dat intellectum, et facit reverti ad Deum" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 312).

69 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 317.

70 Job 34:5.

he will reward them. For indeed God will not condemn without cause, neither will the Almighty pervert judgment.”⁷¹ Elihu, like his elders, wants to preserve God’s holiness and righteousness, but he must accuse Job of sin and pride in order to do so.

Determinatio

The last section of the book of Job, according to Nicholas, contains God’s *determinatio*, and this divine judgment is found in the last five chapters of Job, 38–42. This divine response is divided into three sections: in the first place God criticizes Elihu’s presumption; secondly God finds fault with Job’s indiscretion; and finally God rebukes Job’s other three friends.⁷² This *determinatio* does not merely settle the question; as Nicholas interprets the passage, God is taking the part of the *opponens* as well. That is, after Job had put questions to God in Chapter 13 and elsewhere, now God is putting questions to Job and his friends and waiting for their responses.

God’s criticism of Elihu begins when God responds to Job from a cloud. Nicholas relates this cloud to the cloud from which God spoke to Moses on Mount Sinai. He notes that some interpreters believe that God or angels formed an audible voice and that some interpreters think that God communicated with Job directly without any intermediary, but Nicholas takes no position on this issue. God’s criticism of Elihu is based on Elihu’s desire to determine the question about providence, a question that only God is capable of determining sufficiently. Some of Elihu’s statements about divine providence were correct, but they were mixed with a number of erroneous statements. Part of God’s *determinatio* corrects Elihu’s errors.

Job, however, is also guilty, primarily of a lack of circumspection regarding God’s transcendence. Nicholas notes two instances in particular where Job’s lack of discretion seems obvious. The first place is in Chapter 13, where Job, in responding to Zophar’s reproach, says, “Behold my eye has seen all these things, and my ear hath heard them, and I have understood them all. According to your knowledge I also know. Neither am I inferior to you. But yet I will speak to the Almighty, and I desire to reason with God.”⁷³ Nicholas uses the analogy of academic discourse to explain that Job’s response, while it could be interpreted as arrogant, nonetheless was actually very humble: “[Job] did not say this presumptuously, but as a humble student arguing with his master, seeking to learn more from Him ... nevertheless, from his manner of speaking,

71 Job 34:10–12.

72 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 347–48.

73 Job 13:1–3.

he could have been judged otherwise by the [other] assistants.”⁷⁴ Eliphaz, Bildad, Zophar, and Elihu are the other students learning from the Master; hearing of Job's desire to argue with their Master, they presume that Job is arrogant when in reality Job's attitude is much more humble than his words or tone might suggest. The second instance of Job's apparent pride and arrogance consists of his attempts at self-justification (see Job 12:4, 13:18, 23:10, 27:5–6, and all of Chapter 31). Nicholas notes that Job's declarations of righteousness could seem presumptuous to his friends.⁷⁵

In light of these considerations, God's correction of Job is twofold. First, God reprimands Job (Chapter 38) and criticizes his desire to dispute with the Almighty (Chapter 39); and secondly, God rebukes Job for calling His justice into question (Chapter 40). Even if Job desired humbly to learn from God, nevertheless his manner of speaking should not lead his friends to think that he is arrogant. In any event, God will teach Job and his friends about the immensity of His wisdom and power. God explains His wisdom in Chapters 38 and 39, and God's power is described in Chapters 40 and 41.

God's wisdom is found chiefly in the planets, stars, and elements of the world, what Nicholas calls the “principal parts” of the world.⁷⁶ This reason explains why God first asks Job:

Where were you when I laid the foundations of the earth? Tell me if you have understanding. Who laid its measures, if you know? Or who has stretched the line upon it? Upon what are its bases grounded? Or who laid its cornerstone, when the morning stars praised me together, and all the sons of God made a joyful melody?⁷⁷

These remarks describe the divine wisdom in the celestial bodies. The morning stars are the angels, who, Nicholas asserts, were created “simultaneously with the empyrean heaven before the distinction of the elements.”⁷⁸

74 “Hic consequenter arguit Iob de indiscreta locutione, specialiter in duobus. Primo quia dixerat supra xiii.a. ‘Disputare cum Deo cupio’: quod dixerat non praesumptiose, sed sicut humilis discipulus disputat cum magistro, quaerens amplius doceri ab eo: sicut ibidem fuit expositum tamen ex modo loquendi poterat aliter iudicari ab assistentibus” (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 349).

75 See *ibid.*

76 “Immensitas ergo divinae sapientiae et potentiae ostenditur, primo in partibus mundi principalibus, secundo in animalibus” (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 350).

77 Job 38:4–7.

78 “Id est, angeli, qui in scriptura filii Dei dicuntur, ut habetur in principio huius libri: et etiam astra matutina, quia a principio simul creati fuerunt cum coelo empyreo ante dis-

From the very last verses of Chapter 38 through Chapter 39, God explains His wisdom not in the stars or the elements but in the animals on the earth. More particularly, God describes the various powers of animals that exceed human wisdom: cognition, nutrition, and generation. Cognition is described in 38:36: “Who has put wisdom in the heart of man? Or who gave the cock understanding?” The fact that both a human being and a chicken are mentioned in the same sentence here invites Nicholas’s reflection. Even though humanity is endowed by God with wisdom and a chicken is endowed with understanding, both derive their gifts from the divine wisdom.

God alone gives the natural light of understanding to [humanity], through which he is able to acquire knowledge of those things that can be known and investigated through reason, and sometimes God illumines through a special revelation something that exceeds natural cognition ... and if the cock should mark the designated hours of the night by singing, as if he should understand the distinction among the hours of the night, such a natural ability to perceive such things in a cock is called understanding (*intelligentia*).⁷⁹

Although there is a distinction between wisdom and understanding, and although understanding can pertain to the supernatural and natural realms, nonetheless both humans and animals have a natural understanding that manifests God’s wisdom.

Nutrition also reveals God’s wisdom. The last verses of Chapter 38 read, “Will you take the prey for the lioness, and satisfy the appetite of her whelps, when they couch in their dens and lie in wait in their holes? Who provides food for the raven, when her young ones cry to God, wandering about, because they have no meat?”⁸⁰ Nicholas marvels at how beasts and birds have a natural instinct not only to nourish themselves but also to care for their young. The

tionem elementorum” (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 351).

79 “Solutus Deus qui dedit sibi lumen naturale intellectus, per quod potest acquirere scientiam eorum quae possunt sciri et investigari per rationem, et aliquando illustrat per specialem revelationem, quantum ad ea quae excedunt naturalem cognitionem....Qui sic horis in nocte determinatis cantat, acsi intelligeret horarum noctis distinctionem. Vocatur autem talis aestimatio naturalis in gallo, intelligentia, eo quod procedit ab intellectu divino” (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 362).

80 Job 38:39–41.

young ravens cry to God for their food, and God provides through the instincts of their mother.⁸¹

In Chapter 39, Nicholas finds a series of texts that describe natural generation. At the opening of Chapter 39, God asks of Job, "Do you know when the wild goats give birth among the rocks, or have you observed the hinds when they fawn? Have you numbered the months while they carry their young, or do you know the time when they give birth?"⁸² Nicholas wonders at how different humans are from other animals. Human mothers need assistance in giving birth and parents spend a long time teaching and nurturing their children. Other animals have the "office" of obstetrician supplied by divine providence, and their offspring become independent much sooner than human offspring.⁸³

Regarding the middle verses of Chapter 39, Nicholas provides etymological and biological information for many of the animals God mentions. Most of these animals have peculiar attributes or abilities: the rhinoceros (which Nicholas says can be called a unicorn), the horse, the hawk, and the eagle. God's wisdom is found in all these creatures (with the sole exception of the ostrich, which is deprived by God of intelligence in leaving unhatched eggs unattended).⁸⁴

After this speech, in which God recounts to Job the glory of creation, God concludes by saying, "Shall one who competes with God be so easily silenced? Surely one who blames God, ought to answer Him."⁸⁵ Job here responds for the first time: "How can I answer, who have spoken inconsiderately? I will lay my hand upon my mouth. One thing I have spoken, which I wish I had not said, and another, to which I will add no more."⁸⁶ Nicholas interprets God as referring back to Job's desire in Chapter 13 to dispute with God. Job's halting response is one of astonishment as he also reflects on some of his statements. Like Gregory the Great, Nicholas finds that the problem is not that Job spoke erroneously about God at any point, but he did not know really what he was saying when he said that he wanted to dispute with God. That is why Job says,

81 "Non est per hoc intelligendum, quod iste clamor procedit ex cognitione Dei quae sit in pullis, sed quia quaelibet res naturalis eo ipso quod naturali desiderio appetit aliquod bonum, quodammodo clamat ad Deum, a quo recipitur omne bonum" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 364).

82 Job 39:1–2.

83 "Loquitur de eis ad modum mulierum, quae in partu indigent observatione obstetricum, sed divina providentia in animalibus maxime sylvestribus supplet istud officium" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 367–68).

84 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 370–80.

85 Job 39:32.

86 Job 39:34–35.

“I will lay my hand upon my mouth. One thing I have spoken, which I wish I had not said.” This silence is Job’s response to God, who plays the scholastic roles of both the *opponens* and the *magister regens*. When Job concludes briefly that he will not speak again, Nicholas interprets him as thinking of all the times he tried to justify himself rather than to allow God to justify him instead.

God is not satisfied, however, to teach Job about his foolishness simply by describing His own wisdom. Chapters 40 and 41 of Job contain God’s description of His power in such a way as to illustrate the close relationship between divine justice and omnipotence. God begins this speech with the exact same words He used when addressing Job in Chapter 38: “Gird your loins like a man; I will inquire of you, and you answer me.” Then He adds “Will you make void my judgment and condemn me, that you may be justified? And do you have an arm like God, and can you thunder with a voice like Him?”⁸⁷ Nicholas remarks that the sacred author seems to be having God ask a rhetorical question: “Should you recall your justice in such a way that my justice should seem false and useless to others? Which is to say ‘no.’”⁸⁸ Nicholas’s point is that God’s justice transcends human justice so vastly that any attempt at self-justification, without reference to an impartial judge, is doomed from the start.

God then recounts His power with respect to the act of creation, the governance of the universe, and the judgment of sinners:

And do you have an arm like God, and can you thunder with a voice like Him? Clothe yourself with beauty, and set yourself up on high and be glorious, and put on beautiful garments. Scatter the proud in your indignation, and behold every arrogant man, and humble him. Look on all that are proud, and confound them, and crush the wicked in their place. Hide them in the dust together, and plunge their faces into the pit. Then I will confess that your right hand is able to save you.⁸⁹

All of these images, God’s arm, thunder, beauty, and indignation are metaphors that represent different facets of God’s power and His relation to creation. Only God can create from nothing, only God’s providential governance

87 Job 40:2–4.

88 “Debes tu commemorare iustitiam tuam per talem modum, quod iudicium meum per hoc videatur hominibus irritum et falsum, et per consequens videar condemnabilis. Quod dicitur non” (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 381).

89 Job 40:4–9.

of the universe sustains the created existence of all things, and only God can claim the right to judge His creatures.⁹⁰

The remainder of Chapter 40 and Chapter 41 describe in particular God's mastery over sinners and over two mythological creatures, Behemoth and Leviathan, who represent demonic powers. Behemoth is an enormous land animal, and Leviathan is a terrifying sea creature, so one might wonder what these images have to do with demons, especially since Nicholas disagreed with attempts to link the Leviathan mentioned in Chapter 3 with demons. Drawing from Jerome, Rashi, and other unnamed Jewish interpreters, Nicholas explains the connection:

It should be known that the Jews say here that Behemoth is the name of an animal of incredible size, which in only one day devours a thousand piles of grass and the next day draws sustenance from the same quantity of food as on the previous day. And for this interpretation, Rabbi Solomon, when commenting on this passage, cites as an authority Psalm 49; where we have [in the Vulgate], "the cattle on the hills, and the oxen," the Jews say, "Behemoth on a thousand mountains." And the translation of Jerome, drawn immediately from the Hebrew has, "a thousand animals [*pecudes*] on the mountains." For the Jews say that Behemoth is an equivocal name; in one way it can signify the same thing as the word "animals," and thus it is the name of a common genus and is plural. And in another way it refers to the aforementioned animal of immense size, and thus the name is of a species and is singular. The Jews say further that in the resurrection, God will kill [the Behemoth], and the just will feed on its flesh. And thus it is obvious that the Jews have fallen into the error of the Saracens, saying that the resurrection will result in animal life requiring food.⁹¹

90 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 381–85.

91 "Sciendum, quod Iudaei dicunt hic quod 'Vehemoth' est nomen cuiusdam animalis incredibilis magnitudinis, intantum quod in una die depascit herbas mille montium, et in crastino renascitur herba in tanta magnitudine, sicut erat in praecedenti die. Et ad huc inducit Rabbi Salomon super istum autoritatem Psal. xlix in qua ubi habemus: 'Iumenta in montibus et boves': Hebraei dicunt: 'Vehemoth in montibus mille.' Et translatio Hieronymi sumpta immediate de Hebraeo habet: 'Pecudes in montibus milium.' Dicunt enim Hebraei, quod Vehemoth est nomen aequivocum: et uno modo signat idem quod animalia, et sic est nomen communis generis et plurale. Alio modo signat praedictum animal immensae magnitudinis, et sic est nomen speciei et singulare. Dicunt etiam Hebraei, quod in resurrectione Deus interficiet illud, et iusti carnibus eius vescuntur: et sic patet quod Iudaei inciderunt in errore Saracenorum dicentes: quod resurrectio fiat ad vitam animalembis cibis indigentem" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 383–84).

Nicholas finds the latter explanation implausible and says that Christian scholars have generally found it more persuasive to interpret these passages in Job as referring to demons under the symbols of an elephant and a whale. As Nicholas relates, the literal sense really describes demons, but it does so “parabolically.”⁹² It is not that the elephant’s and whale’s natural qualities are analogous to the qualities of demons, but the metaphors God uses in describing the beasts suggest something more than mere animals (e.g., the Behemoth being the “beginning of the ways of God” and using a sword, and the Leviathan breathing fire, being feared by angels, and acting as king over all the “children of pride”).⁹³

Only after this soliloquy regarding divine power does Job utter a final response to God’s *determinatio*. Job says,

I know that you can do all things, and no thought is hidden from you. Who is this who hides counsel without knowledge? Therefore I have spoken unwisely, and things that above measure exceeded my knowledge. Hear, and I will speak; I will inquire of you, and you answer me. With the hearing of the ear, I have heard you, but now my eye sees you. Therefore I reprehend myself, and do penance in dust and ashes.⁹⁴

In these words, Nicholas asserts, “by recalling his own righteousness, [Job] suffered from a certain slight movement of exaltation that often originates easily even in people who are perfect, and however much such a motion may be hidden to all others, nevertheless it is known to God.”⁹⁵ God’s *determinatio* then has revealed to Job true knowledge of himself. It also allowed Job to see that the immensity of divine wisdom and power is such that no created intellect can fathom the “reasons of divine judgment.”⁹⁶

Nicholas certainly sympathizes with Job’s plight. As Nicholas interprets Job’s speech, he puts into Job’s mouth sentiments that express his true but imperfect knowledge of God. When Job acknowledges the impertinence of questioning God, Nicholas defends Job by saying that he was questioning God “humbly, as a disciple.” Job’s statement that his “eyes” have seen God means simply that he

92 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 384.

93 See Job 40:10–41:25.

94 Job 42:2–6.

95 “Erat enim iste Iob conscius, quod commemorando suam iustitiam passus fuerat aliquem levem motum elationis, qui in talibus solet oriri de facili etiam in hominibus perfectis: et talis motus quantumcunque sit omnibus aliis occultus, tamen Deo est notus” (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 405).

96 See *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 406.

now has a more perfect knowledge of God. This more perfect knowledge was derived from the scourging (*flagellatio*) Job received, because, as Nicholas says, his "suffering (*vexatio*) gives understanding, both because of the revelation and the divine allocution addressed to him...and because a more perfect penitence regarding past sins follows from a more perfect knowledge, it follows, "Therefore I reprehend myself, and do penance in dust and ashes."⁹⁷

After Job's confession, God chastises Job's friends (omitting Elihu, who was criticized at the beginning of Chapter 38) and praises Job. What merits acclamation in Job is that while Job spoke indiscreetly, he nonetheless spoke truthfully about God, whereas Job's friends not only spoke untruthfully about God (in trying to defend Him against Job's apparent indictments against God's injustice), but they also spoke falsely about Job's character. After Job prayed for his friends, having obeyed God's command to have Job offer sacrifices for them, the Lord "was turned" and restored to Job his family and possessions and gave him twice as much as he had before.⁹⁸ Nicholas even says that his children were "duplicated," not in the sense that he had twice as many children as before, but in the sense that the ones who died and were in the "limbo of the holy fathers" were preserved from sinning and were not only restored to Job physically but shared his favored status with God as well.⁹⁹ Job's prosperity and long life signify also his good fortune in general. For Nicholas, this good fortune is not limited to material possessions, but it pertains also to the virtue and grace Job preserved that would lead him to eternal life. Job is an example of virtue, penitence, humility, and perseverance, and as such his story is a model for Christian holiness.

8.3 Conclusion

Nicholas's literal commentary on Job displays a strong interest in the intention of the human author, the genre of the text, authoritative interpretations—especially that of Thomas Aquinas—and a sympathetic view of Job. Nicholas

97 "Quia nunc habeo de te cognitionem perfectiorem, sicut visa plenius cognoscuntur quam solum audita. Fuerat enim Iob plenius instructus de divina virtute per flagellationem, quia vexatio dat intellectum: et per revelationem et allocutionem divinam sibi factam, ut patet ex praedictis: et quia ad cognitionem pleniorum sequitur perfectior poenitentia de commissis. Ideo subit Iob: Idcirco ipse me reprehendo, et ago poenitentiam in favilla et cinere" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 407).

98 See Job 42:10–16.

99 "Ideo quia pueri Iob reservabantur in limbo sanctorum patrum cum ipso victuri in aeternum, sic intelligitur proles eius duplicata sicut et alia" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 411).

believes that the book of Job is not, as Thomas asserts, about God's providence in general, a position on which Job and his friends agree, but rather it is more specifically about why providence allows good things to happen to the wicked and evil things to happen to the just. Nicholas's belief that the genre of the text is a debate allows him to juxtapose his position with that of Thomas on the grounds that the text must be about a disagreement, not about positions on which Job and his friends agree. There are passages in the commentary that follow Rashi and Gregory the Great, but more frequently Nicholas follows Thomas Aquinas. It is noteworthy that there are several lengthy passages in Nicholas's commentary that are taken from Thomas's commentary verbatim but without attribution, although when Nicholas disagrees with Thomas, the latter is mentioned by name.¹⁰⁰

Nicholas generally finds ways to emphasize Job's righteousness even when there is evidence to the contrary. Job's sadness and anger, his complaining and self-justification can be interpreted as manifesting Job's guilt in some way, but Nicholas tends to see Job's sadness and anger as moderate and governed by reason, and he also believes that, while Job is not sinless, the affliction which he received was not proportionate to his sins. This belief not only allows Job's profession of innocence to make sense, but it is also allows Nicholas to advance his claim about the nature of the debate. The reason why Job's friends believe that Job is guilty is because they believe that temporal rewards and punishments are proportionate to just and unjust actions. With this supposition, there is no need to have rewards and punishments in the afterlife. Since Job is innocent, in Nicholas's view, or at least he had not merited the affliction he suffered, there must be another reason why God allowed these sufferings, namely so that Job could merit rewards in the afterlife.

Nicholas believes that this interpretation of Job is warranted by God's *determinatio*, in which God accuses Job's friends and sides with him instead, rewarding him greatly. If Job is guilty of anything, it is the scandal occasioned by his desire to debate with God and his failure to appreciate God's sovereignty and transcendence. If it is true that Job's sins did not merit such affliction, Job's profession of innocence, which is true, should not be articulated in such a way as to impugn God's righteousness. The reason why God

100 This method is different from that of Peter of John Olivi, who in his Job commentary, follows Thomas closely in many places but almost never cites him explicitly. See the introduction to *Petri Iohannis Olivi Postilla super Iob*, (ed.) Alain Boureau, CCCM 275 (Turnhout, 2015), vii–viii.

sided with Job in His *determinatio* is that while Job's friends were incorrect in their beliefs about God's justice and the afterlife, Job spoke truthfully even if it may have caused scandal to his friends. Job's honesty and innocence, in addition to the virtues he displayed, are why God determines the debate in Job's favor.

Job in the German Reformation

Ronald K. Rittgers

9.1 Introduction

It is surprising how little scholarship there is on the interpretation of Job in the German Reformation. Although a number of Protestant theologians and pastors in the German lands produced works that dealt with Job,¹ we have nothing like Susan Schreiner's masterful analysis of Calvin's sermons on the Old Testament saint, which were preached in Geneva.² In fact, there are no monographic treatments of Job in the German Reformation. David Clines, an Old Testament scholar and Job specialist,³ has briefly examined how Job functioned in Luther's spirituality,⁴ and while his article contains helpful information, it is also limited by his lack of familiarity with modern Luther Studies.⁵

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- 1 In this chapter I use the term "Germany" to refer not to the post-Napoleonic country, but to the Holy Roman Empire (of the German Nation), which basically corresponded to "the German lands," that is, the German-speaking areas of early modern Europe, including Bohemia and, in some cases, portions of the Baltics. I use the term "the German lands" as a synonym for "Germany" throughout to underscore this usage.
 - 2 Susan E. Schreiner, *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found? Calvin's Exegesis of Job from the Medieval and Modern Perspectives* (Chicago, 1994).
 - 3 Clines is Emeritus Professor of Biblical Studies at the University of Sheffield. He is the author of a three-volume commentary on Job in the Word Biblical Commentary Series: vol. 1, Chs. 1–20 (Waco, TX, 1989); vol. 2, Chs. 21–37 (Nashville, 2006); vol. 3, Chs. 38–42 (Nashville, 2011). Volumes 1 and 2 appeared after his article on Job in the Reformation cited in n. 4 below.
 - 4 David J.A. Clines, "Job and the Spirituality of the Reformation," in *The Bible, The Reformation and the Church: Essays in Honour of James Atkinson*, (ed.) W.P. Stephens (Sheffield, 1995), 49–72. Reprinted under the same title in a slightly altered version in David J.A. Clines, *Interested Parties: The Ideology of Writers and Readers of the Hebrew Bible* (Sheffield, 1995), 145–71. The article examines Luther and Calvin only. The treatment of Luther may be found on 156–62. (I will be citing from the version in *Interested Parties*.)
 - 5 Aside from a single reference to Heiko Oberman, Clines cites none of the most important Luther scholars of the mid-1990s and also appears to rely exclusively on the English translation of a portion of Luther's writings provided in *Luther's Works, American Edition*, (eds.) J. Pelikan and H.T. Lehmann, 55 vols. (St. Louis and Philadelphia, 1955; hereafter LW). He treats Luther and his theology as monolithic, rather than allowing for change over time, and thus fails to detect differences in the way Luther understood Job at different stages of his career. I discuss these differences below.

To my knowledge, Clines's article is the only treatment we have of Job in the German Reformation.⁶ The task of this chapter is to begin to remedy this situation by offering an informed analysis of how several Protestant theologians and pastors interpreted the book of Job in the 16th-century German lands. While the Protestant Reformation in Germany was a multi-confessional affair, I will be focusing especially on extant Lutheran sources, as they are the most plentiful. Sixteenth-century Reformed Protestant, Radical (i.e., Anabaptist and Spiritualist), and Catholic sources will be mentioned in passing, while works produced by evangelical Christians who were especially sympathetic to Luther will receive the lion's share of attention.⁷

9.2 The Larger Context

The interpretation of Job in the German Reformation must be understood within the context of several larger historical trends and movements that significantly informed and shaped it. The most obvious of these is the centuries-long tradition of Job exegesis in Latin Christianity that includes works of the patristic era, such as Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, and works of the medieval era, such as Thomas Aquinas's *Expositio super Iob ad litteram*. Because the present volume deals extensively with this tradition, something that Schreiner does as well, I will assume this tradition but not address it directly; rather, I will focus on the late medieval and Reformation contexts of Protestant interpretations of Job. These contexts are the most important for the sources examined in this chapter, for most Protestant treatments of Job seldom refer to patristic sources and almost never to medieval ones: Tertullian, Origen, and Gregory appear here and there; Thomas, not at all.

The evangelical engagement with Job was part of the Protestant *sola scriptura* campaign and its attempt to replace alleged human doctrines and rituals

6 It should be noted that Johann Anselm Steiger of Hamburg University is currently working on a project that examines the reception of Job in the 16th and 17th centuries, but he has not published anything on the topic yet. On the reception of Job in the 17th century, see Jens Wolff, "Geplagter Hiob. Johann Balthasar Schupp als theologus experientiae," in *Hamburg. Metropolregion zwischen Früher Neuzeit und Aufklärung*, (eds.) Johann Anselm Steiger and Sandra Richter, *Texte und Studien zu Zentren der Kultur in der europäischen Neuzeit*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 2012), 157–72. I am grateful to Johann Anselm Steiger for this reference.

7 Protestants of all stripes referred to themselves as "evangelical Christians," that is, those who were committed to the *euangelium* or the gospel. I use evangelical as a synonym for Protestant throughout, although I primarily have in mind Wittenberg evangelicals or Lutherans in this chapter.

with ones founded on Scripture alone. The problem with the Roman church, Protestants argued, is that it relied too much on human reason and not enough on the Word of God. The *sola scriptura* campaign was influenced by Renaissance humanism and its desire to reform church and society by returning to the original sources of the Christian faith, especially the Bible and the Church Fathers. Many evangelical theologians—Luther included—received humanistic training and adopted the Renaissance belief that the present age was separated from a pristine era of authentic Christianity by centuries of darkness. This darkness, which was caused by human sin and ignorance, could only be overcome by proper study—especially of ancient languages and texts—and moral reform. Protestant theologians did not agree with Renaissance humanism on every point, especially its emphasis on limited human free will in spiritual matters, as Luther’s famous debate with Erasmus clearly demonstrated, but they did value the movement’s emphasis on Scripture, which they took to a rather radical end. Thus, when Protestants turned to Job, they did so in order to combat man-made religion with sacred writ. They interpreted the figure of Job as a member of God’s elect who was involved in a similar struggle against *Menschenlehre* and its idolatrous reliance on human reason.

The interpretation of Job in the German Reformation must also be understood within the context of what Berndt Hamm has called *Frömmigkeitstheologie* (literally, piety-theology), a trend in theology that began in the later Middle Ages and greatly influenced Luther and other Protestant reformers in the German lands. As one historian has explained, *Frömmigkeitstheologie* is Hamm’s “designation for a genre of late-medieval writing and praxis, much of it derived from and directed toward pastoral care, which was especially concerned with the pursuit of an authentic Christian life as defined by the values and institutions of the day.”⁸ *Frömmigkeitstheologie* was a form of practical or pastoral theology that aimed primarily at spiritual edification and comfort, not speculation.⁹ It was an attempt on the part of some of the age’s leading pastors and theologians to respond to the unique anxieties and spiritual needs of the later Middle Ages by formulating an approach to pastoral care that stressed divine mercy and consolation. Central to the concept of *Frömmigkeitstheologie*

8 See Robert J. Bast, (ed.), *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays by Berndt Hamm* (Leiden, 2004), xv. For Hamm’s own (translated) description of *Frömmigkeitstheologie*, see 18–24. See also Berndt Hamm, “Was ist Frömmigkeitstheologie? Überlegungen zum 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Praxis Pietatis: Beiträge zu Theologie und Frömmigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit. Wolfgang Sommer zum 60. Geburtstag*, (eds.) Hans-Jörg Nieden and Marcel Nieden (Stuttgart, 1999), 9–46.

9 Bast, *The Reformation of Faith*, 18–19.

is Hamm's conviction that late medieval Christianity was a religion of grace and not simply of mere external observance and good works, as traditional Protestant interpretations have asserted.¹⁰ As with the humanist emphasis on Scripture, early Protestants were greatly influenced by this stress on grace but also took it in a revolutionary direction.

One must remember that in the later Middle Ages and Reformation there were no courses in pastoral theology for prospective priests and pastors, and the majority of clergymen did not study at a university in any case, something that only began to change in significant ways in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Clergymen learned the art of pastoral care through an informal apprentice system.¹¹ Concerned theologians attempted to improve the quality of this informal training through their preaching, teaching, and writing, in which they espoused a deeply affective Christianity that spoke to the practical and felt needs of the clergy and laity alike. These proponents of *Frömmigkeitstheologie* included some of the age's leading churchmen (and churchwomen); one of their favorite subjects was Job.

The famous Franciscan preacher Marquard of Lindau (d. 1392) produced a treatise on Job (late 14th century) that appeared in both Latin and German, the former being a work of moral theology, the latter, a work of devotion and consolation.¹² The German version is replete with images and language borrowed from late medieval German mysticism, especially the emphasis that this movement placed on suffering as a gift that prepared the soul for union with God through the cultivation of *Gelassenheit*, variously translated as "detachment" or "releasement."¹³ Marquard asserts that Job's name means "godlident," or one who is prepared to suffer willingly and patiently whatever God ordains for him.¹⁴ Job's friends did not understand that suffering was "the highest gift of all" (*die aller ho[e]chsten gab*), which God only gives to his special friends; therefore, they interpreted Job's suffering wrongly as a punishment for sin.¹⁵

10 See especially, Berndt Hamm, *Religiosität im späten Mittelalter. Spannungspole, Neuaufbrüche, Normierungen*, (eds.) Reinhold Friedrich and Wolfgang Simon, (Tübingen, 2011), 34–36 and 547–59.

11 On the training of late medieval clergy, see Ronald K. Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering: Pastoral Theology and Lay Piety in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2012), 32–36. On the training of Protestant clergy, see 226–29.

12 Eckhart Greifenstein, (ed.), *Der Hiob-Traktat des Marquard von Lindau. Überlieferung, Untersuchung und kritische Textausgabe* (Munich, 1979), 98.

13 For a recent discussion of the place of suffering in late medieval German mysticism, see Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 63–83.

14 Greifenstein, *Der Hiob-Traktat*, 171.28.

15 *Ibid.*, 187.417–20.

According to Marquard, suffering is the “noble clothing” (*edel kleit*) with which the Father clothed the Son, and therefore is it a great honor to receive such a garment from God.¹⁶ Suffering produced virtue in Job and provided him with an opportunity to do penance for his sin.¹⁷ But most of all, it caused Job to turn from every creaturely comfort and consolation to God alone for solace. Marquard concludes his treatise by praying that God will bring about “this life of detachment” (*diß gelassen leben*) in him and his readers.¹⁸

Jean Gerson (1363–1429), Chancellor of the University of Paris and arguably the most important theologian and reformer of the opening decades of the 15th century, played a central role in the development of late medieval *Frömmigkeitstheologie*.¹⁹ In his influential *Consolation of Theology* (1418), Job is held up as a model of true Christian patience and devotion time and again. Gerson has one of the characters in the dialogue that comprises this work share the following poem about the Old Testament saint with a despondent Christian.

Job was a better man than those of his day;
 He shone—more blessed in many offspring,
 Guileless, trembling before you, most perfect God.
 Upright, faithful, not conscious of any crime.
 Surpassing nations from the east in great
 Treasures, as in his extensive fleecy herds,
 In oxen, dromedaries, asses fit
 For labor. And there was a great retinue
 Who had to serve him in a splendid way.

This man did Satan seek to test with harsh
 Blows. (He is not able otherwise to
 Employ his spiteful powers anywhere
 Unless the Lord most high grant him the right.)
 So once the reins were loosed, more furiously
 He brought everything straightaway to collapse.
 While Job's seven sons and their three sisters
 Ate and drank, he destroyed them and their house
 To its foundations with a wrenching whirlwind.

16 Ibid., 198.639–51.

17 Ibid., 199.655–58.

18 Ibid., 213.975–76.

19 See Bast, *The Reformation of Faith*, 19.

But Job was more enduring than live stone,
 More lasting than the strength of tempered steel,
 His hope was fixed on a rock on high; soon he
 Turned his eyes to God and humbly implored,
 Repaying him thanks as a religious man
 And said, "If you want to destroy what you gave,
 O God, your will be done as is your right."

From this we are taught through every hardship
 To whom poor wretches fittingly should run,
 Who should be beseeched, namely, God alone.

Grim tribulation purges the guilty,
 It strengthens and tests innocent people
 And their mind, rightly subdued, speaks thus:
 "If you seek back what you bestowed, Father,
 With thanks I freely return it—take it.
 If you wish to remove it by theft or fire
 Or sword, I leave it, then you'll accept it
 More pleased than if I gave it to the poor.
 If I don't listen enough when you call,
 Force me to. Rip my clothing, drag me off
 At last as you wish, until I belong to you."²⁰

Gerson believed that this experience of being dragged off by God to God was the necessary precursor to the reception of divine consolation, a message that would have a profound influence on the young Luther.²¹

Johannes von Staupitz (ca. 1460–1524), Luther's mentor and the Vicar General of the Observant Augustinians in Germany, was another central figure in the development of late medieval *Frömmigkeitstheologie*,²² and he too produced works that dealt with Job. His *Tübingen Sermons* (1497–98), the earliest extant work that we have from him, is a collection of Latin homilies on

20 *Jean Gerson: The Consolation of Theology, De Consolatione Theologiae*, trans. Clyde Lee Miller, Janus Series (New York, 1998), 219.

21 See Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation, 1483–1521*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Philadelphia, 1985), 81–82, and Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther* (Darmstadt, 2006), 42.

22 Bast, *Reformation of Faith*, 19.

the opening two chapters of Job.²³ The anti-speculative (and anti-scholastic) character of *Frömmigkeitstheologie* is clearly evident in these sermons, as in Staupitz's humanistic training: he says that he will not engage in scholastic disputation about the text but will preach about it concisely (*punctatim*) from the pulpit.²⁴ Gerson figures prominently in these sermons, as do Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Gregory the Great, especially his *Moralia*. (Gerson also quoted liberally from Gregory.) Job emerges in these sermons as a Christ-figure who displayed true humility through what he suffered and who came to see the reality of divine grace in the midst of his ordeal. As Franz Posset has put it, "The Tübingen sermons reveal Staupitz most of all as one who preached the priority of God's grace and mercy."²⁵ Humility and the priority of divine grace in all things, especially salvation—these were the guiding themes of Staupitz's early engagement with Job, indeed, of his whole theology, as was his biblical humanism. The early Luther imbibed these themes and this method directly from Staupitz (among others).

Job also figures prominently in a series of Lenten sermons that Staupitz preached in Salzburg in 1520.²⁶ The sermons focused on the Passion of Christ and Staupitz again presented "the patient Saint Job" as a figure of "the patient God" (i.e., Christ),²⁷ for like Christ, Job was forsaken by his friends and his God. Staupitz takes Job's statement of complete subjection to the divine will in 1:21—"The Lord has given it, He has also taken it again, blessed be the name of the Lord"—as being indicative of his character throughout the book.²⁸ Thus, when Job curses his birth (3:3), this was not a sin, "for there he had the repentance and sorrow (that were) too perfect for offending God with it (his cursing)."²⁹ Similarly to Christ on the Mount of Olives, his soul was overwhelmed to the point of death, and he expressed this inner anguish and sorrow by wishing for his own annihilation. With Christ, Job learned to seek God's presence especially in the midst of God's seeming absence and thus to embrace suffering

23 For a critical edition of the sermons, see Lothar Graf zu Dohna and Richard Wetzel, (eds.), *Johann von Staupitz. Sämtliche Schriften. Abhandlungen, Predigten, Zeugnisse*, vol. 1: Lateinische Schriften, Part 1, Tübinger Predigten, (ed.) Richard Wetzel (Berlin, 1987).

24 *Ibid.*, 46.15–18.

25 Franz Posset, *The Front-Runner of the Catholic Reformation: The Life and Works of Johann von Staupitz* (Aldershot, Eng., 2003), 48.

26 The only published version of these sermons is the translation provided by Rudolf K. Markwald entitled *A Mystic's Passion: The Spirituality of Johannes von Staupitz in His 1520 Lenten Sermons* (New York, 1989).

27 *Ibid.*, 30 and 71.

28 *Ibid.*, 36–37.

29 *Ibid.*, 37.

as something very sweet and valuable. Staupitz has the crucified Christ say to the women who wept for him, "You need not weep for me, for I suffer an awful pleasant suffering"³⁰ As in the earlier Tübingen sermons, here Staupitz argues that the great benefit of suffering is that it produces humility, passivity, patience, and faith in the Christian—one becomes a child of God through faith.³¹ Suffering teaches the Christian to ascribe every good—especially good works and salvation—to divine grace and every evil to himself. Reflecting on the penitent thief on the cross, Staupitz writes, "This is a comfort for us: if we condemn ourselves, then we shall never more be condemned, no matter how many sins we have committed."³² This so-called humility theology made a deep impression on the young Luther.³³

Many of the themes that we have briefly examined in Marquard, Gerson, and Staupitz recurred in the treatments of Job in the German Reformation, although almost always without direct reference to these figures. The evangelical treatments of Job must be seen as examples of what one might call Reformation or Protestant *Frömmigkeitstheologie*.³⁴ They were deeply pastoral in nature, concerned primarily with the consolation of the afflicted Christian. The Protestant treatments of Job shared many of the abiding concerns that informed late medieval *Frömmigkeitstheologie* and also borrowed a number of approaches and remedies found in this literature; but they also sought to do something new.

The final larger context within which one must understand the evangelical engagement with Job is what I have elsewhere referred to as the "reformation of suffering."³⁵ The Protestant interpretation of Job was part of a larger evangelical effort to change rather dramatically the way Christians understood and sought to cope with the afflictions of body and soul that were so much part of late medieval and early modern existence. Despite the important lines of continuity that existed between late medieval and Reformation *Frömmigkeitstheologie*, there were even more important lines of discontinuity that grew directly out of evangelical biblicism and soteriology. Traditional consolation that stressed the role of saints, purgatory, penance, certain sacraments, and all sacramentals were utterly rejected by Protestant theologians,

30 Ibid., 77.

31 Ibid., 134.

32 Ibid., 137.

33 See the treatment of humility in Luther's theology throughout Chapters 4 and 5 of Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*.

34 Ibid., 6.

35 See Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, *passim*.

who found them to be pagan in origin and therefore idolatrous. Justification by faith changed the way Protestants viewed suffering. As we will see, evangelical theologians enlisted Job to assist them in the reformation of suffering that they were undertaking in the German lands, a crucial part of the larger reformation of church and society that they believed God was accomplishing through them.

9.3 The Protestant Sources

Judging by the number of extant editions,³⁶ the most important Lutheran treatments of Job in the German Reformation were the commentaries prepared by the Schwäbisch Hall and later Württemberg reformer Johannes Brenz (1499–1570), and the Freiberg (in Saxony) pastor and theologian Hieronymus Weller (1499–1572). Brenz's Latin commentary first appeared in 1527 and is extant in five editions,³⁷ while a German translation that first appeared in 1530 is extant in two editions.³⁸ Weller's German exposition of Job 1–12

36 For publication statistics on the number of extant editions from the 16th century, I have relied on the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, (ed.) Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in München in partnership with the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbuettel, 25 vols. (Stuttgart, 1983–2000; Available online at <https://opac.bib-bvb.de/InfoGuideClient.fasttestsis/start.do?SearchProfile=VD16&SearchType=2>; hereafter VD16). Although the VD16 is the most reliable tool we have for determining numbers of extant editions, it is by no means exhaustive in its listings. It was originally based on the holdings of two prominent libraries—the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbuettel and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich—and is therefore being continuously updated as editions of works are found in other libraries. The publication statistics I provide throughout should be taken as tentative estimates, not as hard and fast totals.

37 Title: *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*. The editions from 1527, 1529, and 1531 are available online via the relevant search on the VD16 website.

38 Title: *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen im Latein vnnnd yetzt Verdeutscht (durch Symon Haferitz)*. The 1530 and 1538 editions are available online via the relevant search on the VD16 website. The editions were commissioned by Johannes Agricola of Eisleben, who provided a preface to both editions and included an early version of Luther's preface to Job at the end of the translated commentary. According to Agricola, the translator, Simon Haferitz, was located in Clostermansfeld, although Agricola does not indicate what office or post he held in the small town. The best sources of information about Haferitz are the *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Schriften*, 73 vols. (Weimar, 1883–; hereafter WA); and *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Briefwechsel*,

(Part 1) first appeared in 1563,³⁹ while his exposition of Job 13–22 (Part 2) was first published in 1565.⁴⁰ Part 1 is extant in five editions, Part 2, in one edition. Luther's colleague and close friend in Wittenberg, Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558), also produced a brief Latin exposition of Job in 1526 that is extant in three editions.⁴¹ The most important Reformed Protestant treatment of Job in the German lands, apart from Calvin's sermons, which were translated into German from the French and published in 1587/88,⁴² was the sermon collection of the Zurich pastor and theologian Ludwig Lavater (1527–1586) that appeared in 1582; it is extant in one edition.⁴³ We also have a 1539 sermon on Job by the Radical Reformer Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, although it contains little of the Spiritualism that received such stern reproof from Luther.⁴⁴ There are additional important Lutheran treatments of Job in Protestant commentaries on Scripture, including those by the Nuremberg preacher

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- 18 vols. (Weimar, 1930–1948; hereafter WABr). See especially WA 15: 202, 232, 239 (n. 1); WABr 6: 138 (n. 5), no. 1836; WABr 6: 467 (n. 1), no. 2020; WABr 6: 470, no. 2022.
- 39 Title: *Die ersten XII. Capitel des buchs Hiob/ Auszgeleget durch Hieronymum Weller, der Heiligen Schrift Doctorn. In diesen letzten vnd gefeherlichen zeiten, Allen betrubten Hertzen Nutzlichen vnd Trostlichen zu lesen.* A 1592 edition is available on microfiche at The Thrivent Reformation Research Program housed at Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota. Call number: Wf C 30 4° Helmst. (1). The title of this edition is *Das Buch Hiob, Auff's grundlichste vnd herlichste erklet, vnd ausgelegt, vom Ersten bis auff das zwey vnd zwenzigste Capit. vnd in zwey vnterscheidliche Teil gefasset durch Hieronymum Weller, der Heiligen Schrift Doctorn. In diesen letzten vnd gefeherlichen zeiten, Allen betrubten Hertzen Nutzlichen vnd Trostlichen zu lesen. Der erste Teil.*
- 40 Title: *Der ander Theyl des Buchs Hiob darinnen begriffen ist die Auszlegung vom dreyzehenden Capitel an bisz ins zwey vnnnd zweintzigste. Erkleret vnd Aufzgeleget durch D. Hieronymum Weller.* The 1565 edition is available online via the relevant search on the VD16 website.
- 41 Title: *Ioan. Bvgenhagii Pomerani In Hiob Annotationes.* Available on microfiche at The Thrivent Reformation Research Program housed at Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota. Call number: IDC TH-1, no. 049.
- 42 Title: *Predigten H. IOHANNIS CALVINI vber das buch Job: Wie dieselbe auß seinem mund durch befelch eines ehnsamen Rahts zu Genff seind verzeichnet worden. Der erste (-vierdte) Theil. Auß dem Frantzö[e]sischen trewlich verteutschet.* It is available online via the relevant search on the VD16 website.
- 43 Title: *IOB. Das Bu[o]ch Job außgeleget vnnnd erkla[e]ret inn CXXI. Predigen/ durch Ludwigen Lauater.* Available online via the relevant search on the VD16 website.
- 44 Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, *Erlüerung diser reed Iob VII. welcher hinunder insz grab faart der kumpt nit widerumb heruff: Item Von der künfftigen und nüwen welt* (1539). Available online via the relevant search on the VD16 website.

Wenzeslaus Linck (1482–1547) (1545, one extant edition),⁴⁵ and the Mansfeld superintendent Erasmus Sarcerius (1501–1559) (1558, two extant editions).⁴⁶ Finally, one also finds references to Job in Lutheran church orders, including the influential 1533 Brandenburg-Nuremberg Church Order, which was authored by Johannes Brenz and the Nuremberg preacher Andreas Osiander (1498–1552).⁴⁷

But the place to begin our discussion of the interpretation of Job among 16th-century Protestants is with Luther, for although he authored no formal treatise on the Old Testament saint, the Wittenberg reformer did reference Job frequently in his many influential printed works. Luther also provided a fresh German translation of Job as part his translation of the Bible and thus established the vernacular text that the majority of Lutheran pastors and theologians would use in the 16th century. Following the analysis of Luther, we will proceed chronologically, going author by author, noting the unique contributions of each figure. Because so little has been written about the interpretation of Job in the German Reformation, my hope is that this approach, while somewhat pedestrian, will prove helpful in introducing the reader to the tradition of Job-exegesis among 16th-century German-speaking Protestants.

9.4 Luther on Job

In his brief treatment of the role of Job in Luther's spirituality, Clines has shown how the Wittenberg reformer viewed the Old Testament saint as a model evangelical Christian. In Luther's hands, Job becomes an exemplar of the defining themes of the reformer's theology and understanding of the Christian life: he is both sinner and saint (*simul justus et peccator*); he affirms human depravity and human moral/spiritual impotence; he teaches (and experiences) the importance and unavoidability of *Anfechtungen*—trials, or better, assaults—in the Christian life; he underscores the key role of the devil in these assaults; he affirms the futility of good works in salvation, the importance of humility in the Christian life, and, especially, the centrality of faith. Clines asserts,

45 Title: *Das ander theyl des alten Testaments. Annotation Doctoris Wentzeszlai Linnk*. Available online via the relevant search on the VD16 website.

46 Title: *Summarien vnd kurtzer Jnhalt, sampt einer zimlichen vnd völligen Auslegung. Vber alle Capitel, aller Biblischen Bücher, des Alten vnd newen Testaments / Durch Erasmus Sarcerium*. The 1558 edition is available online at <http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke/b-122-2f-helmst-2>.

47 See discussion below.

“in many ways Luther’s Job is a Luther clone, a model of the Reformer’s own self-image.”⁴⁸

This is certainly the case, and Clines provides illuminating examples from Luther’s works to illustrate each theme. Especially helpful is his discussion of how Luther used Job to argue for human depravity and the impossibility of good works contributing to salvation. In his early lectures on the Psalms (1513–1515), Luther makes an interesting comment on Ps. 69:16 (Vulgate 68:17): “Hear me, O Lord, for Thy mercy is kind” (*exaudi me Domine quoniam benigna est misericordia tua*). Among other things, the comment reveals how deeply the early Luther had imbibed late medieval humility-theology from Staupitz and others:

For it is not possible to make the mercy of God large and good, unless a person makes his miseries large and evil or recognizes them to be such. To make God’s mercy great is not, as is commonly supposed, to think that God considers sins as small or that He does not punish them Hence our total concern must be to magnify and aggravate our sins and thus always to accuse them more and more, and earnestly judge and condemn them. The more deeply a person has condemned himself and magnified his sins, the more is he fit for the mercy and grace of God. This is what the apostle has forbidden, that we should please ourselves in even one point (Rom. 15:1), but that we should above all and in all things be displeased and thus with Job fear all our works (Job 9:28). For he who is pleased with himself cannot stand in the fear of God and be without presumption. But what is worse than being without fear? Therefore every concern must be to strive for the supreme displeasure with ourselves, even in our good things.⁴⁹

Clines explains, “This last text (9.28) is an especially powerful one for Luther. The Hebrew had read simply, ‘I fear all my pains,’ that is, no doubt, in the context, pain yet to come; but the Vulgate has *verebar omnia opera mea*, ‘I feared all my works’—which Luther evidently reveled in as an expression of the dangers of works-righteousness, and quoted it over and over again.”⁵⁰

48 Clines, “Job and the Spirituality of the Reformation,” 156. Clines summarizes Luther’s interpretation of Job as follows: “For Luther, then, Job is nothing other than a representative believer, justified in the sight of God while still conscious of his own eradicable sinfulness, perpetually subject to onslaughts of the devil that nevertheless in some way serve the purposes of God, and prey to temptations of impatience and self-righteousness. As the site of inner conflict, Job models Luther’s own experience of tension and paradox.” See 162.

49 WA 3:429.1–15; LW 10: 368. I cite from the LW here and throughout.

50 Clines, “Job and the Spirituality of the Reformation,” 157.

Despite such helpful explanations, Clines's discussion of Luther requires further nuancing at some points and considerable deepening at others. There are also important themes in Luther's engagement with Job that Clines does not mention at all. For example, many Luther scholars maintain that the Wittenberg reformer eventually departed from late medieval humility theology, according to which expressions of self-accusation had salvific value. Humility was still important in Luther's mature theology, but it no longer contributed to a human being's salvation.⁵¹ Luther's conception of humility and its soteriological value was not static; rather, it was dynamic, changing over the course of his career. Thus, when he extols Job's humility in the early Psalm lectures, which he frequently does, we must understand that Job is playing a role in Luther's theology and spirituality that he would not play in the future. Further nuancing is required in our understanding of this instance of Luther's reception of Job.

There is also much more to say about Luther's use of Job to underscore the frailty and depravity of human nature and its mortal struggle with Satan. In his lectures on Romans (1515–1516), Luther seeks to console Christians by arguing that when Job protests against God's treatment of him (cf. 7:17, 19; 10:18; 13:25), this is an example of the devil "violently extorting" blasphemy from him against his will and therefore God did not count it as a sin.⁵² Luther makes the same point in his Galatians lectures (1531/1535): Job was "bewitched" by the devil when God removed his hand from him; he could do no other than blaspheme.⁵³ Apart from the protective and undergirding presence of God, human nature is bound to sin; this is Luther's point, one he makes again in the Galatians lectures, using Job as an example of how the sinful human nature can "force" even the Christian to blaspheme.⁵⁴ It is interesting to observe in this context that Luther could also conceive of Christ's human nature being forced to speak out against God, although not by sin or the demands of the law, but simply because of the frailty of the postlapsarian human nature that he assumed in the Incarnation and the severity of his sufferings. In Luther's second set of lectures on the Psalms (1519–1521), he interprets Christ's cry of dereliction from the cross—"My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?"—not as blasphemy but as the result of his human nature being overwhelmed by his suffering.⁵⁵ Luther compares this overwhelming of Christ's weak human nature to a wooden beam that breaks when too much weight is put on it—it

51 See Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 87–100, 115–16.

52 WA 56: 401.7–28; LW 25: 391.

53 WA 40/2: 318b.26–31; LW 26: 193–94.

54 WA 40/2: 523b.31–524b.31; LW 26: 340–41.

55 WA 5: 605.4.

breaks by way of necessity, not out of its own fault.⁵⁶ Apart from God, human nature—even Christ’s human nature—was vulnerable and frail, something that Luther thought Job exemplified especially well.

There are a number of other important uses to which Luther put Job that Clines did not explore in his article. The Wittenberg reformer makes a great deal of the fact that Job lived before the Mosaic law and requirement of circumcision, and yet God declared him to be *simplex et rectus* (1:8), pure and upright. For Luther, Job provides a clear example of how one can be righteous apart from the law through faith—he is a proto-Protestant who sought to be justified not through good works but through belief in God’s promises. In his lectures on Genesis (1535–1545), Luther asserts that though Job was an uncircumcised non-Jew, he became a member of God’s covenant people—indeed, of the church—through faith. The Gentile Job had Abraham as his father because he emulated the patriarch’s faith.⁵⁷

Luther thought that Job supported his evangelical soteriology in another way. The reformer took Job’s intercessory role for his friends (42:8) as prefiguration of how Christ would save humanity through his alien righteousness, that is, through the way that Christ would freely give his righteousness to those who believed in him, thus causing them to be justified before God. Just as God accepted Job’s prayer for his friends and therefore did not punish them as they deserved, so too God accepted the Son’s sacrifice on behalf of fallen humanity and dealt with them in mercy and grace. Luther makes this comparison both in *The Heidelberg Disputation* (1518) and *The Explanations of the Ninety-Five Theses* (1518).⁵⁸ Staupitz had also treated Job as a Christ-figure, but not in the way Luther did: alien righteousness was Luther’s invention.

Luther also makes a great deal of how Job’s suffering illustrates a fact that was crucial to the reformer’s evangelical soteriology and pastoral theology: misfortune is not the result of sin, at least not for the righteous. Luther insisted that justification by faith freed a human being from all divine punishment for sin: Christ had taken the full punishment for sin upon himself, therefore those who placed their faith in him could be assured that whatever misfortune they experienced was not owing to divine wrath. God still sent suffering to the godly, but not as a penalty for sin; rather, it was to test and purify their faith. After stating that Job was God-fearing and yet suffered, Luther observes in his lectures on Genesis:

56 WA 5: 605.25–28.

57 WA 42: 606.26–29, 623.27–34; LW 3: 81, 106.

58 *Heidelberg Disputation*: WA 1: 370.26–29; LW 31: 64. *Explanations*: WA 1: 612.40–613.20; LW 31: 225.

It tends to instruct and comfort us when we learn that God often causes even the innocent to experience the most serious misfortunes and punishments, merely in order to test them. When faint hearts feel the punishments, they immediately think of sin, and believe that these are punishments for sin. But one must maintain that the godly experience many evils, solely in order that they may be tested.⁵⁹

Later in the same lectures Luther makes a similar point:

For God does not afflict the godly; He permits the devil to do this, as we see in the case of Job, whose children are killed by fire and his cattle by storms, not because God was angry with him, but because Satan was.

Therefore when a plague or other misfortunes assail us, we, too, should say that these are the works of Satan, that Satan is raging and is angry, but that God is merciful and is kindly disposed toward us because we believe in His Son.⁶⁰

Luther thought that belief in Christ should change the way evangelical Christians interpreted their suffering; it was supposed to help them see it not as a punishment for sin but as a refinement of faith.

Justification by faith was also supposed to enable evangelical Christians to believe that God was still good and merciful when their experience of suffering indicated otherwise, something that Luther believed was essential in the consolation of troubled consciences. In his preface to the book of Job (1524/1545), Luther maintains that when God withdraws from Job, the Old Testament saint shows what kind of thoughts even a holy man can have, again, owing to the weakness of human nature:

He thinks that God is not God, but only a judge and wrathful tyrant, who storms ahead and cares nothing about the goodness of a person's life. This is the finest part of this book. It is understood only by those who also experience and feel what it is to suffer the wrath and judgment of God, and to have his grace hidden.⁶¹

The only way such people could maintain their confidence in the goodness of God was through faith, as Luther indicated in his preface to Job. Luther

59 WA 42: 490.30–34; LW 2: 319.

60 WA 43: 64.11–16; LW 3: 264.

61 WADB 10/1: 5.24–28; LW 35: 253.

elsewhere referred to such faith as an art or craft (*kunst*), because it was difficult and required much time and practice to master.⁶² Faith had to learn to see God's goodness hidden under its opposite, suffering and affliction. In other words, faith had to learn the theology of the cross (*theologia crucis*), arguably the very heart of Luther's evangelical theology.⁶³ Luther was deeply impressed with the fact that God had chosen to reveal himself supremely through a crucified man, the exact opposite of where human beings would expect to find the Almighty. Luther thought that God had done this in order to crush human pride and to confound fallen human reason; he also thought that God continued to interact with human beings, Christians included, in this cruciform manner. In his lectures on Genesis, Luther presents Job as an example of the theology of the cross at work: Job felt utterly abandoned by God and yet was in fact held very close to God's heart. Similarly to Jacob and the Apostle Paul, Job learned to find divine blessing in seeming divine dereliction, and he did so through faith.⁶⁴

Luther also offers his own musings on the origins and authorship of Job. In the Genesis lectures he says that he used to think that Job was a descendent of Esau, but he now holds that the Old Testament saint was "a powerful and rich lord who occupied some part of Mesopotamia close to the Chaldeans and the Babylonians."⁶⁵ However, later in the same lectures he says that he will leave the issue of Job's origins undecided.⁶⁶ In a table talk from 1533, Luther shares his opinion that the book of Job does not record the actual words of Job, although he says that the events contained in the book did take place as written. He suggests that Solomon was familiar with the old and well-known story about Job and wrote it down in his own unique style. But Luther retreats from this possibility as well, and simply concludes, "Whoever wrote Job, it appears that he was a great theologian."⁶⁷

62 See WA 6: 208.10; *Luthers Werke in Auswahl*, sixth edition, (eds.) Otto Clemen, et al., with Albert Leitzmann, 8 vols. (Berlin, 1962–1967), 1: 233.5.

63 On the centrality of the theology of the cross to Luther's Reformation agenda, see Walther von Loewenich, *Luther's Theology of the Cross*, trans. Herbert J.A. Bouman (Minneapolis, 1976), 12–13, 166; and Alister McGrath, *Luther's Theology of the Cross: Martin Luther's Theological Breakthrough*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2011), 230. For a brief and helpful treatment of Luther's theology of the cross, see Robert Kolb, "Luther on the Theology of the Cross," *Lutheran Quarterly* 16 (2002): 443–66.

64 WA 44: 111.32–42; LW 6: 149–150.

65 WA 43: 269.27–29; LW 4: 185.

66 WA 44: 228.30–31; LW 6: 308.

67 *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Tischreden*, 6 vols. (Weimar, 1912–1921), 1: 206.37–207.9, no. 475; LW 54: 79–80.

This theologian's central task was to show that God sends misfortune even to the righteous and that he does so ultimately so that his name might be praised through purified faith, as in the case of the blind man in John 9—Luther makes a direct comparison between Job and the blind man in his preface to Job.⁶⁸ But, finally, the theologian sought to console God's people by demonstrating how even a holy man such as Job could stumble and fall in the midst of suffering. As Luther explains in his preface to Job, "But this is written for our comfort, that God allows even his great saints to falter, especially in adversity."⁶⁹ Job had to learn not to succumb to what Luther elsewhere calls "the devil's 'Why,'" that is, the devil's temptation to question the divine ordering of things and its seeming injustice. "Do not let the 'Why' get into your heart," is Luther's advice. "The devil is too powerful; you cannot cope with the situation."⁷⁰ Job gave in to this temptation and learned how powerless he truly was.

9.5 Johannes Brenz

Johannes Brenz provided the first major systematic treatment of Job in the evangelical movement; it was entitled *Job with the Commentaries of Johannes Brenz* (1527). Brenz was a student at the University of Heidelberg when he heard Luther at the famous Heidelberg Disputation (1518). He was immediately drawn to Luther's theology and soon became a strong adherent of his evangelical reforms. Brenz played a leading role in promoting evangelical Christianity in the imperial city of Schwäbisch Hall and would eventually become one of the most important Lutheran theologians of the early modern period, playing a decisive role in the spread and formal institutionalization of the Reformation in southern Germany.

Brenz's commentary on Job is quite a large work: 331 folio pages in the initial Latin edition, 277 in the first German translation. Both versions include a detailed index to assist readers in making use of the bulky volumes. Both also open with a preface on the traditional cult of the saints.⁷¹ Although Brenz can refer to Job as "Saint Job" (*Sanct Hiob*), his purpose in this preface is to demonstrate that Job was not, in fact, a saint, at least not in the traditional sense of the word. In his 1523 *Sermon on the Saints*, the Schwäbisch Hall reformer

68 WA 10/1: 5.5; LW 35: 251.

69 WA 10/1: 5.19–20; LW 35: 252.

70 Lectures on Isaiah (1527–1530): WA 31/2: 359.14, 361.21–23; LW 17: 125, 128.

71 Latin: *Annotationum in Hiob praefatio de sanctis, per Johannem Brentium*; German: *Von anbetten der Heyligen*.

had argued that the cult of the saints was pagan in origin and that it made pagans out of the Christians who participated in it, because it caused them to look to an unbiblical source of help when they suffered instead of instructing them to look to God alone.⁷² Brenz makes the same argument in his preface on the saints, although the preface is not simply a reproduction of the 1523 sermon. The Schwäbisch Hall preacher argues that the invocation of the saints is idolatrous, but he also insists that the saints are not to be despised; rather, they are to be emulated as examples of faith, love, and goodness.⁷³ Brenz also maintains that even the most saintly of Christians still sins and therefore is unworthy of being venerated or invoked for help: this is as true of Job as of any other alleged saint. Only faith and true doctrine make a human being holy, and even with both of these a saint can still disobey and even despise God, especially when God seems absent or full of wrath, something that Brenz says Job illustrates especially well.⁷⁴

Similarly to Luther, the Schwäbisch Hall reformer depicts Job as a proto-evangelical Christian because of the way he trusted God and looked to him for his righteousness (at least initially). Brenz asserts that Job, along with other Old Testament saints, understood the gospel inwardly in his heart before it was preached in the world; Job knew that true righteousness could only be received through faith.⁷⁵ This is why God praised him to Satan: not because of Job's own innocence but because of his faith.⁷⁶

Brenz also follows Luther in arguing that justification by faith should change the way Christians regard their suffering, one of the major themes of his commentary. When God sends adversity to Christians, he does so "without cause" (*sine causa*), that is, without the cause of the law and its punishments for those who disobey it. (Brenz is here reflecting on Job 2:3, where God tells Satan that Satan has incited him to afflict Job "without cause.") The purpose of such adversity is not to punish for sin, for the penalty of sin has been fully paid by Christ, whose righteousness the Christian possesses through faith. Job did not live under the law, indeed, he could not have because the law had not

72 For a brief treatment of this sermon, see Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 144.

73 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij* (1529), no. 24 (fol. 2 v)-no. 25 (fol. 3 r); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen* (1530), no. 33 (fol. 6 r). (Here and throughout, where an electronic source is used, the first number given is the electronic image number, while the second number in parentheses is the folio number.)

74 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 35 (fol. 3 r)-no. 36 (fol. 3 v); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 34 (fol. 6 v)-no. 36 (fol. 7 v).

75 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 222 (fol. 100 v); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 222 (fol. 100 v) [sic].

76 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 36 (fol. 8 v); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 48 (fol. 13 v)-no. 49 (fol. 14 r).

yet been given; he lived under the (proto-)gospel, which was the source of his innocence.⁷⁷ The Schwäbisch Hall reformer makes the same point later in the commentary by drawing a lesson from the penitent criminal who was crucified with Christ. Before he professed faith in Christ his cross was simply a curse under the law, but after he believed his cross became blessed (*ex patibulo maledicto, crux sit benedicta*), because it tested his faith.⁷⁸ As Brenz put it still later in the commentary:

I have already explained why God crucifies the godly (*crucifigat pios*) after they have been justified by faith: not in order to punish ungodliness, for it has already been swallowed up by faith (*iam fide absorbtam*), but, partly, so that faith may be tested; partly, so that a person learns to know himself through the affliction; [and] partly, so that God may be glorified.⁷⁹

Whereas Staupitz interpreted the penitent criminal as a model of self-accusation and humility, Brenz depicts him as a model of faith and the freedom that is provided from divine accusation. Similarly to Luther, Brenz insists that suffering is not and cannot be a punishment for sin for those who have been justified by faith. He thinks that such an explanation for suffering has been rendered impossible by the gospel.

The Schwäbisch Hall reformer especially emphasizes the way that suffering teaches the Christian to know himself (*seipsum ... agnoscere*), most notably his utter spiritual impotence and poverty apart from God's sustaining presence. Job was initially able to bear his suffering patiently because he still believed that God was his loving Father who would never completely destroy him. But when God removed his presence and held before Job the judgment of death and the corresponding image of himself as judge and executioner, Job began to blaspheme. As in Luther, Job could do no other, so weak was his human nature apart from God. Similarly to Christ, Job felt forsaken by God. Therefore, he opened his mouth (3:1), "from which the flames of blasphemy flow out" (*quo flammae blasphemiarum efflentur*).⁸⁰ When Job questioned God's treatment of him and told God not to condemn him (10:2), according

77 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 49 (fol. 15 r)-no. 50 (fol. 15 v); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 63 (fol. 21 r)-no. 65 (fol. 22 r).

78 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 102 (fol. 41 v); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 109 (fol. 44 r).

79 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 201 (fol. 91 r); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 200 (fol. 89 v)-no. 201 (fol. 91 r).

80 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 56 (fol. 18 v)-no. 62 (fol. 21 v); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 73 (fol. 26 v)-no. 78 (fol. 28 v). The quotation is from *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 62 (fol. 21 v).

to Brenz, this was the height of impotency, although the Schwäbisch Hall reformer maintains that Job was compelled to blaspheme in this way because he was so inwardly afflicted.⁸¹ Elsewhere in the commentary, Brenz asserts that when Christians are confident that God is their Father they have the strength of lions; but when God hides himself and shows his wrath, Christians become the most fearful and despairing creatures of all.⁸² According to the Schwäbisch Hall reformer, to view God as the inescapable tyrant and enemy is to suffer the very pains of hell—this is the worst *Anfechtung* imaginable.⁸³

There are other similarities between Brenz's treatment of Job and what we have seen in Luther: the Schwäbisch Hall preacher depicts Job as being simultaneously saint and sinner; he has Job wrestling endlessly with Satan, the great Leviathan of Chapter 41; and he contrasts law and gospel throughout. Brenz interprets the divine speeches of Chapters 38–41 as God preaching the law to Job; that is, he maintains that God shows himself in power and majesty in order to convict Job of his guilt and powerlessness—this is what it means for God to speak out of a storm (40:6).⁸⁴ Brenz also utilizes the language and concepts of Luther's theology of the cross, which he had heard the Wittenberg reformer employ at the Heidelberg Disputation, the first time Luther used the language of the *theologia crucis* and *theologia gloria* in public.

The Schwäbisch Hall reformer refers to the proper (*propria*) and alien (*aliena*) works of God in order to explain how God frequently cloaks himself in suffering and wrath in order to persuade human beings of their sin and impotence, a work that is foreign to his nature, which is love.⁸⁵ Brenz stresses that God's true intention to bless and to save are open only to the eye of faith; human reason cannot see it. God sends suffering to Christians so that they learn to see his goodness hidden under the appearance of the cross through faith.⁸⁶ Job's problem was that for a time, at least, he relied on reason rather than faith

81 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 190 (fol. 85 v); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 189 (fol. 84 r).

82 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 135 (fol. 58 r); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 138 (fol. 58 v)-no. 139 (fol. 59 r).

83 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 140 (fol. 60 v)-no. 141 (fol. 61 r); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 145 (fol. 62 r).

84 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 536 (fol. 258 v) and no. 564 (fol. 272 v); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 520 (fol. 249 v) and no. 540 (fol. 259 v).

85 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 108 (fol. 44 v); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 115 (fol. 47 r).

86 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 45 (fol. 13 r)-no. 46 (fol. 13 v); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 59 (fol. 19 r).

to discern God's attitude toward him;⁸⁷ this was also the failing of his so-called friends, who did not understand that God can send suffering out of love and goodness and not only out of wrath.⁸⁸ In his German translation of Brenz's commentary, Simon Haferitz blames the failings of "popish" Christianity on such over-reliance on human reason in theological matters: the result, Haferitz asserts, is a religion based on mere human teaching that burdens human consciences and suppresses the divine truth.⁸⁹ (Haferitz's translation is more anti-papal than Brenz's original version; it is also less sophisticated, lacking the discussion of the Hebrew and Greek included in the original, for example.)

What we have, then, in Brenz's commentary, along with Haferitz's German translation of it, is an interpretation of the book of Job that is informed by evangelical theology, especially evangelical soteriology: as in Luther, justification by faith provides the lens through which Job and his suffering are seen. One encounters the same thing in Johannes Bugenhagen's much shorter *Comments on Job* (46 folio pages), which appeared just one year before Brenz's Latin commentary. The Wittenberg professor and preacher remarks at the end of his work that the book of Job demonstrates that many people speak of God and claim to know Scripture but "they do not yet truly know God and that true faith by which alone we are justified before God" (*nondum sit vere agnoscere deum, et vera illa fides qua sola coram deo iustificamur*).⁹⁰

9.6 Osiander, Eck, and the 1533 Brandenburg-Nuremberg Church Ordinance

The kinds of theological concerns that informed the treatment of Job in Luther, Brenz, Haferitz, and Bugenhagen soon made their way into a new genre of pastoral literature known as church ordinances (*Kirchenordnungen*).⁹¹ These evangelical guides for worship and belief began appearing in the late 1520s and continued to be produced and published throughout the early modern

87 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 73 (fol. 27 r)-no. 74 (fol. 27 v); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 91 (fol. 35 r).

88 *Hiob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij*, no. 75 (fol. 28 r); *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 93 (fol. 36 r).

89 *Der Job vßgelebt durch Johannem Brentzen*, no. 546 (fol. 262 v). See no. 577 (fol. 273 r) in the Latin version, which does not include anti-papal rhetoric at this point. On Haferitz, see n. 38 above.

90 Bugenhagen, *In Hiob Annotationes*, fols. 45 v-46 r.

91 On evangelical church ordinances, see Ronald K. Rittgers, "Pastoral Care as Protestant Mission: Ministry to the Sick and Suffering in the Evangelical Church Ordinances," *Archive for Reformation History* 103 (2012): 149-81.

period. They were commissioned and financed by temporal authorities and had the force of law. Church ordinances were designed to help evangelical clergymen understand the new faith and its rites, and then to carry out their various duties—preaching, catechizing, visiting, and celebrating—in proper evangelical fashion. One of the interesting features of the evangelical church ordinances is how much attention they pay to suffering and its alleviation. The church ordinances played a crucial role in the larger reformation of suffering that Protestant leaders sought to effect in the German lands.⁹²

One of the most important treatments of suffering in the evangelical church ordinance literature occurs in the 1533 Brandenburg-Nuremberg Church Ordinance, which was authored by Johannes Brenz and Andreas Osiander, a leading preacher in Nuremberg. The section on suffering is entitled “Concerning the Cross and Suffering” (*Vom kreutz und leyden*) and was the work of Osiander alone.⁹³ The Nuremberg preacher invokes Job a couple of times as he seeks to instruct pastors—and through them, lay people—in the evangelical approach to suffering. According to Osiander, Job teaches that Satan cannot harm a Christian without God’s permission and thus God is sovereign over Satan and suffering.⁹⁴ Job also demonstrates that suffering can reveal to Christians their sinfulness and fragility. When Job cursed the day of his birth (3:3), he learned that the vice of impatience was deeply rooted in his nature, something he would not have otherwise recognized.⁹⁵ Finally, Osiander argues that if suffering Christians truly believe that their affliction can furnish them with an experience of divine deliverance, as happened in the case of Job, then they will be able to bear their adversity joyfully and patiently, and call upon God for help in true faith.⁹⁶

It was the second of these three references to Job that caught the attention of Catholic theologian Johannes Eck, who published a refutation of the Brandenburg-Nuremberg Church Ordinance entitled *A Scripture-based Christian Instruction Against the Presumptuous Authors and Posers of the Alleged New Church Ordinance* (1533).⁹⁷ In his comment on the section that deals

92 On this point, see Rittgers, “Pastoral Care as Protestant Mission.”

93 *Andreas Osiander d.A., Gesamtausgabe*, (eds.) Gerhard Müller and Gottfried Seebaß, 10 vols. (Gütersloh, 1975–1997), 5: 97–106.

94 *Ibid.*, 98.29–99.2.

95 *Ibid.*, 100.14–19.

96 *Ibid.*, 101.29–102.6.

97 The full title of the work is *Christenliche vnderricht mit grund der gschrift/wider die Angemaßten setzer vnnd angeber/ vermainer Newer Kirchen Ordnung/ Jüngst in der obern Margraffschafft vnd Nu[e]rmburger gebiet/ Im tausent fünff hundert vnd drey vnd dreysigsten Jar/ Ausgangen. Wa sich die selbigen/ Zu[o] verferischem nachtail viler menschen/*

with suffering Eck argues that Job was not guilty of the sin of impatience, as Osiander asserted; rather, the Old Testament saint was a model of patience throughout his suffering. Drawing on Gregory the Great's spiritual exegesis in the *Moralia*, Eck maintains that in cursing his birth Job was actually cursing the "day" of human mortality and sin as he looked forward to the eternal "day" of salvation.⁹⁸ Although evangelical theologians could engage in their own version of spiritual exegesis—they were not wooden literalists, as is sometimes asserted—they consistently rejected the kind of allegorical exegesis that is so common in the *Moralia*.⁹⁹ Unfortunately, we do not have Osiander's response to Eck, but we can be certain that he would have rejected the Catholic theologian's interpretation of Job 3:3. A common argument in evangelical treatments of Job is that the responsible exegete should focus on the "natural sense" of the words of Scripture, even though they readily allowed Christological interpretations of the Old Testament saint, as we have seen.

9.7 Vernacular Scripture Commentaries

A crucial part of the Protestant *sola scriptura* campaign was the effort to supply pastors with tools for interpreting the Bible according to evangelical lights. Commentaries on specific books of the Bible, such as the one on Job authored by Brenz, were one such tool. Another was the vernacular Scripture commentary, which was arguably of greater value than the book commentary to the average preacher, because of its wider compass and its more succinct treatment of individual books of the Bible. Most clergymen did not have the leisure to read a bulky and sophisticated tome like *Job with the Commentaries of Johannes Brenz*, certainly not the Latin version. Vernacular Scripture commentaries would have been more accessible and more affordable.

In 1545, *The Second Part of the Old Testament: The Commentary of Doctor Wenzeslaus Linck* was published in Strasbourg and it contained an interesting treatment of Job. (Part 1 appeared in 1543, Part 3, in 1545—Linck did not publish a similar series on the New Testament.) Linck knew Luther very well, having studied and lived with his fellow Augustinian for a number of years in Wittenberg. He also knew Staupitz very well; similarly to Luther, Linck was

selbs geirrh/vnnd gro[e]blich gefa[e]lt haben. An electronic version is available via the relevant search on WorldCat.

98 See *Christenliche vnderricht mit grund der gschriftt*, fols. 39 r-41 v.

99 On allegorical exegesis in the *Moralia*, see Schreiner, *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found?* 22–54.

shepherded through his education and early career by the Augustinian Vicar General. Linck took his Doctorate of Theology at the University of Wittenberg in 1511, one year before Luther, and also served for a time as dean of the university's theology faculty and prior of Augustinian monastery; Luther was his subprior. In 1518 he accompanied Luther and Staupitz to the Heidelberg Disputation and was also in attendance at the Diet of Augsburg and the Leipzig Disputation. In 1520 he replaced Staupitz as Vicar General of the Augustinian Order, only to resign from this position and the order itself in 1523, after which he took up a preachingship in Altenburg (Electoral Saxony). Linck also married in Altenberg; Luther performed the ceremony. In 1525 Linck and his family moved to Nuremberg, where he became preacher of the New Hospital Church and played an important role in the promotion of the evangelical movement in this imperial city.¹⁰⁰ He was thus a colleague of Andreas Osiander.

Much of Linck's treatment of Job echoes themes that we have already seen in Luther, Brenz, Bugenhagen, and Osiander: Satan's desire to afflict and assail the believer both internally and externally through suffering; God's sovereignty over Satan and Satan's diabolical schemes; the importance of suffering as a test of faith and means of revealing to Christians their frailty and sinfulness apart from the protection and presence of God; the experience of divine abandonment as the worst *Anfechtung*, both for Christ and the Christian; and salvation as a gift of "alien righteousness" that is received by faith¹⁰¹—Job remains a proto-evangelical Christian. What is unique in Linck's handling of Job is the heightened anti-papal rhetoric that it contains along with its specific defense of Luther.

Linck compares Bildad's criticism of Job to the pope's criticism of Luther.¹⁰² In both cases, the reliance on reason rather than faith is the source of the misplaced accusations. Bildad can accept only one explanation for Job's suffering—sin. This is what makes sense to reason, but it is faith that enables the Christian to see far more in suffering than punishment for sin. Linck argues, "Reason knows nothing about the cross and also nothing about what kind of consolation lies hidden under it."¹⁰³ Reason assumes that suffering is divine

100 For brief biographical introductions to Linck, see *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 24 current vols. (Berlin, 1953–; available online at <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html>), 14: 571–2; and *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, (ed.) Hans Hillerbrand, 4 vols. (New York, 1996; hereafter OER), 2: 425–26.

101 Linck, *Das ander theyl des alten Testaments*, fol. ccliv v.

102 Ibid., fol. cclviii v.

103 Ibid., fol. cclix r.

punishment for sin and therefore the only way to remove it is through good works that appease the divine judge's wrath. (Linck maintains that this kind of thinking ties divine activity too closely to human influence.) The Nuremberg preacher makes the same argument with respect to Job's other friends: he likens them to popish hypocrites who criticize what they do not understand because their theology is based solely on *menschensatzungen* (human traditions) rather than on Scripture.¹⁰⁴ Linck has the following to say about Eliphaz in this context: "He attributes Job's speech [against God] to doubt and evil; the papists act similarly today: when someone preaches belief in God and faith (*Gottes glauben vnd gnad*), they say that this produces a nefarious *volck* and destroys worship, fear, honor, good works, etc."¹⁰⁵ Linck's point is that in both cases the accusers have falsely interpreted the godly person's words, attributing to them unsavory motives, because the accusers lack the perspective of faith.

The Nuremberg preacher also sees in Eliphaz's condemnation of Job another foreshadowing of the "popish" religion of his own day. Linck draws a parallel between Eliphaz's assertion that "the gray-haired and the aged are on our side" (15:10) and the insistence of the "papists" that the Fathers and tradition support traditional faith and practice against Luther's Bible-based alternative. He refers to this and similar arguments as "the fleshly arguments that they bark out (*bellen*) against Luther and all who speak from the Spirit of God."¹⁰⁶

According to Linck, then, just like Job's friends, the Roman traditionalists of his own day fail to understand the true cause, intensity, and purpose of *Anfechtungen* and therefore have no true consolation to offer Christians: their solace is as misguided and useless as was the comfort that Job's friends offered him—this is Linck's main argument. Reliance on reason, human tradition, and human merit lay behind this failure. In order to counteract this alleged failure, Linck devotes a good deal of his treatment of Job to providing practical instruction to readers on how to deal successfully with the many afflictions that come to the Christian, especially how to appeal from the divine judgment seat to the divine mercy seat through repentance and faith in the Redeemer (19:25), a recurring theme in the work. Linck's commentary on Job is in many ways a work of consolation that holds up the Old Testament saint as a model both of how severely Christians can be afflicted and how they can contend with their *Anfechtungen* and finally be united with God (*mit Gott vereynigt*) through grace and faith, as Job was.¹⁰⁷

104 Ibid., fol. cclxviii v.

105 Ibid., fol. cclxviii v.

106 Ibid., fol. cclxix r.

107 Ibid., fol. cclxxviii v.

One finds another interesting treatment of Job in the vernacular Scripture commentary of the Mansfeld superintendent Erasmus Sarcerius (1501–1559): *Summaries and Brief Contents, Together with a Sufficient and Complete Interpretation of All Chapters of All Biblical Books of the Old and New Testaments* (1558). Prior to his tenure in Mansfeld, which began in 1554, Sarcerius had been the palace preacher and superintendent of the county of Nassau-Dillenburg and then a professor and pastor in Leipzig. The move from Nassau-Dillenburg to Leipzig was occasioned by his opposition to the Augsburg Interim, which sought to re-impose Catholic worship and belief in Protestant lands. As it turned out, Sarcerius could not fully escape the reach of this recatholicization effort: Elector Moritz of Saxony agreed to a compromise settlement that came to be known as the Leipzig Interim.¹⁰⁸ Sarcerius ended his career as a pastor in Magdeburg, having taken up a new post in the city just months before his death.

In light of the growing tension between evangelical and papal Christians at the time of writing, which included the real fear among Protestants that their movement itself was in danger of being snuffed out, it is little wonder that Sarcerius goes on the offensive against “papists” in his treatment of Job. As we saw in Wenzeslaus Linck, Sarcerius compares Job’s friends’ reliance on the flawed wisdom of the aged to the dependency of the “papists” on the equally flawed wisdom of Church Fathers and mere human tradition.¹⁰⁹ In both cases, Sarcerius asserts, again similarly to Linck, the source of the flaw is the belief that suffering is always the result of divine punishment for sin, an error that Sarcerius seeks to refute throughout, beginning in the opening lines of his treatment of Job. He writes, “This book treats above all the question of whether every cross and burden (*anliegen*) of the godly comes about because they have been merited and on account of sin. Here the right answer is, no.” Sarcerius reasons that Job was a godly man and yet he suffered. “Therefore, other causes for cross and burden are to be sought.” Sarcerius turns immediately to John 9 for an alternative explanation of the godly’s suffering, namely, so that the works of God might be displayed through it.¹¹⁰ Sarcerius insists that “the natural people”

108 On Erasmus Sarcerius, see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, second edition, published by the Historische Kommission bei der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften, 56 vols., Berlin, 1967–1971 (Available online at <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html>; hereafter ADB), 33: 727–29; and OER 3: 483. See also Stephen Rhein and Günther Wartenberg, (eds.), *Reformatoren im Mansfelder Land. Erasmus Sarcerius und Cyriakus Spangenberg* (Leipzig, 2006).

109 Sarcerius, *Summarien vnd kurtzer Inhalt*, no. 535. (Because there are many pages without folio numbers, I have used only the scan numbers provided on the electronic version.)

110 *Ibid.*, no. 492.

(*die natu[e]rlichen Menschen*)—by which he means, fallen human beings—cannot accept this explanation because they rely on reason alone to make sense of suffering and misfortune.¹¹¹ It soon becomes clear in this treatment of Job that Sarcerius places the papal Christians of his day in this category. He lambasts them throughout for their alleged reliance on reason over faith, good works over grace, and human tradition over Scripture. He also specifically compares Eliphaz's attempt to discount Job's position because of his relative youth to the attempt of the "papists" to do the same with Luther.¹¹²

Sarcerius is especially concerned to point out what he takes to be the inevitable result of consolation based on false theology: Job-like impatience. The reason Job fell into "serious impatience" is that he received no real consolation. False consolation is extremely dangerous, the Mansfeld superintendent argues, causing great damage to a person's spiritual well-being. Here Sarcerius singles out the "enthusiasts" (*Schwermer*)—read, Spiritualists—who deny the necessity of consolation via the external word, preferring to rely on the internal ministrations of the Spirit alone. Verbal consolation based on God's Word is absolutely essential if the afflicted person is to receive true heavenly solace.¹¹³ But Sarcerius also has in view any who insist that suffering is always punishment for sin, as Eliphaz assumed. He argues, "This consolation is more a cause of doubt than of refreshment" (*mehrein vrsache zur verzweiffelung/ als zur erquickung*).¹¹⁴ Sarcerius agrees with the other evangelical treatments we have examined about the way Job demonstrates the weakness of human nature in the midst of suffering, but he wishes to emphasize the central role that false consolation plays in producing Job-like impatience and blasphemy.

He also wishes to emphasize that justified Christians are still sinners, but that their sin is not the cause of their suffering, for sin is removed by grace, not through suffering-induced repentance. This is what confounds Job's friends and their latter-day disciples, papal Christians, for neither group understands that sin is forgiven solely through grace and that even though sin remains, it is not the cause of suffering.¹¹⁵ In fact, similarly to proponents of late medieval *Frömmigkeitstheologie*, Sarcerius insists that suffering is a special sign of God's love—the more suffering one has, the more deeply loved one is by God,

111 Ibid., no. 493.

112 Ibid., no. 547.

113 Ibid., no. 500.

114 Ibid., no. 504.

115 Ibid., no. 520.

for through suffering God's love is more clearly revealed and experienced.¹¹⁶ He asserts that fallen human nature is deeply prone to interpret suffering otherwise, to view it as a punishment for sin.¹¹⁷ The only way to counteract this strong tendency is through sound theology based on Scripture and justification by faith. Only in this way can the "False Consolers" (*Falsche Tro[e]ster*) be overcome and a good conscience created, a condition that Sarcerius compares to heaven.¹¹⁸

9.8 Hieronymus Weller

Hieronymus Weller's (1499–1572) treatment of the first 22 chapters of Job, *The Book of Job Most Thoroughly and Excellently Explained and Interpreted* (1563/65), is the most expansive treatment of the Old Testament book that we have from a 16th-century Lutheran theologian. His two-part vernacular commentary fills almost 400 folio pages, while Haferitz's translation of Brenz runs to 275 pages. Ludwig Lavater's sermons on Job, which appeared in 1582, fill 263 folio pages. Interestingly, the Reformed Protestant Lavater says in his dedication that he is unaware of other German expositions of Job; apparently, he was not familiar with the work of Haferitz and Weller.¹¹⁹ Like Linck, Weller knew Luther very well. He had lived with the Wittenberg reformer for eight years and tutored his son, Johannes, while pursuing a doctorate in theology at the University of Wittenberg. He received the doctoral degree in 1535 and took up an ecclesiastical post a few years later in Freiberg (in Saxony), his hometown, where he was also responsible for the local Latin school. Known among his fellow theologians as a gifted consoler, he was especially drawn to practical theology and warned against the dangers of the contentious spirit that he believed had infused so much Lutheran theological discourse in the second generation of the Reformation.¹²⁰

Weller's close relationship with Luther is readily apparent in his treatment of Job, especially in the numerous quotations that one finds from Luther's works in the two-volume commentary. Aside from Scripture, Luther is by far

116 Ibid., nos. 530 and 551. On the latter page Sarcerius asserts, "je lieber Gott die seinen hat/ je gro[e]sser leiden er jnen zuschicket/ das also mit jrem Leiden/ zu gleich Gottes liebe wechset vnd zunimpt. Vnd das ist tro[e]stlich zuho[e]ren/ wider alles grosses Leiden."

117 Ibid., no. 541.

118 Ibid., nos. 550 and 557.

119 Lavater, *Das Büch Job außgelegt vnnd erkläret inn CXXI. Predigen*, no. [9] 9 (fol. aa iii r).

120 On Weller, see ADB 44: 472–76.

the most frequently cited and revered source in Weller's *Book of Job*; the Freiburg theologian also relies on Luther's German translation of Job throughout. Additionally, he follows Luther's lead in looking to pre-Reformation sources for help in understanding the nature of *Anfechtungen*: he cites approvingly the 14th-century German mystic Johannes Tauler on the nature and depth of spiritual trials.¹²¹ He also cites Brenz's exposition of Job at least three times, thus demonstrating his awareness of the new evangelical tradition of Job exegesis to which he was contributing.¹²²

Weller speculates about the identity of Job, and, similarly to Luther, suggests that he was a relative of Esau who lived before the Flood.¹²³ But he also insists that Job knew the messianic promise that God later made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, consoled himself with this promise in the midst of his suffering, and even had the covenantal sign of divine grace, circumcision.¹²⁴ Thus, while Weller adheres to the evangelical tradition of presenting Job as a proto-evangelical Christian, he makes very little of the fact that Job lived before the giving of circumcision and the law to prove his case. Instead, he draws on another feature of Job's life to highlight his proto-evangelical character: the fact that he was married. Weller is greatly impressed by the fact that this holy man who received such high praise from God was not a celibate ascetic.¹²⁵ The Freiburg theologian uses the marital status of Job to provide support for the evangelical emphasis on the superiority of the married state to the celibate state, a direct refutation of the Catholic view of things.

There is plenty of additional anti-Catholic sentiment in Weller's treatment of Job. As in the other evangelical sources, Weller compares Catholics to Job's friends and argues that both rely on reason and good works rather than faith and grace to understand and please God. For such "children of the world" (*Weltkinder*) material blessing always implies divine favor and this-worldly woe, divine wrath. Weller refers to such theology as "this Epicurean theology" (*dise Epicurische Theologia*) and seeks to refute it at every turn, arguing that suffering serves many useful purposes for the Christian, including the strengthening of faith, the humbling of reason and pride, the cultivation of an awareness for human frailty, and the creation of compassion for others. Weller also says that

121 Weller, *Das Buch Hiob ... Der erste Teil*, fol. Ll ii r. For a recent discussion of Luther's relationship to Tauler, see Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 97–100.

122 Weller, *Der ander Theyl des Buchs Hiob*, no. 206 (fol. Ziii r); no. 338 (fol. Rr v); no. 374 (fol. Xx iii v).

123 Weller, *Das Buch Hiob ... Der erste Teil*, fols. Dii v–Diii r.

124 *Ibid.*, fol. Dii v.

125 *Ibid.*, fols. H v–Hii r.

suffering enables one to understand Scripture properly. He insists that the false Epicurean theology prevents its adherents from properly exegeting the book of Job and thus from finding the true consolation that its pages hold. Similarly to Linck, Weller's treatment of Job is basically a work of consolation designed to instruct its readers in how to understand and cope with *Anfechtungen*, especially the fear of divine wrath. Throughout he makes a distinction between two kinds of saints: "common" (*gemein*) and "great Christians" (*hohe Christen*). He is especially concerned with offering consolation to the latter group, for they are the ones whom God leads to hell and back.¹²⁶

Weller argues that the only way to understand the book of Job is to experience personally something of the suffering that Job himself endured. Only the one who "has tasted in part the great Job-like assault" (*zum teil die hohe Jobitische anfechtung geschmeckt habe*) is able to interpret the book accurately. Learning and study have their role—although Weller concedes that he does not know Hebrew—but they will not suffice if personal experience of Job-like suffering is absent.¹²⁷ Job's friends lacked this experience and therefore could not make proper sense of his predicament.¹²⁸ Weller claims that he has tasted the "Jobitische anfechtung" and thus can discern the book's true meaning. He asserts that "this book [i.e., his treatment of Job] has been made completely under the Cross" (*dies Buch ist gar vnter dem Creutz gemacht*), by which he meant his own unspecified suffering.¹²⁹ Gregory the Great had made a similar claim, although Weller does not mention this important precedent for his argument.¹³⁰ So, too, had Luther. The Freiberg theologian explains:

Some people can console the burdened, afflicted consciences well, which is a very precious [and] excellent gift. I sought this gift from God and he has richly given it to me, for which I thank him from my heart—it is more than enough for me (*laß mir daran wol genu[e]gen*). The one who seeks to interpret Job must have this gift, and not only this gift, but he must also have lain sick for a while in the hospital that Job was in.¹³¹

Here we see the close connection that Weller saw between being able to interpret Job properly and being able to console troubled hearts: the primary

126 Ibid., fol. Aiv r.

127 Ibid., fol. C iv r.

128 Ibid., fol. E v.

129 Weller, *Der ander Theyl des Buchs Hiob*, no. 11 (fol. Aiv r).

130 See Schreiner, *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found?* 23.

131 Weller, *Der ander Theyl des Buchs Hiob*, nos. 9–10 (fols. Aiii r–v).

benefit of true understanding of Job was the capacity to offer true solace to the suffering.

Earlier in his treatment of Job, Weller insists that this capacity to console is the greatest gift in life:

The one who can do this and has this gift, [this one] has a greater gift than the one who can discern spirits and oppose the enemies of the truth with strong reasons. Because when someone wins a poor, miserable, afflicted heart through the gospel, [and] consoles and restores (*zu recht bringet*) it, this is a great miracle, as if one had awakened it [i.e., the heart] again from death (*als wenn man es von Todten wider auffweckt hette*).¹³²

It is precisely this ability to console that Weller, like Sarcerius, says Catholics lack. When a Christian is afflicted in conscience, fearing that God is against him, he needs above all to seek the wise counsel of a fellow Christian who can minister the gospel to him, assuring him that his sins are forgiven by Christ on the basis of grace and faith; he needs to know that his affliction is not a sign of divine wrath. (Here Weller appears to have especially in mind the evangelical version of private confession that became such an important and distinctive part of early modern Lutheran devotion.)¹³³ Weller argues that many people have suffered great spiritual harm because they have lacked this kind of solace under the papacy.¹³⁴ The Freiberg theologian seeks to provide in his treatment of Job what he believes Catholics have been unable to give to troubled souls: true evangelical consolation.

9.9 Conclusion

Not all suffering is the result of divine punishment for sin—this is the message that evangelical interpreters of Job sought to convey to their contemporaries. As we have seen, pre-Reformation interpreters could sound the same message and could also offer multiple reasons for why the godly suffered. Protestant theologians rarely mentioned such precedents, in large part because they were working so hard to separate their approach to suffering from that of Catholics,

¹³² Weller, *Das Buch Hiob ... Der erste Teil*, fol. Qq iv r.

¹³³ Weller, *Der ander Theyl des Buchs Hiob*, no. 8 (fol. Aii v). On Lutheran private confession, see Ronald K. Rittgers, *The Reformation of the Keys: Confession, Conscience, and Authority in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004).

¹³⁴ Weller, *Das Buch Hiob ... Der erste Teil*, fols. Ccii v-Cciii r.

whom they believed to be in deep error about the causes and cures of affliction. As we have also seen, Protestant theologians believed that they possessed superior insight into the nature of suffering and consolation because of their adherence to Luther's theology of the cross and their embrace of justification by faith: suffering could not be a punishment for sin in the case of those who were clothed with Christ's alien righteousness; rather, it was the alien work of the hidden God to test and prove their faith and character, and to teach them the art of seeing and meeting Christ in the midst of affliction.

The Protestant theologians were certainly still capable of conceiving of suffering as punishment for the ungodly, and even for the godly who had fallen into sin. Weller, especially, devotes many pages to the dire consequences of sin. He concedes that Job's friends were not entirely wrong in the connection they drew between sin and suffering; it just did not apply in Job's case (and in the case of those who had been justified by faith). Weller cites example after example from ancient pagan history of how God allegedly punished this or that nation for its sin. Beyond this, every Protestant theologian that we have examined believed that the fact of suffering was owing to original sin, a belief that they shared with their Catholic co-religionists.

But the clear emphasis in the Protestant interpretations of Job is on how the new evangelical creed provided a new way of understanding and coping with suffering. Protestants sought to claim Job for the Reformation cause, depicting him as a proto-evangelical whose divinely-inspired message for posterity only they could interpret properly. As in the later Middle Ages, Job became a central figure in the *Frömmigkeitstheologie* of the day. He was still the model "godlident" human being, but the interpretation of his suffering had undergone radical revision. Included in this radical revision is the fact that the Protestant sources never mention one of the most important ways of interpreting suffering in the later Middle Ages, one we have seen in Marquard of Lindau: suffering as penance for the penalty (*poena*) of sin. Weller seemed to have this traditional view in mind when he asserted that only Christ's suffering renders satisfaction for sin.¹³⁵

Much more work needs to be done on the interpretation of Job in the German Reformation. This chapter has simply sought to provide an initial foray into the topic. Each of the major sources examined in this chapter requires a separate substantial treatment of its own. There are also other relevant sources that need to be studied for what they reveal about the Protestant reception of

135 Weller, *Das Buch Hiob ... Der erste Teil*, fol. Liii v. The Protestant rejection of suffering as a penance for the penalty of sin is one of the dominant themes in Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*. It is treated throughout the work.

Job, including sermons (especially funeral sermons) and postils.¹³⁶ Sixteenth-century Reformed Protestant, Anabaptist, and Spiritualist sources must also be examined. We still have much to learn about the Protestant Job.

136 For two examples of Protestant sermons on Job, see Karlstadt, *Erlüuterung diser reed Iob vii* (see note 43 above), and Johannes Draconites, *Hiob. Von der aufferstehung* (1542). (Both are available online via the relevant search on the VD16 website.) For an example of a funeral sermon that deals with Job, see Anton Probus, *SYMBOLVM DOROTHEAE SVSANNAE. Der Trostreichte Spruch Hiob am 19. Cap. Jch weiß/ das mein Erlo[e]ser lebet/ etc.* (1592). (It is available online via the relevant search on the VD16 website.) On postils, see John M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden, 2010).

PART 2

Vernacular and Popular Perspectives



Look upon My Affliction (Job 10:15): The Depiction of Job in the Western Middle Ages

Gamble L. Madsen

10.1 Introduction

The figure of Job casts a long and dramatic shadow across the development of medieval art in Western Europe.¹ His was an experience that not all could comprehend directly with respect to the severity of his particular afflictions, yet the narrative remained inspirational in its acknowledgment of the human condition as Christians understood it: although each person is created “in the image”² of God, one’s tenure on earth is fraught with uncertainty and suffering in the wake of the Fall and the imposition of Original Sin. Beginning in the early Christian period, theological exposition therefore identified Job as an instructional model for human behavior in the face of both physical and psychological challenges. Job’s virtue, his response to violent suffering, and the appreciation of inscrutable divine judgment which he develops afforded later Christian scholars—and artists—the opportunity to explore the ways in which the story of Job prefigures the salvific suffering of Christ and the establishment of His Church. The rise of institutional Christianity and the subsequent spread of the faith to the far corners of the former Roman imperial territory in the Middle Ages provided both authors and artists with a variety of options regarding the visualization of the narrative of Job. Yet as time progressed certain elements emerged as particularly important didactic instruments. These elements include the depiction of physical suffering, the arrogance and wrongful accusations of companions, persistence in the claim of innocence, and redemption—not only in the cessation of bodily suffering, but in eternal salvation accomplished by virtue of the death and resurrection of Christ. The present essay seeks to show that in medieval art the person and the

1 General investigations of the reception of the story of Job in medieval literature and art are found in Lawrence L. Besserman, *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), Samuel L. Terrien, *The Iconography of Job Through the Centuries: Artists as Biblical Interpreters* (Philadelphia, 1996), and Jacques Durand, “Recherches sur l’iconographie de Job. Des origines de l’art chrétien jusqu’au XIII^e siècle” (unpublished thesis, École nationale des Chartres, 1981).

2 Gen. 1:26. Quotations are taken from the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible.

story of Job provided inspiration and insight into the various roles that a man might assume in the world (husband, father, friend, ruler, and rational judge), and that ultimately the narrative celebrated the justice of God and the glory of divine Wisdom.

10.2 Narrative Inspiration

The prologue to the book of Job relates that Job, being “simple and upright, . . . fearing God, and avoiding evil,” presided lovingly over a large family and a successful estate.³ This context established the framework within which the exaggerated attacks appeared, and also remained the basis of his developed moral character along with the location of his final restoration. Ancient and medieval Christians who read or heard the biblical story of Job would have been familiar with these points of consideration, and thus would have related to the figure of Job on a direct, human level. According to the scriptural narrative, Job lived a virtuously blameless life of service to God and his community, a life that was simultaneously blessed with happiness and material plentitude. Yet both literary commentators and artists recognized that God allowed Satan to attack Job in an extremely violent manner that was antithetical in comparison to Job’s innocence. Christian interpreters who explored the circumstances of Job’s descent into affliction and artists who were inspired by both Scripture and its interpretation recognized in Job unique opportunities to examine both physical wounds and psychological disruption. These experiences, familiar to all humans in the weakened state of the flesh,⁴ in turn provided the basis for celebrating the virtue of patience and the prophecy of salvation in the person of Christ.

According to the biblical account, Satan recognized an opportunity to disrupt Job’s security—and thereby to expose what the former believed to be a deficiency in the latter’s virtue. He came before God and argued that Job’s faith was only secure in the midst of his worldly comfort and that given the opportunity he would be able to expose the weak nature of Job’s devotion as tied irrevocably to his material stability and health. It is important to note that God identifies Job at the beginning of the narrative as his servant and a unique example of constancy.⁵ Therefore, in order to reveal the immutable nature of

3 Job 1:1.

4 See Gen. 3:16–19.

5 Job 1:8 recounts that God, addressing Satan, asserts, “Have you considered my servant Job? There is no one like him on the earth, a blameless and upright man who fears God and turns away from evil.”

divine judgment God allowed Job to be stricken grievously in order that his faith might be revealed and his virtue proven. Satan then embarked on an unprecedented program of destruction that eradicated Job's possessions, children, and physical security. Those who remained as expected sources of comfort (his wife and friends Eliphaz, Baldad, and Zophar) offered neither physical nor emotional solace to Job in his suffering. Rather, they became additional sources of torment in confronting him with the seeming hopelessness of his situation.

This introduction to his unique circumstance is followed by protracted debates between Job and his friends, along with the intervention of another witness to his suffering, Elihu.⁶ Each of these attendants attempted to persuade Job that his torment was the result of sin—and therefore that his punishment was justifiable—and yet over the course of self-examination Job proved stalwart in asserting his innocence before God. Although Job's responses to his earthly accusers might have appeared indicative of arrogance, early and medieval Christian interpreters focused on God's initial consideration of Job as singularly upright in character. Further, Job's initial response to devastating loss remained a focus throughout the biblical narrative and its subsequent exegesis: "Naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked shall I return there; the Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."⁷

10.3 Late Imperial Precedents

The Roman imperial administration encountered challenges from various points (political, social, economic, and spiritual) that contributed to its decline by the 3rd century. Monotheistic religious perspectives such as those expressed within Judaism or Christianity became increasingly influential within an environment marked by social violence and financial insecurity. The artists practicing within these spiritual communities responded to requests for imagery by presenting unique visions of divine power that were nonetheless inspired by imperial visual conventions. Prior to the Edict of Milan issued by Emperors Constantine and Licinius in the 4th century, which allowed "full authority to observe that religion which each [citizen] preferred,"⁸ monotheistic imagery was developed under concealment and often in association with funerary contexts. As Christians explored sources for inspiration in these private venues, attention fell naturally upon biblical characters and narratives that attested to the

6 This character is introduced in Job 32.

7 Job 1:21.

8 Eusebius, *History of the Church* X.5, trans. G.A. Williamson (London, 1965), 322–23.

enduring forgiveness and protection of God. The story of Job, with its description of extreme suffering tempered ultimately by merciful divine intervention, found appropriate expression in Roman catacomb paintings and sarcophagi. An example is evident in the early 4th-century “Nuova-Via Latina” catacomb, wherein a painting was executed showing Job seated upon what appears to be a cluster of rocks (but which may be interpreted as the “dung hill”⁹) as his wife proffers a fragment of bread to sustain him.¹⁰ This presentation established what would remain a popular focus for early Christian and medieval artists: Job’s encounters with his wife and his male companions. These events may be seen as inspirational not simply because they comprise the majority of the biblical narrative, but also because they offer a circumstance to which the viewer might easily relate, namely the conflicts that may be encountered in the evolution of personal relationships. The focused presentation of Job with his wife is also witnessed in the *Testament of Job*, a pseudepigraphic text dated between the 1st century B.C.E. and the 1st century C.E., in which Job’s wife assumes a more definitive presence as her husband’s only practical connection to the community and upon her death is extolled for her own tangential sufferings.¹¹

Another significant early Christian funerary monument offering Job as an example of patient suffering is the “Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus,”¹² which was sculpted in Rome around 360. Created for an imperial administrator, the sarcophagus is appropriately large and was decorated lavishly with ten scenes taken from the Old and New Testaments arranged in two horizontal registers. The focus, compositionally and ideologically, is on the power of Christ, whose central presentations recall Roman imperial paradigms of enthroned and equestrian portraiture. Scenes associated with Christ’s Passion and the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul allude to the New Testament and the subsequent Christian tradition.¹³ The Old Testament inspired the scenes depicting the Fall

9 Job 2:8. The Septuagint translation describes Job as seated upon the “dung hill” outside the walls of the city, his body racked by ulcers and the “putrefaction of worms” (See Besserman, *The Legend of Job*, 35–37).

10 The identification of the attendant figure as Job’s wife and this interpretation of her action are found, for example, in the description of the image offered in the Index of Christian Art. See also page 357 of “Job’s Wife, with Due Respect” by Choon-Leong Seow in *Das Buch Hiob und seine Interpretationen: Beiträge zum Hiob-Symposium dem Monte Verità*, (ed.) Thomas Krüger (Zurich, 2007), 351–74.

11 *Testament of Job*, trans. R.P. Spittler in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, (ed.) James H. Charlesworth (Peabody, 1983), 839–68.

12 Rome, Vatican, Grottoes of Saint Peter.

13 Peter and Paul are shown in the top central scene, flanking the enthroned Christ. Tradition assigns the arrest of Peter to the top register (second scene from the left) and the arrest of Paul to the lower register (right corner). The two panels on the top register to

of humankind along with selected examples of unshakable faith in God's authority and mercy. The left corner of the top register presents Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac at the moment God intervenes and his faith is proven. The lower register shows Adam and Eve flanking the Tree of Knowledge (around which the serpent is entwined), Daniel in the den of the lions, and, in the left corner, Job seated on the dung hill before his wife and one male companion.

The figure of Job on the "Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus" recalls the figure painted in the "Nuova-Via Latina" catacomb, with his weakness signaled by his seated posture counterbalanced by the figure's foregrounding together with his being depicted with a powerful physique. Here Job's wife lifts her garment to deflect the scent of his rotting flesh¹⁴ while extending her right hand (likely proffering a fragment of bread, in accordance with contemporary visual interpretations and perhaps also with the *Testament of Job*¹⁵) as the male attendant stands in the background. This scene of abject rejection and suffering connects conceptually to the diverse sufferings visualized on the sarcophagus, thereby linking Job with other powerful exemplars of faith in both the Jewish and Christian traditions. In considering the *Testament of Job* as a specific point of possible inspiration, it is interesting to note that when Job's circumstance is lamented by his friends he responds with confidence saying, "I will show you my throne with the splendor of its majesty, which is among the holy ones. My throne is in the upper world, and its splendor and majesty come from the right hand of [God]."¹⁶ Accordingly, the "Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus" reveals Job seated upon the dung hill and placed to the "right hand" of the central depictions of the glorified Christ, a presentation which suggests both the narrative source and the exegetical interpretation of his experience.

10.4 Early Medieval Interpretations

The spiritual ideals that were associated with the narrative of Job during the rise of Christianity in the first several centuries of the Common Era endured into the early Middle Ages with the growth of the Church in Western Europe.

the right of the enthroned Christ show Him under arrest before Pilate; although this is a moment of defeat, Christ is in possession of a scroll alluding to His role as teacher, the embodiment of the Word of God, and the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy.

- 14 This gesture serves as a natural human response to the putrefaction of Job's flesh, assaulted by Satan with "loathsome sores," which he acknowledges in Job 19:17: "My breath is repulsive to my wife....").
- 15 The *Testament* describes Job's wife as assenting to servitude in order to procure money to provide him with bread (II.21.1–22.3; trans. Spittler, 848).
- 16 *Testament of Job* III.33.2–3 (trans. Spittler, 855).

The availability of copies of Scripture and those trained to interpret the words of the sacred writers were essential during this period of expansion and conversion, and commentators continued to extol Job as a particular model of patience and humility in the face of physical and psychological suffering. For example, in his treatise *Duties of the Clergy*, Ambrose writes: "Job, both in prosperity and adversity, was blameless, patient, pleasing, and acceptable to God. He was overwhelmed with pain, and yet he could find consolation."¹⁷ Aelfric of Eynsham, writing in the late 10th century, offers a similar understanding of Job in his collected homilies known as the *Lives of the Saints*: "Job in his constancy would never turn his attention from God's love.... [He] neither spoke one foolish word against God, but patiently thanked Him and always praised his Lord with sincerity."¹⁸ In an era characterized by conflicting European dynasties, the rise of Islam, and the confident assertion of Roman ecclesial authority, it is logical that the character of Job would be maintained as a paragon of spiritual endurance. Visual representations of Job as a model of patience retain a constancy similar to that encountered in literary analyses, although a tendency toward experimentation is apparent in early medieval representations. Job as a character appealing to a variety of audiences in his humility is clearly visible in early medieval illustrated manuscripts.

One may recognize initially a continuation of earlier pictorial themes in the presentation of Job found in the "Gellone Sacramentary," created in France during the late 8th century (Fig. 10.1).¹⁹ In this manuscript an image of Job seated with his arms and legs extended forward forms an "E" to initiate the Latin text. Job is shown accompanied by a single human figure standing behind him who may be his wife. Although this presentation appears similar to late imperial examples, the early medieval artist focuses attention on Job's body. At first glance it appears that Job is wearing a darkened garment with distinct lateral markings covering its surface, extending to his wrists and ankles. The simple appearance of this "garment," in contrast to the scriptural affirmation of Job's wealth, may be a device through which the artist conceives Job's descent into poverty and rejection by his community. Yet, as will be seen in the evolution of later medieval portrayals of Job, what seems to be a decorative sheath may actually be a presentation of the physical wounds incurred by Satan's assault. In the biblical account Job is struck with "loathsome sores from the sole of his

17 My translation is adapted from Ambrose, *Duties of the Clergy* I.24.13, trans. Rev. H. de Romeslin (New York, 1896), 19.

18 My translation is adapted from Aelfric of Eynsham, "Homily 16: In Memory of the Saints," in *Aelfric's Lives of the Saints*, (ed.) Rev. Walter W. Skeat (London, 1881), 341.

19 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12048, fol. 143r.



FIGURE 10.1 *Job with his wife (?) or Satan (?), Gellone Sacramentary, c. 790, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12048, fol. 143*
 PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, BY PERMISSION

foot to the crown of his head,”²⁰ and he later takes up a potsherd with which to scrape the corrupt matter from his body as his wife stands before him and questions his integrity.²¹ It may be argued, therefore, that the illustrator of the “Gellone Sacramentary,” aware of pictorial precedents, refined the popularized presentation of Job by giving greater attention to his body and by depicting him with a potsherd in his left hand in order to emphasize a deeper level of physical suffering.²²

20 Job 2:7.

21 Job 2:9.

22 Although the appearance is not distinctly demonic, the attendant figure in this illustration may be alternatively understood as a depiction of Satan. In addition, the bent object that Job holds in his left hand has a visual parallel below at his feet. These objects may therefore be interpreted as potsherds (see Job 2:8) or worms (see Job 17:14).



FIGURE 10.2 *Initial with symbols drawn from the book of Job, First Bible of Charles the Bald, c. 845, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1, fol. 206v*
 PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, BY PERMISSION

An alternative interpretation of themes encountered directly in the story of Job may be seen in the decorative initial that marks the beginning of the book in the so-called First Bible of Charles the Bald, created during the 9th century (Fig. 10.2).²³ Arranged within a large “V” initiating the Latin “Vir” and adorned with golden interlacing vine forms are four unique figures: at the highest point

23 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1, fol. 206v.

appears a four-legged creature crowned with a halo, while just below a bird is placed next to a basin or chalice as a serpentine figure spirals upward from the lowest point of the initial. Unlike the previous image, which depicts specific figures encountered in the biblical narrative, this field of decoration appears to present an abbreviated allegorical interpretation in accordance with Gregory the Great's influential *Moralia in Job*.

Composed during the late 6th century, the *Moralia* presents the text of Job under Gregory's historical, allegorical, and moral interpretations.²⁴ Gregory identifies Job as a prefiguration of both Christ (in the experience of His Passion) and the Church, while his friends represent heretics and Elihu embodies the sin of pride.²⁵ As in earlier traditions, Job is celebrated as a paragon of patience, but Gregory penetrates deeper, reading the narrative and its protagonist as indicative of the fate of humankind with respect to earthly sufferings as well as the Last Judgment. Accordingly, in considering Job 39:5, Gregory asserts that when God speaks to Job out of the whirlwind regarding His power over nature, the "wild ass" that is "set free" is an allegorical allusion to Christ: "And because the Incarnate Lord was made a partaker of our nature, not of our sin, He is said to have been sent forth free, because He is not held under the dominion of sin."²⁶ He continues, "For by His dying He practiced that life which we possess, by rising again He disclosed that life for which we are to seek."²⁷ The early medieval artist of the illustration found in the *First Bible* may well have been influenced, then, by such allegorical interpretations.

The creature placed at the top of the visual arrangement conforms to a "wild ass" in its specific features (long tail, cloven hooves) and simultaneously to Christ in its possession of a large golden halo and hierarchical position.²⁸ The bird and receptacle placed just below suggest the Church, specifically the elect and the sacraments.²⁹ Gregory compares God's recognition of the prominence of the eagle in Job 39:27 to the saints who engage in "sublime contemplation"

24 Gregory, *Moralia in Job or Morals on the Book of Job*, trans. James L. Bliss, 3 vols. (San Bernardino, 2012). For a general introduction to the project see Gregory's *Epistle, Moralia* I.2–5, vol. 1, 9–15. All subsequent citations of the *Moralia* will refer to the volume and page number(s) of this translation as follows: trans. Bliss, 1:9–15.

25 Gregory, *Preface, Moralia in Job* I.2.6–9.19 (trans. Bliss, 1:20–30).

26 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* VI.30.21.66 (trans. Bliss, 3:381).

27 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* VI.30.24.69 (trans. Bliss, 3:383).

28 The Bibliothèque nationale de France identifies this creature as the Lamb of God. See the "Fiche de l'image" for the manuscript Latin 1 folio 206v within the "Banque des images" (<http://images.bnf.fr>).

29 These are identified specifically as a dove and a chalice by the Bibliothèque nationale de France in the "Fiche de l'image."

and who build themselves a “nest of hope in high places.”³⁰ Therefore the creature that resembles an eagle is placed just below the figure that we have interpreted as the “wild ass,” providing it with an elevated viewpoint relative to what Gregory identifies as “sublime contemplation.” The large basin or chalice to the right of the eagle might be read as a receptacle for water or wine, signifying the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. Finally, the artist justifiably placed the serpentine figure at the lowest point in the arrangement in accordance with traditional Christian symbolism. Satan, who becomes the serpent trod under foot after Adam’s and Eve’s disobedience is discovered by God,³¹ is linked in the book of Job to the figures of Behemoth and Leviathan, articulated in God’s catalogue of natural phenomena and as interpreted in Gregory’s *Moralia* on Chapters 39 and 40. Gregory asserts that Satan (in the guise of these beasts), although an ever-present threat, is defeated by the “sharp counsels of the saints” and the Incarnate Christ, who pierces him through with the “sharp sting of His Godhead.”³² We may understand, then, the illustration found in the *First Bible* as integrating the allegorical figures identified in the *Moralia* into an expanded, creative composition that affirms the hierarchy of the natural world and the prominence of the Church under the protection of the risen Christ.

A third early medieval example of an image inspired by the book of Job relates to another popular spiritual text, the 4th-century *Psychomachia* of Prudentius.³³ This account of a “battle for man’s soul” takes the form of a hymn wherein the personified Virtues and Vices interact with biblical characters; here the figure of Patience is associated with the character of Job in opposition to the figure of Wrath. The hymn recounts that Patience ultimately overcomes Wrath by waiting for the personified Vice to “perish by reason of her own violence.”³⁴ Prudentius observes that Job, who “had clung close to the side of his invisible mistress” throughout the narrative, shares in the glory accorded one who has been justified in her conflict after her triumph by virtue of his own endurance under the trials of Satan: “[Job,] by the number of his scars, recounted thousands of hard-won fights, his own glory and his foe’s dishonor. Him the heavenly one bids rest at last.”³⁵

30 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* VI.31.47.94–95 (Bliss, 3:458–59). Here Gregory includes a cross-reference to Philippians 3:2, “Our conversation is in heaven.”

31 Gen. 3:14–15.

32 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* VI.33.8.15–9.17 (trans. Bliss, 3:526–29).

33 Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Psychomachia*, trans. H.J. Thompson (London, 1949).

34 Prudentius, *Psychomachia* (trans. Thompson, 289).

35 Prudentius, *Psychomachia* (trans. Thompson, 291).

An illustrated manuscript of the *Psychomachia* produced in Canterbury in the late 10th century offers a visual representation of these two essential scenes (Fig. 10.3).³⁶ The top illustration reveals a calm, victorious figure of Patience, while the personification of Wrath, although distinctly larger by comparison, lies flailing atop an outcropping of jagged rocks to the right of the composition. In a separate field below, Patience leads the figure of Job through a company of attendant soldiers. They embrace and gaze confidently into one another's eyes, with Job clothed specifically to accord with the other warriors to signify his personal victory as an enduring example of virtue. This illustration also conforms to concepts encountered in popular commentaries on the narrative of Job, specifically the *Moralia*, where Gregory, in reading Chapter 32, writes: "if there is no contest, no opportunities arise for making trial of our virtues. He who boasts of bravery in peace, is but a short-sighted warrior."³⁷

These images from diverse early medieval manuscripts speak to the popularity and power of Job as a spiritual exemplar, particularly in the context of private devotion. Each acknowledges not only the impact of both biblical narrative and its commentary tradition, but also testifies to the artistic creativity designed to appeal to unique viewers. Christians faced both internal struggles and external pressures as the centuries progressed, and the character of Job continued to offer a model of endurance in the midst of a variety of trials. Gregory had observed astutely that, "strength is never shown save in adversity,"³⁸ and as Western Christianity approached and moved beyond the millennium both its Job-related literature and art maintained this focus, with Job demonstrating the omnipresent favor of God amid diverse earthly challenges.

10.5 Romanesque Interpretations

Beyond the turn of the millennium the story and figure of Job, as an ideal of personal spiritual strength, remained inspirational. This was apropos in a time of monastic reform along with expanding travels and conflicts, including the crusading effort initiated at the end of the 11th century.³⁹ Gregory's *Moralia*

36 London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C VIII, fol. 12v.

37 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* V.23.30.51 (trans. Bliss, 3:46).

38 Adapted from Gregory, *Moralia in Job* I.5.16.33 (trans. Bliss, 1:245).

39 An examination of these circumstances may be found in Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History in the Development of Doctrine*, Volume 3: *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)* (Chicago, 1980), especially 215–67. See also Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam* (Ithaca, 2003).

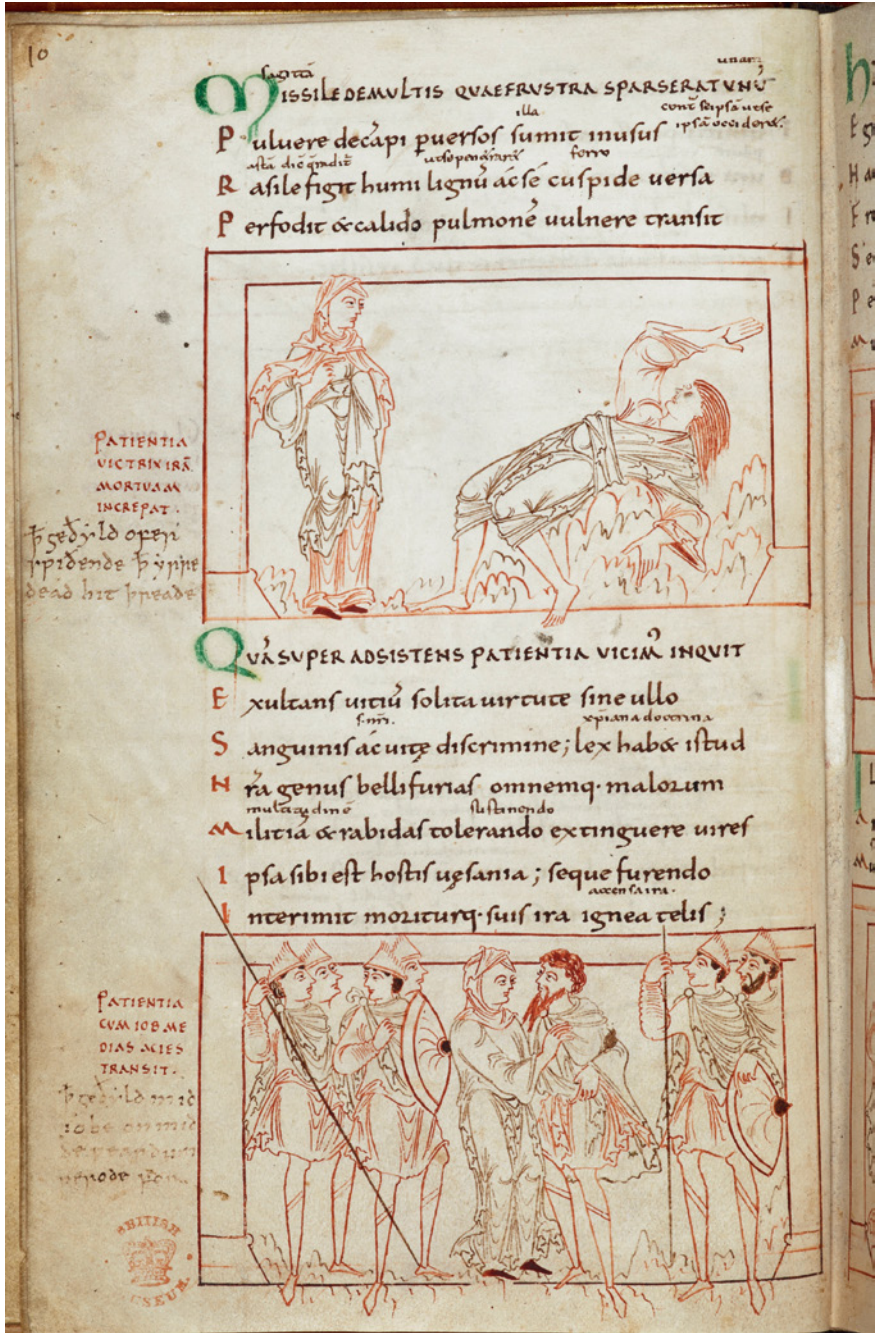


FIGURE 10.3 *Patience with Job victorious over Wrath from Prudentius, Psychomachia, late 10th century, London, British Library Cotton Cleopatra C VIII, fol. 12v*
 PHOTO: COPYRIGHT THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD

continued to be particularly influential on subsequent literary and visual interpretations of Job, with a specific focus on the extent of his torments. As Gregory observed on Chapter 9, “blessed Job was never stricken that the stroke might blot out sin in him, but that it might add to his merit.”⁴⁰ As later literature maintained a recognition of the interpretive tradition, so too artists of the late 11th and early 12th centuries sought to establish inspirational visual paradigms in their portrayals of Job’s grievous suffering vis-à-vis God’s omnipotence and will.

As previously noted, the *Moralia* associates those with whom Job comes into contact over the course of the narrative with specific threats posed to spiritual security within the Church: Job’s wife represents the “depravity of carnal men,” his friends are as heretics, and Elihu personifies the danger of arrogance that may arise within one who has been placed in a position of leadership.⁴¹ Although the words of these attendants issued from ignorance concerning the will of God, Gregory and other Christian interpreters acknowledged their verity where it was deemed appropriate, as in Elihu’s incontrovertible statement regarding the power of God: “He is great in power and justice, and abundant righteousness He will not violate. Therefore mortals fear Him; He does not regard any who are wise in their own conceit.”⁴² Like previous interpreters, Gregory reproaches these attendants for their pride in failing to recognize that Job was smitten under the will of God in order to manifest his virtue. He also maintains Job as a figure foreshadowing Christ in stating that, “he is not improperly called ‘Job,’ that is to say, ‘grieving,’ because he sets forth in his own person the image of Him, of Whom it is announced long before by Isaiah [53:4], that He Himself ‘bore our griefs.’”⁴³ Accordingly Romanesque depictions often have a visual focus on the protagonist’s encounter with his wife, his friends, and Elihu, recognizing an emergent sense of confidence and an identification of Job as a paradigmatic spiritual authority.

Although the entire book of Job undoubtedly inspired both artists and authors during the entire Middle Ages, it is noteworthy that both Scripture and its commentary tradition provided specific inspirational concepts that were examined repeatedly in consideration of the theme of personal suffering during the Romanesque period. Job pointedly explains his own circumstances in Chapter 16:

40 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* II.9.21.33 (trans. Bliss, 1:479).

41 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* V.23.1.3–4 (trans. Bliss, 3:7–9).

42 Job 37:23–24.

43 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* V.23.1.2 (trans. Bliss, 3:7).

I who was formerly so wealthy am all of a sudden broken to pieces.... [God] has torn me with wound upon wound, He has rushed in upon me like a giant. I have sowed sackcloth upon my skin, and have covered my flesh with ashes. My face is swollen with weeping, and my eyelids are dim. These things I have suffered without the iniquity of my hand, when I offered pure prayers to God.⁴⁴

Job responds in this discourse to the “troublesome comfort” of his friends, who had theretofore assailed him continuously with accusations of sin in their misinterpretations of his situation before God.⁴⁵ The significance of these personal attacks was acknowledged in early Christian commentary, such as that of Didymus the Blind: “Even this happened to test Job. For the absence of friends in the midst of suffering is no small pain.... For the Lord of all did not neglect Job out of hate but in order to show the adversary that his wickedness is useless against human virtue.”⁴⁶ Gregory maintained the focus on Job’s virtue in the *Moralia*, and his text remained an important resource for later written commentaries along with medieval artists. As the image of Job beset by diverse torments was magnified in visual interpretations of the Romanesque period, we may see that such imagery accords with Gregory’s powerful assertion of Job as a paradigm of virtue, so that “they [who prioritize the opinion of God] appear to themselves the more *deformed* without, in proportion as that is very beautiful, which they see within.”⁴⁷

The spiritual significance of the attacks directed against Job is revealed in a full-page illustration produced in an early 12th-century French manuscript of the *Moralia* (Fig. 10.4).⁴⁸ Set within a framework adorned above and below with scrolling vine forms issuing from the mouths of monstrous creatures, Job is here depicted seated atop the dung hill scraping the vile matter issuing from his wounds with a potsherd as his tormenters confront him from different positions. Job’s wife is presented at the right holding a scroll as she looks over her left shoulder to the text written on the opposite folio. She points with her left hand to the scroll that she holds opposite, but ultimately this gesture draws the viewer’s attention beyond it to her husband seated at the center of the composition. This directive is mirrored in the placement and gestures of Eliphaz,

44 Job 16:13 and 16:15–18.

45 Job 16:2.

46 *Commentary on Job*, (eds.) and trans. Manlio Simonetti and Marco Conti in *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament*, vol. 6 (Downers Grove, 2006), 38.

47 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* VI.32.1.1 (trans. Bliss, 3:468; emphasis mine).

48 Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, Ref. 301, fol. 107v.



FIGURE 10.4 *Job with his assailants, from Saint Gregory the Great, Moralia in Job, c. 1100–1150, Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, Ref. 301, fol. 107v*

PHOTO: COPYRIGHT CNRS-IRHT, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MARCELINE DESBORDES-VALMORE, DOUAI

Bildad, and Zophar at the left, who cluster together as they each point across to Job.⁴⁹ Job's initial and final accusers are shown inhabiting his personal space,

49 Zophar is shown pointing toward Job with his right hand, while pointing in the opposite direction with his left hand. As this latter gesture overlaps the figure of Eliphaz, it may be

with Elihu partially visible within a smaller semicircular frame above and to the right of Job,⁵⁰ while the devil stands behind him ready to assault with a clawed forearm as fire issues from his mouth. This arrangement thus assembles the diverse origins of suffering into a single composition that is clearly fascinated with Job's physical and emotional torments.

This artist depicts Job as suffering his most grievous wounds simultaneously, thus emphasizing the prominent theme of the narrative (that such suffering may be inflicted from expected and unexpected sources under the ineffable will of God) along with the significance of Job's patient acceptance of these difficult circumstances. Although Job is shown within a context of familiar characters and episodes, it is noteworthy that the artist has amplified the significance of his person in the midst of the depicted violence. As we have noted, Job is placed at the center of the arrangement in order to focus the viewer's attention upon him. In addition, each attendant pictured ultimately returns the attention of the viewer to Job through his or her specific behavior. Furthermore, Job's body is covered completely in wounds,⁵¹ and he raises his left hand to his face in a gesture indicative of confusion and sadness.⁵² Beyond Job's centralized placement, his physical stature is larger than that of his diverse attendants and his head is adorned with a halo. This latter attribute, the mark of spiritual distinction from the imperial and early Christian periods, identifies Job as a virtuous exemplar as well as a type of Christ,⁵³ thereby suggesting his final redemption. This image, then, manifests the purpose of Job's suffering, which purpose Gregory also articulates in the *Moralia*: "Almighty God, knowing what has in it efficacy to prove our good, shuts His ears to hear the

interpreted as a visual device that identifies Job's friends simultaneously as individual and generalized sources of torment, their accusatory intentions contained, as it were, within their assembly.

- 50 This figure is located in a position that will later be accorded to God/Christ, but in this instance is identified as Elihu by the letters written around his head ("Helio"). It is also noteworthy that here Job does not look heavenward for comfort, but rather downward and away, distinct from later interpretations that introduce the figure of God as a witness.
- 51 See Job 2:7. For an examination of the Byzantine interpretation of Job inflicted by this disease of demonic origin, see Maria Evangelatou, "From Word into Image: The Visualization of Ulcer in Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts of the Book of Job," *Gesta* 48/1 (2009): 19–36.
- 52 For an examination of this attitude and its impact upon later images of Christ in distress, see G. von der Osten, "Job and Christ: The Development of a Devotional Image," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16.1/2 (1953): 153–58.
- 53 In medieval art the crucified and suffering Christ is often shown crowned with a halo. See, for example, the "Gero Crucifix" (Germany, Cologne Cathedral, c. 970) and the image of the crucified Christ accompanied by the Virgin and Saint John in a manuscript of the Gospels created in Echternach around 1060 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10438, fol. 95r).



FIGURE 10.5 *Job with his friends; Christ before Gregory and his monks, from Saint Gregory the Great, Moralia in Job, c. 1050, Cambrai, Médiathèque d'Agglomération, 215, fol. iv*

PHOTO: COPYRIGHT CNRS-IRHT, MÉDIATHÈQUE D'AGGLOMÉRATION DE CAMBRAI

voice of persons mourning, that He may add to their advantage, that their life may be purified by punishment, that the peace that cannot be found here may be sought for elsewhere.”⁵⁴

The medieval Christian accepted this ideal of spiritual didacticism associated with Job's experiences, particularly with respect to his reactions to the unrelenting confrontations of his companions. Gregory acknowledged that, “we are much more discernible by God within than we are by men without.”⁵⁵ And as artistic representations of Job's torments became more explicit in the Romanesque period, we also see increased attention to depictions of Job's authority. This is quite clear in an illustration conceived for a late 11th-century manuscript of the *Moralia*, wherein Job before his friends is linked visually and conceptually

54 Adapted from Gregory, *Moralia in Job* III.14.33.40 (trans. Bliss, 2:139).

55 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* IV.19.12.20 (trans. Bliss, 2:388).

both to the leadership of Gregory himself within the monastic community and ultimately to Christ as the head of the Church (Fig. 10.5).⁵⁶ Job is shown at the top of the composition seated before Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar. He assumes a posture similar to that articulated in the previous example, although in this instance he is fully clothed and placed atop a bench with an accompanying footrest. His companions share a bench and manifest similar gestures, as if to suggest a singular mindset conceived against him. Although Job himself manifests a degree of resignation, the fact that he is placed slightly higher than and is clothed in a manner similar to his attendants reveals that the artist conceived (and pictured) him as a figure of authority vis-à-vis their opposing presence. Thus, as tradition held and as the *Moralia* articulated, the value of Job as an ideal of moral authority remains apparent in this introductory image.

A mirrored gathering of unique characters including Gregory and his monastic brothers is set below the presentation of Job and his companions. The medieval monks appear at the lower right with Gregory identifiable as the spiritual leader by his enlarged stature, placement at the forefront of the monastic assembly, and possession of a manuscript indicative of his authorship of the *Moralia*. This distinct group, discernible in their tonsuring together with an inscription reading “discipulis” within a thin frame just above their heads, approaches and inclines with deference toward a comparably larger figure seated at the left. Placed against a background composed of horizontal bands of diverse tones (as if to underscore the supernatural nature of the depicted encounter), this latter figure may be identified as Christ by virtue of an established early portrait type⁵⁷ on account of His elaborate garments, enthronement upon a cushioned bench, and halo. The manuscript held in his left hand and the presence of the Holy Spirit—who appears here in the form of a dove, haloed and perched atop Christ’s right shoulder, inclining to speak into His ear—suggest the identity of Christ as Lord and Judge, the ultimate authority behind and inspiration for Gregory’s *Moralia*.

This visual representation of a divine communion between the Son and the Spirit draws upon both biblical and visual precedents,⁵⁸ while the entire

56 Cambrai, Médiathèque d’Agglomération, 215, fol. iv.

57 Here He is shown with long hair and without a beard, a visage suggestive of an ideal of perpetual youth and divinity that was manifest, for example, in the mosaic of the Good Shepherd in the Oratory of Galla Placidia (Ravenna, c. 425) and the Crucifixion adorning the cover of the Lindau Gospels (c. 875, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1).

58 The presence of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove appears in the account of the baptism of Christ (Matt. 16:17); and while medieval attempts to visualize the Trinity are diverse, a unique example picturing the three Persons as a hand (Father), dove (Spirit), and man (Son) is found in the scene of Pentecost included in the 9th-century Drogo Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 9428, fol. 78r).



FIGURE 10.6 *Job with his wife and his friends, Book of Job with Commentary, 11th–12th century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17959, fol. 3v*
 PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, BY PERMISSION

composition provides a connection that the Christian viewer would have been able to trace from the Person of Christ (the second Person of the Trinity) to the community of the monastery and finally back to the person of Job as interpreted allegorically and tropologically in the *Moralia*. Here Gregory repeatedly affirms that the person of Job—and more specifically, his painful, innocent suffering—could be connected conceptually to the Person of Christ and His experience of the Passion.⁵⁹ Certainly from the Christian perspective, however, the suffering and ultimate redemptive purpose of the Passion exceeded all paradigms drawn from the Old Testament. Thus in this illustration accompanying the *Moralia* the medieval artist clearly gives ultimate prominence to Christ. Such an artistic move aligns well with Gregory’s acknowledgement that although Job can find nothing blameworthy in himself, as “he extends the eyes of the mind to the life of the Redeemer” he is able to see “how much he comes short” with regard to his perceived grievances.⁶⁰

The emergent view of Job as a figure capable of confident spiritual instruction as evident in the *Moralia* and other medieval commentaries also finds visual expression in certain Romanesque manuscripts. One example is found in

59 See, for example, *Moralia in Job* I.2.23.42, wherein Gregory associates Job 1:8 with the assumption of a human nature by Christ, the Son of God.
 60 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* IV.21.6.11 (trans. Bliss, 2:492).

a copy of the biblical text that was created in the late 11th century in France and supplemented with commentary (Fig. 10.6).⁶¹ The historiated initial “U” presents Job seated before the now familiar assembly comprised of his wife and three friends, set against a multi-colored background. Each one of his friends, adorned in contemporary garb, looks towards the centrally placed Job and gestures independently in acknowledgement of his companion’s circumstances. Job’s wife is set far to the left, and, unlike the male companions, she turns away from the center of the composition while partially covering her face to avoid the stench emanating from her husband’s body.⁶² As with the previous examples, Job is beset, visually and conceptually, by physical and psychological torments simultaneously, and the nature of his suffering (familiar according to general human experience, and yet harsh in its intensity and immediacy) is manifest clearly to the viewer. However, unlike the compositions examined previously, this illustration conceives the presence of Job as authoritative and confident, and thus provides an alternative interpretation of his character.

The central placement and enlargement of Job relative to other figures in the image accords with the traditional esteem he elicited, and the body stripped and wounded underscores his physical sufferings which are to be identified and respected by the viewer.⁶³ Yet this artist endowed Job with an attitude different from that seen in earlier art, which is apparent in his posture and gesture: he sits erect, turned toward his friends with a confidence that accords with the personal power he had established previously within his community, as noted in the biblical book and the *Testament of Job*.⁶⁴ His body is placed upon a decorative bench, and he crosses his left leg over his right knee while raising his left hand in a gesture suggestive of his addressing the opinions advanced by his male companions. His right hand grasps the potsherd that is incorporated into previous illustrations, but in this instance it appears not unlike a bound folio; and thus Job assumes an air of authority and appears to be passing judgment. This notion accords with Job’s own reminiscence regarding his former status: “I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my justice was like a robe and a turban.”⁶⁵ This image thus brings together the torments inflicted

61 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17959, fol. 3v. The text of Job and the associated commentary are bound with three other texts: Fridegisus, *Tractatus de grammatica*; Bonifatius, *Ars grammatica*; and Tatuinus, *Ars grammatica*. See the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (<http://gallica.bnf.fr>).

62 A gesture displayed previously on the “Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.”

63 Recall, for example, the image of Job in Douai, Ref. 301 (fol. 107v).

64 The first chapter of Job identifies him as “the greatest of all the people of the east” (1:3), and Chapter 2 of the *Testament* provides an inventory of specific holdings that were often used to serve the poor (II.9.1–8; trans. Spittler, 842–43).

65 Job 29:14.



FIGURE 10.7 Pamplona, Museo de Navarra, capital of the former Romanesque cloister of the Cathedral with scenes from the book of Job, c. 1145
 PHOTO: SUPERSTOCK, ALBUM/ORONoz AND MUSEO DE NAVARRA, BY PERMISSION

upon Job's body with the confidence in his own innocence, which evolves over the course of the biblical narrative. As Job explains to his friends, "I will take my flesh in my teeth, and put my life in my hand. See, he will kill me; I have no hope; but I will defend my ways to his face. This will be my salvation, that the godless shall not come before him."⁶⁶ On Job's sense of his own righteousness, Gregory affirms: "the holy man ... scorns [his friends], when they scorn his destitution, and, placed upon a dung hill in the body, he shows on how high a summit of virtue he is seated within."⁶⁷ In both the *Moralia* and this artistic depiction, then, Job assumes the roles of master and judge, instructing his companions—and, by extension, medieval readers, hearers, and viewers—regarding faith in the power of God and His providential will. This recognition of Job's authority and his typological connection to Christ is also manifest in subsequent artistic interpretations of the later 12th century.

10.6 Gothic Interpretations

The Gothic age began around the middle of the 12th century in response to distinct cultural changes including expanded travel and the elaboration of academic practices, which in turn fostered artistic experimentation endowed with a heightened sense of intellectual complexity. One familiar locus of cultural

⁶⁶ Job 13:14–16.

⁶⁷ Gregory, *Moralia in Job* III.9.2.2 (trans. Bliss, 2:6).

development by this point in European history was the monastic context, and the exploration of diverse artistic themes within ornate programs of sculptural decoration applied within the cloister manifest an apparent desire to stimulate the imagination of these privileged viewers.⁶⁸ Illustrative of this practice are the decorative capitals that adorned the cloister of the cathedral in Pamplona, Spain, which date to around 1145 and display foliate ornamentation in addition to scenes from the narratives of Job and the Passion of Christ. One particularly noteworthy example, shown in Figure 10.7,⁶⁹ integrates the composition of Job attended by his wife and four male companions developed in the manuscript tradition with another arrangement that concretizes the Christian typology found in early Christian and medieval commentary and inspired by Job's own words: "For I know that my Redeemer lives, and that at the last he will stand upon the earth; and after my skin has been thus destroyed, then in my flesh I shall see God."⁷⁰ This carving draws inspiration from the familiar scene of Job confronted by the different attendants, and here he is shown riddled with sores while leaning away from the group pressing toward him from the left side of the capital. This position is replicated in the composition with Job and Christ situated to the right, but in this second scene—although his body remains distorted in the manifestation of distinct wounds, and the support of the dung hill is clearly apparent—the figure of Job is enlarged, and his attitude is comparably confident as he inclines animatedly upward toward the appearance of the divine comforter, emerging from the clouds of heaven with a gesture of acknowledgment and blessing.

Here the medieval monastic viewer would have seen the torments and triumph of Job overlapping visually and conceptually, and would have understood, as Job himself did, that the source of his salvation (and indeed all human redemption) lay in God, the omnipotent and perfect judge of human character. As noted above, the tradition of spiritual commentary conceded that the

68 The cloister capitals at Saint-Pierre in Moissac, France are an early manifestation of this phenomenon (c. 1115). The emergence of fantastical imagery within such a context, and the perceived threat to spiritual stability associated with it by certain monastic leaders, is examined by Conrad Rudolph in *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's "Apologia" and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia, 1990).

69 Pamplona, Museo de Navarra. This image was initially encountered at the photographic archive of the Getty Research Institute (image number 02806875).

70 Job 19:25–26. On the conceptual and visual connection between Job and Christ, see the above discussion of the illustration accompanying the 11th-century manuscript of the *Moralia*, Cambrai, Médiathèque d'Agglomération, 215, fol. 1v. The image of Christ communicating with Job manifest in the Pamplona capital may also be seen in the 12th-century French manuscript of the *Moralia*, Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 12, fol. 5v.

opinions of Job's companions offered "glimpses" into the nature of God and Christian orthodoxy, but that they also failed to recognize the essential reality of his situation, namely that his sufferings were endured in order to manifest his virtue and were not a punishment for his sins. This artist has accordingly placed Job alone with God, rendered in the portrait type of Christ and adorned with a cruciform halo, as if to communicate visually what Christian commentators understood in Job's exclamation offered at the height of his torments when he spoke of his "Redeemer," whom he would one day see with his own eyes as a source of comfort and support.⁷¹ Job's tortured physical state remains evident, and yet the Pamplona capital offers a distinct presentation of hope in the exchange between Job and God/Christ. It is as if Job has been "borne up" into the realm of heaven,⁷² and thus the artistic conception of his personal experience mirrors the desired experiences of the monks in their cloistered community. Though these specific viewers were tied to the earth by virtue of their physical labor and suffering, their withdrawal from the realm of material concerns aimed at a deeper union with God and thereby indicated a refined sense of spiritual responsibility. This accords with Gregory's observation in the *Moralia* that, "Yet it happens by the extraordinary governance of Almighty God, that when in this life the spirit of the righteous man travails most in adversities, he thirsts the more ardently after the beholding of his Maker's face."⁷³

In addition to maintaining traditional visual formulas, artistic depictions of Job in the late 12th century experimented with the biblical narrative in noteworthy ways. An image created for a German manuscript of the monastic *Dialogus de laudibus sanctae crucis* (Fig. 10.8) provides one example of this expanded conceptual approach.⁷⁴ This full-page pen and ink drawing presents a grouping of eight separate scenes, with seven taken from the Old Testament accompanied by the central crowning image of Christ shown trampling the grapes in the winepress, an allusion to His fulfillment of Isaiah 63.⁷⁵ This

71 Job 19:25–27.

72 The angelic attendant shown above and to the right of Christ on the capital accords with this concept and also links the experience of Job to that of Paul recounted in 2 Corinthians. This typological connection was offered repeatedly in the *Moralia*: see for example Gregory's interpretation of Job 39:29 (VI.31.50.100–51.103; trans. Bliss, 3:462–64).

73 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* III.16.26.32 (trans. Bliss, 2:235).

74 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm. 14159, fol. 4r. An examination of this work is found in Wolfgang Hartl, *Text und Miniaturen der Handschrift "Dialogus de laudibus sanctae crucis": Ein Monastischer Dialog und Sein Bilderzyklus* (Hamburg, 2007).

75 See Isaiah 63:3 and 6: "I have trodden the winepress alone, and of the Gentiles there is not a man with me: I have trampled on them in my indignation, and have trodden them down in my wrath, and their blood is sprinkled upon my garments, and I have stained all my



FIGURE 10.8 *Scenes from Dialogus de laudibus sanctae crucis, c. 1170–1175, Munich, Staatsbibliothek München, clm. 14159, fol. 4r*

PHOTO: BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN, BY PERMISSION

symbolic portrayal of the realization of divine justice is associated with the illustrations of scenes taken from the Old Testament. Alongside the central figure of Christ are images of Naboth stoned by the agents of Jezebel⁷⁶ and Elijah visiting with the widow of Zarephath.⁷⁷ Both are stories of hardship endured with the development of an unwavering faith in the justice of God. The explicitly Christian interpretation is seen clearly in the figure of the widow who displays a large cross in her right hand, a reconceptualization of the “two sticks” she took up to fashion a meal for herself and her son.⁷⁸ The medieval monastic viewer would have recalled the ultimate encounter of this figure with Elijah, wherein her son was saved from the brink of death by the pleading of the prophet for God’s mercy.⁷⁹ Thus the cross of “two sticks” forms the instrument of eternal salvation familiar to the monastic viewer. Just below this top register are two scenes addressing the experiences of Elisha, the successor of Elijah: at the left he thrusts a stick into the water, whereupon “the iron swam,”⁸⁰ and at the right a group of mocking boys from Bethel are attacked by two bears in fulfillment of the curse of this prophet.⁸¹ As with the images in the top register, here too we see the theme of divine justice, a justice manifest in acts of both mercy and violence.

The lower register presents Job riddled with wounds and seated upon the dung hill, Jonah cast out from the mouth of the great fish,⁸² and the younger Tobias taking a fish “by the gill” in order to retrieve the healing elements from within its body.⁸³ These scenes may be understood as connected to the others in their association with the justice of God, but they also share a focus on mercy and salvation granted after a period of severe personal hardship. Each of these men was confounded by the trials that he faced, but finally found comfort in God who acknowledged their repentance. As Job accepted that he had spoken “unwisely” concerning God and endured his penance in “dust and ashes,”⁸⁴ so Jonah acknowledged his disobedience⁸⁵ and Tobias endured a

apparel.... And I have trodden down the people in my wrath, and have made them drunk in my indignation, and have brought down their strength to the earth.”

76 1 Kings 21:13.

77 1 Kings 17:8–16.

78 1 Kings 17:12.

79 1 Kings 17:21–22.

80 2 Kings 6:6.

81 2 Kings 2:24.

82 Jonah 2:11.

83 Tobit 6:4.

84 Job 42.

85 Jonah 2.



FIGURE 10.9

Job with his assailants, Manerius Bible, c. 1175–1200, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ref. 9, fol. 162

PHOTO: COPYRIGHT CNRS-IRHT, BIBLIOTHÈQUE SAINTE-GENEVIÈVE, PARIS

long absence from his family in serving the will of his father.⁸⁶ Accordingly, as Jonah observed that “you brought up my life from the pit, O Lord my God,”⁸⁷ so the elder Tobias praised God saying, “You are great, O Lord, forever, and your kingdom is for all ages: For you scourge, and you save: you lead down to hell, and bring up again: and there is none that can escape your hand.”⁸⁸ Job similarly recollects the justice and mercy of God in that, though the wicked persist, ultimately they “shall be brought down as all things.”⁸⁹ The image of the cross is present in each of these illustrations⁹⁰ to remind the monastic viewer of the presence of God in eternity and of the particular typological connections between each character and the eternal Son. This connection to Christ and His Passion remained a focus for literary and visual works produced in the late 12th and 13th century as well.

The summary depiction of the story of Job, realized in an arrangement including the aforementioned companions along with the presence of Christ, also appears in an illustrated Bible adorned by the scribe “Manerius” around 1175 (Fig. 10.9).⁹¹ Although clearly inspired by established tradition, this image

86 Tobit 4–6.

87 Jonah 2:6.

88 Tobit 13:1–2 (adaption based on the Vulgate).

89 Job 24:24.

90 Each cross is rendered in red, drawing the attention of the viewer and perhaps alluding symbolically to the violent bloodshed of the Passion.

91 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 9, fol. 162r.

presents a distinctly compacted grouping overwhelmed with additional visual distractions, suggestive of the disquieting nature of Job's situation. The artist also has placed Job upon the dunghill, but his form is at a decidedly lower point to underscore his humility and the pressure of the assaults that confront him. Job's wife stands directly in front of him, while the four male companions identified in the narrative surround them from above. The male attendants are noteworthy in their possession of crowns, emblems of authority and power (reflective of Job's position prior to his demonic attack). These also recall *The Testament of Job*, which identifies the three men who initially came to comfort Job as kings.⁹² Satan is shown at the lower right, reaching his hand under the decorative stem of the initial to touch the left arm of Job, while the figure of Christ watches from the upper right as the events of the narrative unfold before Him.

These characters, drawn from the biblical source and inspired by established visual precedents, would have been familiar to the medieval viewer. Yet the artist also has provided each character with an elongated scroll, the traditional symbol of wisdom and prophecy, which here indicates the speech offered by each individual as the debate over Job's innocence progresses. These scrolls spiral around and intertwine within the confined space, harking back to the interlace decoration adorning earlier medieval manuscripts.⁹³ Here, however, they also serve to overwhelm the perception of the viewer, highlighting the diverse opinions and voices in the narrative concerning the reasons for Job's suffering. Positioned thus in this illustration, the figure of Job accords with his humiliation: "As through a wide breach [the attacks] come; amid the crash they roll on. Terrors are turned upon me; my honour is pursued as by the wind, and my prosperity has passed away like a cloud."⁹⁴ Yet for all of his torments, God acknowledged Job as virtuous and he was restored to his former glory after he came to understand the nature of divine justice. This understanding and final restoration were not possible without the experience of suffering. And so the artist pictures Christ above as an observer, separated from the interior composition and authoritative in His bearing, to accord with the ideal of divine sovereignty. If we assume a typological reading, a suggestion of Christ's sovereignty is found in the *Testament*, wherein Job affirms: "These kings will pass away, and rulers come and go; but their splendor and boast shall be as in

⁹² *Testament of Job* III.28.1 (trans. Spittler, 852).

⁹³ This decorative embellishment is found particularly in manuscripts developed within what is known as the Hiberno-Saxon context such as, for example, the late 7th-century Book of Durrow (Dublin, Trinity College, MS A.4.5).

⁹⁴ Job 30:14–15.

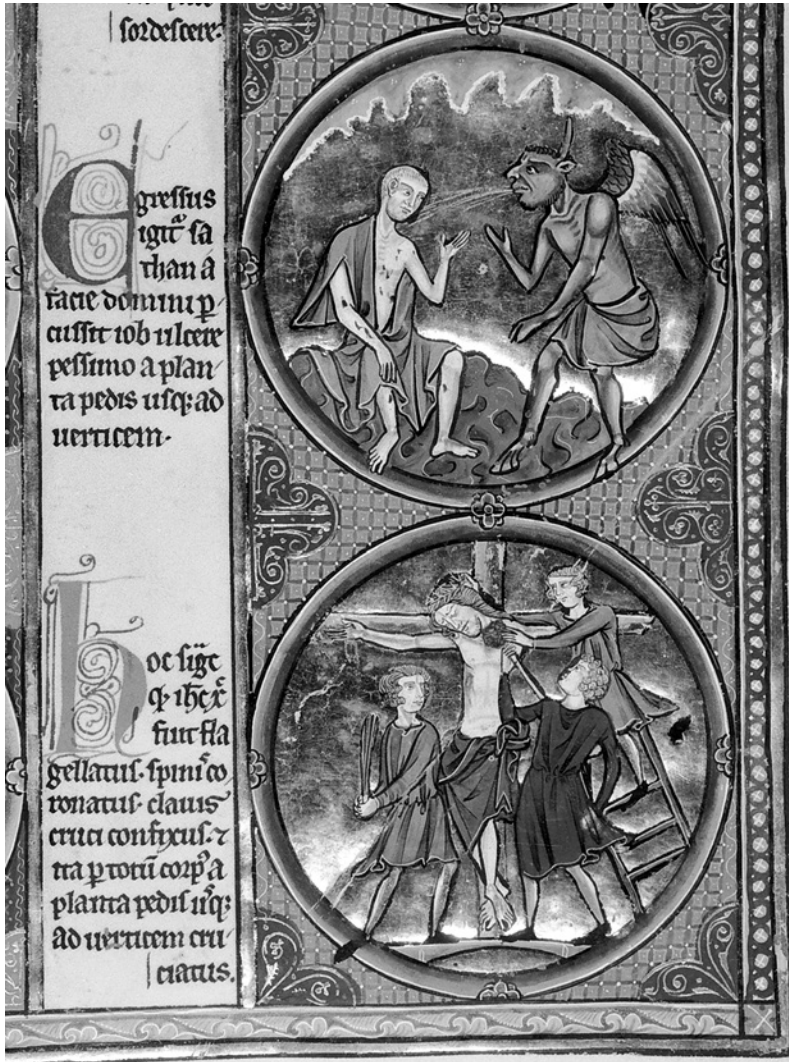


FIGURE 10.10 *Scenes with Job and Christ, Bible moralisée, c. 1250, Oxford, Bodleian Library 270b, fol. 208r*

PHOTO: THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, BY PERMISSION

a mirror. But my kingdom is forever and ever, and its splendor and majesty are in the chariots of the Father.”⁹⁵

Another unique project, which emerged by the 13th century, were the Moralized Bibles (*Bibles moralisées*). These compilations present excerpts from the

95 *Testament of Job* III.33.8–9 (trans. Spittler, 856).

Bible with accompanying illustrations arranged in an order intended to connect the Testaments typologically and to identify the biblical passages' moral content in accordance with contemporary scholarly opinions.⁹⁶ The luxurious materials and creative devotion applied to these manuscripts have encouraged scholars to associate them with royal patronage,⁹⁷ and as their design reflected contemporary artistic developments⁹⁸ so their content was apparently intended to inspire a secular, albeit educated, audience. One of the manuscripts created in Paris near the middle of the 13th century⁹⁹ includes an image of Job attacked by Satan above—and thereby in conceptual association with—a roundel depicting Christ crucified (Fig. 10.10).¹⁰⁰ The scene drawn from the book of Job illustrates an event recounted in the second chapter whereby Satan inflicts “loathsome sores on Job from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head.”¹⁰¹ The biblical excerpt is written in Latin to the left of this image, as is the tropological commentary below. Here Christ is identified as a man whose later torments mirror those of Job, both in their diversity and in their nature, which overwhelmed Him physically and psychologically. As the artist has depicted Christ hanging upon the cross and attacked by various agents wielding the whip, the crown of thorns, and the sponge laced with vinegar, He is described specifically in the inscription as having been beaten (“flagellatus”) and afflicted with a suffering that was comparably “grievous” over His entire body (“totus corpus”). The artist therefore drew inspiration from contemporary scholarly and artistic practices. Long had the comparisons been drawn between the sufferings of Job and those experienced by Christ and the Church,

96 For an examination of the phenomenon of the Moralized Bibles see, for example, John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 2000) and Katherine Tachau, “God’s Compass and *Vana Curiositas*: Scientific Study in the Old French *Bible Moralisée*,” *Art Bulletin* 80.1 (1998): 7–33, especially 7–10.

97 See Tachau, “God’s Compass,” 7.

98 The similarities drawn between the arrangement of imagery in certain Gothic stained glass windows and the placement of roundels as pictorial frames in the Bibles moralisées is mentioned in numerous art historical resources: see, for example, Marilyn Stokstad and Michael Cothren, *Art History* (Upper Saddle River, 2011), 515. Yves Christe examines the windows of Sainte-Chapelle in Paris with respect to their presentation of Job and related figures, along with literary sources of inspiration, in “La Bible du roi. L’histoire de Job dans les Bibles moralisées et les vitraux de la Sainte-Chapelle,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 47.186 (2004): 113–26.

99 Tachau, “God’s Compass,” 7.

100 Oxford, Bodleian Library, 270b, fol. 208r.

101 Job 2:7. Here Satan appears to spit in the face of Job while simultaneously gesturing upward and downward in accordance with the scriptural narrative.



FIGURE 10.11 *Chartres, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, north transept, right portal tympanum, c. 1220*
 PHOTO: COPYRIGHT THE COURTAULD
 INSTITUTE OF ART, LONDON

and these illustrations make clear in their vivid colors and purposeful arrangement what Gregory had observed centuries earlier in the *Moralia*, namely that “it would have been but little that he [Job/Christ] himself did good things, except that for the heightening of his goodness he likewise sustained what was evil at the hands of others.”¹⁰²

The medieval public also came to recognize Job as a paradigm of the virtues of patience and humility as they gained access to different types of spiritual literature and observed the monumental sculptural programs adorning the more prominent cathedrals of the 13th century. The book of Job was examined in scholarly commentaries¹⁰³ and lessons inspired by the text were also present in the Office of the Dead included within Books of Hours. These latter works offered secular patrons the opportunity to pray the monastic office while simultaneously benefiting from accompanying imagery.¹⁰⁴ The majority

102 Gregory, *Moralia in Job* IV.20.39.76 (trans. Bliss, 2:478).

103 See, for example, Peter of Blois (d. 1211), *Compendium in Job* (PL 207.795–870).

104 See, for example, Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240–1570* (New Haven, 2006); and François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France* (New York, 1978). A brief discussion of the Office of the Dead may be found on page 22 in Kathi Meyer, “Saint Job as a Patron of Music,” *Art Bulletin* 36.1 (March 1954): 21–31.

of the selections for the Office of the Dead were taken from the tenth chapter wherein Job laments, “I loathe my life” and “[would that it] were as though I had not been, carried from the womb to the grave.”¹⁰⁵ When the narrative of Job was integrated into the decoration of a public monument, he was not only a “figure” of Christ or the Church in accordance with the intellectual tradition, but also a “figure” of every medieval man and woman who sought divine mercy in an environment fraught with temptations.

The portrayal of Job and his sufferings integrated into the decorative program adorning the exterior of Gothic cathedrals was intended for a wide and varied audience. One of the more prominent and intellectually complex examples was created for the right portal of the northern transept of Notre-Dame de Chartres during the first half of the 13th century (Fig. 10.11).¹⁰⁶ Prior to this fabrication it appears that the character of Job factored into “marginal” cathedral imagery such as the small socle relief adjacent to the central portal at Notre-Dame de Paris, which offers the familiar composition of Job seated and attended by his wife and three male companions.¹⁰⁷ The Parisian artist realized heightened plausibility with respect to human movement and individual psychologies, and even paid refined attention to Job’s physical suffering in the presentation of worms issuing from his ulcers and crawling across the dung hill, as inspired by the scriptural narrative and both academic and popular literature.¹⁰⁸ This familiar arrangement was expanded in both scale and intellectual interpretation in the realization of the sculpted tympanum at Chartres.

The Chartres tympanum is divided into two registers, the lower field presenting the “Judgment of Solomon,”¹⁰⁹ while Job appears above surrounded by his

105 Job 10:1 and 10:19.

106 See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (Baltimore, 1959). Ingrid Westerhoff identifies the specific examples of Job integrated into the sculptural programs of French cathedrals in “Hiob in der Französischen Kathedralskulptur,” *Walraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 50 (1989): 39–68.

107 Brief discussions of this relief are found in Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, trans. John Goodman (New York, 1998), 114–15, and Alan Temko, *Notre-Dame of Paris* (New York, 1955), 207.

108 Job speaks to his disease in 17:13–14: “I have said to rottenness: Thou art my father; to worms, my mother and my sister.” The *Testament of Job* notes that his body was “worm-eaten,” and that when the worms issued from his flesh upon the ground he retrieved them in order to acknowledge that the torment could only be removed under the will of God (see *Testament* V.6). Gregory associates the worms with the “disquieting thoughts” that may “gnaw at the mind” (*Moralia in Job* III.13.45.50; trans. Bliss, 2:112).

109 1 Kings 3:16–28. Katzenellenbogen asserts that here Solomon’s judgment is “about to be carried out” (*The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 67).

diverse companions. As noted above, this latter scene may be connected compositionally to the images painted in certain later medieval manuscripts,¹¹⁰ but it is worthy of note that the impact is quite different as one transitions from a singular private experience of reading a manuscript to a large public presentation. Job is placed upon the familiar dunghill, but here he reclines until he appears almost prostrate, a configuration that has been identified as a prefiguration of the Passion of Christ.¹¹¹ As his wife leans from the right edge of the composition, the three friends cluster near Job at the left. Satan appropriately touches the head of Job and his foot simultaneously¹¹² as he gazes mockingly upward at the apex of the tympanum toward the frontal half-figure of Christ, who is attended by two angels to designate Him as a divine witness within the heavenly realm.¹¹³ This arrangement thus presents a large, powerful imagining of affliction and judgment as existing in accordance with the will of God.

The other two portals adorning the northern transept of the cathedral present scenes pertaining to Mary and to the human nature of Christ. The coronation of the Virgin as the Queen of Heaven adorns the central tympanum, while scenes related to the birth of Christ appear above the left entrance. Taken



FIGURE 10.12 *Job with God, Bible, c. 1265, Princeton, University Library Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, 82, fol. 233v*

PHOTO: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, BY PERMISSION

110 See Douai, BM 301, fol. 107v and Paris, BSG 9, fol. 162r.

111 See Terrien, *The Iconography of Job*, 75. Terrien also identifies the mound supporting the figure of Job as consisting of “marine shells,” with the “Tree of Absolute Knowledge” shown behind him at the left and the “Tree of Life” included in the background at the right.

112 Another visualization of Job 2:7.

113 This composition also recalls the decoration realized upon the cloister capital from the cathedral in Pamplona.

together these elements broadly bespeak the redemption of postlapsarian humankind through Christ with the Old Testament narratives articulating fear and conflict being counterbalanced by the New Testament events characterized by joy. As the everlasting Virgin and Queen of Heaven, Mary becomes an intercessor for the pleas of medieval Christian viewers addressed to her son, the very Son of God.¹¹⁴ Accordingly, the figure of Christ placed above the tormented body (and mind) of Job accords not only with the presence of God recorded in the biblical narrative, but also with visual precedent and with literary commentary in order to reaffirm the 13th-century viewer's understanding of the Redeemer's omnipresence throughout the course of history. Thus as Gregory observed in the *Moralia*, "on the approach of death, [Christ] represented in His own person the struggle which exists in our minds; who suffer fear and dread, on approaching, through the dissolution of the flesh, to the eternal judgment."¹¹⁵ This sense of the human condition is reaffirmed in the 13th-century commentary on Job authored by Thomas Aquinas, who noted that "Now God is said to test a man not so that He Himself may learn what kind of man he is but in order to have others know him and so that the man may know himself."¹¹⁶ The desire to know oneself and to arrive at a relationship with God through the inspiration of biblical *exempla* remained points of consideration into the Renaissance period.

10.7 Conclusion

This survey of the visual interpretations of Job developed during the Middle Ages might fittingly conclude, as the scriptural narrative of Job's experience concluded, with the removal of all earthly distractions amid the emergence of God Himself to confront Job in his protestations of innocence. Job, in his final response to God, recognizes that he, like his wife and his various male companions, did not comprehend his situation adequately and had therefore

¹¹⁴ The cathedral had previously (c. 1150) addressed such themes as the divine and human natures of Christ, along with Mary as the mother of God and Queen of Heaven, within the sculpted program of the so-called "Royal Portal" at the eastern entrance to the structure. See Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Program of Chartres Cathedral*, 7–26.

¹¹⁵ Gregory, *Moralia in Job* V.24.2.32 (trans. Bliss, 3:72–73).

¹¹⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *The Literal Exposition on Job*, trans. Anthony Damico (Atlanta, 1989), 153. Samuel Terrien identifies the commentary on Job authored by Pierre de Roissy, Chancellor of Chartres, as a source of inspiration for this sculptural program (*The Iconography of Job*, 75).

been compelled to speak unwisely.¹¹⁷ When God finally addresses him out of the “whirlwind”¹¹⁸ and states that “All things that are under heaven are mine,”¹¹⁹ Job assents to his subjugation: “I had heard of you by the hearing of the ear, but now my eye sees you; therefore I despise myself, and repent in dust and ashes.”¹²⁰ A visual interpretation of this final confrontation before Job’s restoration and redemption is found in a French manuscript of the Bible created during the second half of the 13th century (Fig. 10.12).¹²¹ A small initial “U” presents Job seated at the left against a deep blue background punctuated by small points of white and red, as stars cast across an evening sky. A light cloak and a golden halo have replaced the “mantle” of wounds that characterizes previous illustrations of his body. The face of God emerges at the upper right of the frame, His gaze meeting that of Job directly in response to the latter’s gesture of address. Here the artist has recognized the biblical narrative and the associated commentary tradition¹²² while simultaneously conceiving a unique rendering of perhaps the most significant moment in Job’s life (and by extension the life of every Christian). This is the moment at which God’s incomprehensibility is recognized and accepted. The medieval viewer, like Job himself, would have likely understood that the presence of God, though He remained ineffable, was detectible in the beauty of nature and in the nature of man himself, which reflected the “image” of God in his intellect and soul.¹²³

This survey has sought to reveal the impact that the visualization of Job asserted upon a medieval audience; although European artists rendered this character and his experiences in diverse formats, their creative efforts all revealed a figure that was both familiar in his humanity and extraordinary in his experience of redemption. These innovative images ultimately accord with the perspective on Job articulated in the *Moralia*:

For the minds of holy men despise all transitory objects, and behold everything that is proud, and everything that passes away, sink beneath

117 Job 42:3.

118 Job 38:1.

119 Job 41:2 (adaption based on the Vulgate).

120 Job 42:5–6.

121 Princeton, University Library 82, fol. 233v.

122 The head of God here seems to be adorned with a cruciform halo in order to designate, according to a Christian reading, the Person of the Son.

123 See Augustine, *The Trinity*, trans. Stephen McKenna (Washington, DC, 1963), especially Book 11.

them. And placed on a lofty eminence, they see all things the more subject to them, the more truly they submit themselves to the Author of all; and they transcend all things, just as they prostrate themselves in true humility before the Creator of all things.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Gregory, *Moralia in Job* V.26.17.31 (trans. Bliss, 3:146).

The Book of Job in Latin Biblical Poetry of the Later Middle Ages*

Greti Dinkova-Bruun

11.1 Introduction

Job's prolonged suffering, patient fortitude, and unwavering faith are motifs that appear frequently in the multifaceted medieval poetic renderings of this most startling and instructive biblical story. The hero's sudden downfall, continuing struggle, and final victory over the incomprehensible harshness of misfortune had universal meaning for the medieval reader by providing an unequivocal example both of God's omnipotence and of man's belief in his ultimate justice. The Book of Job is a dramatic narrative in which a good man and a true believer is subjected to lengthy suffering, both physical and mental. Deprived of his wealth, robbed of his children, and afflicted with disease, Job is further harassed by his wife and friends who try to convince him that his constancy is both futile and foolish. Indeed, one cannot escape the inevitable question of why, at Satan's sly provocation, God is so cruelly punishing one of his most faithful servants. The theological implications raised by this question require serious consideration. It is no wonder then that Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* is one of the lengthiest and most involved medieval exegetical treatises.¹ Gregory's insights into the meaning of Job's story, as well as his method of investigation, shaped the perception of this biblical book for centuries to follow. Medieval poetry is not excepted from Gregory's influence.

The corpus of texts examined in this study includes examples of three types of poetic responses to the *mores* uncovered in the *Liber Job*, varying in length and purpose and exhibiting a range of theological, exegetical, and didactic concerns. First, the shorter poems, the epigrams and *tituli*, will be presented; then a

* I would like to thank Professor Peter Stotz, Professor Christopher McDonough, and Dr. Laura Napran for reading an earlier draft of this paper and making useful comments and suggestions for its improvement.

1 Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Job* 1–xxxv, (ed.) Marc Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, vols. 143, 143A, and 143B (Turnhout, 1979–1985). For a translation of Gregory's treatise, see James Bliss and Charles Marriott, *Morals on the Book of Job by S. Gregory the Great*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1844–1850). For a more recent translation of Books 1–10, see Brian Kerns, ocsO, *Gregory the Great, Moral Revelations on the Book of Job*, 2 vols. (Collegeville, 2014–2015).

discussion of the longer narrative paraphrases of the story will follow; and finally, some of the mnemonic versifications of the 14th and 15th centuries will be analyzed. The ultimate goal of this examination is to outline the major themes chosen from the lengthy Book of Job by the poets in their works, as well as to explain what the aims of the versifiers were and who was their intended audience.

11.2 Epigrams and *Tituli*

Because of their limited length, epigrammatic verses inevitably capture only carefully selected aspects of the rich Job narrative. For the most part, they present Job as a paragon of a patient and just man, explore the allegorical significance of certain episodes from the story, or make typological connections between the Old-Testament hero and Christ. A meaningful classification of these short pieces can be proposed on the basis of their intended use. Thus, the first group includes the so-called *inscriptions* of Hildebert of Le Mans (d. 1133) and the *tituli* of the anonymous late 12th-century *Pictor in Carmine*, which seem to have been composed to serve as captions for either monumental or manuscript pictorial representations. The second group, in contrast, encompasses verses that remain in a more traditional theological and pastoral context, the examples being the biblical epigrams of Hildebert and the *Versarius* of William de Montibus (d. 1213).

Some of the explanatory *tituli* have never actually been found as image-captions, which suggests the possibility that, at least in some instances, the poets may have been thinking of mental rather than physical pictorial cycles. In the case of Job, the verse titles can vary from straightforward statements, such as Hildebert's "Vir fuit in terra, Iob nomine, uir sine guerra" (There was on earth a peaceful man called Job)² to extremely elaborate typological parallels as seen in the *Pictor in Carmine*, a collection of verse couplets that could have been written as clarifying *superscriptions* for pictures used as church decoration.³

Job is a prominent figure in the *Pictor's* complex web of chosen antitypes or *capitula* (i.e., major themes from the New Testament) and their corresponding types or subchapters (i.e., figures and events mostly from the Old Testament). Within each subchapter there are multiple verse distichs pertaining to it. Job is

2 The text is printed in Arwed Arnulf, *Versus ad Picturas: Studien zur Titulusdichtung als Quellengattung der Kunstgeschichte von der Antike bis zum Hochmittelalter* (Munich-Berlin, 1997), 278, no. XL.

3 Karl-August Wirth, *Pictor in Carmine: Ein Handbuch der Typologie aus der Zeit um 1200. Nach MS 300 des Corpus Christi College in Cambridge herausgegeben* (Berlin, 2006), 110 and 119–23.

mentioned in relationship to nine antitypes, within which we find as many as 28 hexameter couplets inspired by his story. One example will suffice to illustrate the poet's ingenious working method. Antitype xxx11, entitled "Temptatio Domini de auaritia" (Matt. 4:8–9 and Luke 4:5–7), is exemplified by six Old Testament types: Eve, who is tempted by the serpent (Gen. 3:4–5); Abraham, who is offered riches by the Sodomites (Gen. 14:22–24); Laban, who quarrels with Jacob in the hill country of Gilead (Gen. 31:22–30); Saul, who keeps for himself the spoils taken from the Amalekites (1 Samuel 15:8–9); Elisha, who is begged by Naaman to accept presents from him (4 Kings 5:15–16); and Job, who is not persuaded to curse God after being robbed of his possessions (Job 27:19–21).⁴ For each of these types the *Pictor* provides various possible verse captions, the ones for Job being:⁵

- (1) Non Iob confregit qui quod possedit abegit.
Nec Iesum stringit Sathanas dum se dare fingit.
- (2) Non Iob blasphemum faciunt bona perdita demum,
Nec per opes Christi, temptator, cor tetigisti.
- (3) Non ualet ablatis tua, Iob, tolerantia frangi.
Sic nequit oblatis Iesu constantia tangi.
- (4) Non res amisse faciunt Iob corde dolere,
Nec res promisse possunt te, Christe, mouere.
- (5) Non inimiciciis Sathane Iob cedere nouit,
Qui nec diuiciis Christi precordia mouit.

- [(1) He who deprived Job of everything he possessed [i.e., Satan], did not break him down;
Neither does Satan, who pretends to give himself over, compel Jesus.
- (2) Indeed, the lost riches do not turn Job into a blasphemer;
Neither did you, o tempter, touch Christ's heart with treasures.
- (3) Your fortitude, Job, cannot be shaken by what is taken away from you.
Thus also Jesus' constancy cannot be touched by what is offered to him.
- (4) Lost possessions do not make Job suffer in his heart;
Neither can promised wealth move you, Christ.
- (5) Job did not yield to Satan's hostile attacks;
Neither was Satan able to move Christ's heart with riches.]

4 Wirth, *Pictor in Carmine*, 170–72.

5 Unless stated otherwise, all translations in this essay are mine.

The typological link between Job's *tolerantia* and Christ's *constantia* is presented here in an unequivocal, but also nuanced, way. No lost riches can affect Job's determination to deny Satan and trust in God. Likewise, no promises of worldly riches can ever touch Christ's heart. This unambiguous message is expressed in five similar, but nonetheless different, distichs which could be understood as attempting to capture variations in possible pictorial representations. No two paintings on the same theme would ever be identical, so the poet is actually presenting the prospective artist with a choice of captions, from which he could select the one best suited to the tenor of his work. This plan, excellent as it might be in theory, does not seem to have worked very well in practice, for verses from the *Pictor* appear as captions only in 15th-century manuscripts and not in any surviving church decoration, as the author originally intended.⁶

The second group of biblical epigrams inspired by the Job story comprises verses which do not seem to be connected to visual representations. Rather, they either mention the protagonist as an epitome of patience or versify chosen episodes from the narrative in order to introduce exegetical connections. The best examples in the first strand of poems are found in William de Montibus's *Versarius*,⁷ where only the incipits of the individual items are printed.⁸ The first of the poems in question, entitled *Exempla patrum*⁹ or *Exempla de uirtutibus*,¹⁰ mentions Job briefly together with a number of other biblical characters, each cast as an example of a particular Christian virtue, from justice and patience to chastity and humility. The poem exhibits clear moralistic and didactic traits; it reads:

Iste uirtutes sint exemplaria nobis:
 Iustus Abel, parens Abraham, Samuelque benignus,
 Et paciens Ysaac, et Iob, Iacobque laborans,
 Et Moyses mitis, castusque Iosep, Ysaacque
 Constans, ac humilis Daud, Salomonque peritus,
 Discretus Daniel, Noe iustus longanimisque.

6 Wirth, *Pictor in Carmine*, 82–93.

7 Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto, 1992), 389–471.

8 Editions of full texts are found in Greti Dinkova-Bruun, “Notes on Poetic Composition in the Theological Schools ca. 1200 and the Latin Poetic Anthology from Ms. Harley 956: A Critical Edition,” *Sacris Erudiri* 43 (2004): 299–391.

9 Goering, *William de Montibus*, 423, no. 470.

10 Dinkova-Bruun, “Notes on Poetic Composition,” 345, no. 79.

[These virtues should serve us as examples:
 The just Abel, the obedient Abraham, and the benevolent Samuel;
 The patient Isaac and Job, and the toiling Jacob;
 The mild Moses, the chaste Joseph, and the constant Isaac;
 The humble David and the skillful Solomon;
 The discerning Daniel and Noah, the just and forbearing.]

The second poem from William's *Versarius*, entitled *Pena*¹¹ or *De aduersitate*,¹² explores a different side of the Job story by including a short piece that provides five different answers to the question "Why is man tormented?" It reads:

Cur homo torquetur? Ne fastus ei dominetur.	ut Paulus
Cur homo torquetur? Vt Christus glorificetur.	ut cecus natus
Cur homo torquetur? Vt ei meritum cumuletur.	ut Iob
Cur homo torquetur? Vt culpis pena luetur.	ut Maria Magdalena
Cur homo torquetur? Vt dupliciter crucietur.	ut Herodes

[Why is man tormented? Lest pride lords over him.—as Paul
 Why is man tormented? In order that Christ is glorified.—as the man
 blind from birth
 Why is man tormented? In order that he accumulates merit.—as Job
 Why is man tormented? In order that he expiates his iniquities.—as Mary
 Magdalene
 Why is man tormented? In order that he is crucified twice.—as Herod]

In this seemingly simple piece Job is presented in the company of four other well-known sufferers whose torments are explained as having universal meaning for the Christian reader. Thus, without unduly magnifying the issue, the anonymous author of the "Cur homo torquetur"–verses answers one of the most important questions arising from the Job narrative, namely, "Why is God subjecting his faithful servant to so much suffering?" A divine mystery and a serious theological problem have been dealt with in a single rhymed hexameter. One can only admire the masterful economy of this poetic treatment.

The trend of ingenious abbreviation is also exhibited in Hildebert of Le Mans's biblical epigrams which, however, are quite different in character from

11 Goering, *William de Montibus*, 452, no. 1039.

12 Dinkova-Bruun, "Notes on Poetic Composition," 332, no. 47.

the verses discussed so far.¹³ The poet's interest in the actual text of the *Liber Iob* and his preoccupation with its mystical meaning becomes apparent from a cursory reading of the titles of the relevant epigrams: Epigram 13 on Job 2:8, "Quid significat quod Iob testa saniem radebat;"¹⁴ Epigram 60 on Job 40:18, "Quid significat quod dicitur in Iob: *Behemoth absorbebit fluuuium, et non mirabitur, et habet fiduciam quod influat Iordanis in os eius*;"¹⁵ and Epigram 4 in the Appendix on Job 40:20, "Quid significat quod dicitur Iob: *Numquid capies leuiathan hamo*."¹⁶ In addition, Job is also mentioned in Epigram 44 which offers an allegorical explanation of Ezekiel 14:14, "Quid significat quod propheta dicit tres uiros saluandos tamen, scilicet Noe, Iob, Daniel, et quod duo erunt ad molam, duo pistrinam, duo in lecto, duo in agro."¹⁷ Hildebert's main source for the *mystica significatio* presented in these poems is Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*. One example will suffice here, namely Epigram 60, which reads:

13 Hildebert's biblical epigrams are edited in A.B. Scott, Deirdre F. Baker and A.G. Rigg, "The *Biblical Epigrams* of Hildebert of Le Mans: A Critical Edition," *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985): 272–316.

14 Scott et al., "The *Biblical Epigrams* of Hildebert," 283, no. 13.

15 *Ibid.*, 307, no. 60.

16 *Ibid.*, 313–14, no. 4 in the Appendix.

17 *Ibid.*, 298–99. The text of this epigram reads:
 Iob, Daniel, Noe sunt saluandi, teste propheta.
 Trinus in ecclesia uiget ordo, notatus in istis.
 Vxoratos Iob, Daniel se mortificantes,
 rectores Noe significat. Fuit ille maritus,
 carnem mortificans Daniel, Noe rector in archa.
 Pistrinum, lectus, ager assignantur eisdem
 ordinibus. Mola significat mundana, quietem
 lectus, ager populum. Mola sponsis est data, lectus
 contemplatiuis, agricultura magistris.
 Ordo quisque duos, reprobum gerit atque fidelem.
 Hic manet ad penam raptus: caput ille coronam.

[According to the prophet, three men are to be saved: Job, Daniel and Noah. A triple order, represented by these three men, flourishes in the Church. Job signifies the married, Daniel those who humble themselves, Noah the leaders. The first [i.e., Job] was married, Daniel punished his flesh, Noah was the leader in the ark. A mill, a bed and a field is assigned to each of these orders. The millstone signifies the mundane, the bed means quiet life, the field denotes the people. The millstone is given to the married, the bed to the contemplatives, the tilling of the fields to the teachers.

Quid significat quod dicitur in Iob: *Behemoth absorbebit fluuium, et non mirabitur; et habet fiduciam quod influat Iordanis in os eius.*

Absorbet fluuium Behemoth, speratque quod ori

Influat illius Iordanis: mistica uerba.

Humanum genus est fluuius, baptismalis unda

Iordanis, Behemoth Sathanas in perdicionem.

Humanum genus hic Behemoth absorbit ante

Baptismum: modo baptizatos temptat habere.

[What is the meaning when it is said in Job: *Behemoth will swallow the river and he is not alarmed but is confident even though Jordan rushes to his mouth?*

Behemoth swallows the river and hopes that

Jordan would rush to his mouth: these are words of mystical meaning.

The river is the human race, Jordan is the water of

baptism, Behemoth is Satan intent on the destruction [of humankind].

Before the baptism Behemoth swallowed the human race:

now he tries to catch those who have been baptized.]

All interpretative elements included in this poem are borrowed from Book 33, Chapter 6 of Gregory's *Moralia*, but while the prose text spans over two and a half pages,¹⁸ the verse work is remarkably concise. Thus, Hildebert's epigrams in general and Epigram 60 in particular provide an excellent example of two of the main characteristics of the *sermo metricus*: brevity and memorability. These characteristics, combined with the orderliness and melodic rhythm of verse expression, had a universal appeal during the Middle Ages, making medieval poetry both a useful didactic tool and a widespread means for channeling literary creativity.¹⁹

11.3 Historical and Allegorical Paraphrases

The varied and often extraordinarily original poetic approaches to the *Liber Iob* are exhibited even more remarkably in the works that strive to capture the

In each order there are two types of men: reprobate and faithful.

The first remains caught in punishment, the second wins a crown.]

18 Gregorius, *Moralia* xxxiii.vl.12–13, CCL: 143B, 1681–84.

19 For a discussion on the various modes of expression and the versifying techniques employed by the biblical versifiers, see Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Rewriting Scripture: Latin Biblical Versification in the Later Middle Ages," *Viator* 39 (2008): 263–84.

larger context of the message encoded in the story, rather than versifying only isolated and to some extent random episodes from it. Four versifications of the Book of Job will be examined here: two of them are major works, namely, the anonymous *Liber Prefigurationum Christi et Ecclesiae* (1060–1108) and Peter Riga's famous poem the *Aurora* (1180–1200), while two are shorter but still indicative of the different poetic responses to the biblical narrative. All of these poems differ from the epigrams and *tituli* discussed above in both scope and intended purpose. Particularly in the case of the *Liber Prefigurationum* and the *Aurora*, they exhibit traits that make them extremely useful as didactic tools (on which more below).

A One "historical" Poem

The unusual poem studied in this section is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.22, 292 (saec. XIII–XIV). As suggested by its title, "Hystoria Beati Job xii uersibus comprehensa," this anonymous and previously unedited composition exhibits an interest in the *Liber Iob* as a *historia*, compressing the biblical text into 12 short verses. The work is included in a large monastic miscellany that was quite likely used for personal study. The verses read:

Hystoria Beati Job xii uersibus comprehensa sic.
 Seruus laudatur, Sathan hunc petit ut feriat.
 Accipit, arctat eum, nec facit esse reum.
 Huius opes uastat, hic inperteritus astat,
 Progeniemque necat, membra dolore secat.
 In paupertatis ceno uerbis uiciatis
 Coniugis urit eum, laudat at ille Deum.
 Inflamatque uiros linguarum uerbere diros,
 Instimulans iuuenem uelle docere senem.
 Job super hec scandit, uarians sua²⁰ mistica pandit:
 Nobis natus eo cognitus ante Deo.
 Postque reos mundat, duplicatis rebus habundat.
 Pandat papa pius sic ea Gregorius.

[The Story of Blessed Job comprised thus in twelve verses.
 The servant is praised and Satan seeks to do him harm.
 [God] accepts [the challenge], presses him hard, but does not make him
 a culprit.
 God lays waste to his possessions, kills his offspring,

²⁰ uarians sua] sua uarians *Ms.*

rips his limbs with pain: yet, Job remains undaunted.
 In the filth of poverty God burns him with
 the sinful words of his wife: still, Job praises God.
 God incites some men into harassing Job with cruel words,
 goading the young to wish to teach their elders.
 Job rises above all of this, changes his lot and reveals a mystical meaning:
 though him [we recognize] the one who, born to us, is known before God.
 He cleanses the sinful and gets back everything twofold.
 The pious Pope Gregory explains these things in such a way.]

Surprising as it might seem, these six rhymed elegiac couplets encompass all the major narrative components of the Job story: (1) God and Satan discuss Job; (2) God destroys Job's riches, kills his children and afflicts him with a terrible disease; (3) Job's wife torments him with sinful words; (4) his old friends try to convince him to renounce God; (5) Job is steadfast in his faith and nothing can cause him to change his position, which ultimately leads to the restoration of his health and a doubling of wealth. In addition, the anonymous poet provides a typological connection between Job and Christ, and cites Pope Gregory the Great as the authority on the topic. Undoubtedly, each of these major themes can be expounded in much more detail and from multiple points of view. After all, the *Liber Job* is a rich narrative of dramatic action and passionate language, both of which provide a fertile basis for allegorical signification. And yet, the short poem in the Rawlinson manuscript is a remarkable example of usefulness and memorability. It not only captures the gist of a very long and involved biblical text, but also links it to its deeper meaning. It even mentions explicitly the best authority on the topic, Gregory.

B *The Liber Prefigurationum Christi et Ecclesiae*

The late 11th-century *Liber Prefigurationum* takes a different route in expounding the Job narrative. The entire work is 2670 hexameters long, divided into three books of roughly the same length versifying the books of the Old Testament, from Genesis to the Maccabees.²¹ The story of Job spans over 145 verses and is included in the second book of the poem between the Book of Ruth and the First Book of Kings.²² This is the longest versification of the Book of Job addressed so far in this discussion, and it is also the first that is not an

21 *Liber Prefigurationum Christi et Ecclesiae*, (ed.) Greti Dinkova-Bruun, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 195 (Turnhout, 2007), 1–115; and *Supplementum* (Turnhout, 2014).

22 *Liber Prefigurationum*, 66–72, vv. 1470–1615; *Suppl.*, 21–22. An English translation of the entire section on Job is added as an Appendix to this article.

independent composition, but rather a section of a larger literary project of translating into verse a significant portion of the Bible.

This new poetic incarnation of the *Liber Iob*, like the entire *Liber Prefigurationum*, exhibits a new approach to the biblical text by choosing from it a series of elements that could be linked typologically to Christ or his Church. The first five verses of the section on Job clearly demonstrate the particular exegetical interests of the anonymous author:

Nonne palestrites mirabilis atque satelles
 Iob qui crudeli fuit insuperabilis hosti,
 Ecclesiae typicam gessit Christique figuram,
 Factis et dictis Christum per cuncta figurat?
 Quis non haec stupeat uel quis reserare ualebit?

[Did not Job, a wondrous fighter and warrior,
 who was unconquerable by the cruel enemy,
 act as an allegorical symbol of Christ and the Church
 and typify Christ in every respect through his deeds and words?
 Who would not marvel at them and who will be able to unlock them?]

The poet elaborates further on these five introductory lines by dividing his versification into three sections corresponding neatly to the three points raised in them. First, he presents examples from Job's life (i.e., *facta*) that make him a type for Christ (vv. 1475–1518); second, he expounds on actual words uttered by Job (i.e., *dicta*) that further support the already established Christological connection (vv. 1519–57); and finally, he chooses other instances from the Bible to show how truly difficult it is to unlock the mysteries hidden in the *Liber Iob*, and how man, being tainted with original sin, can have only a partial understanding of God's plan (vv. 1558–1615). Even Job, who is “prudens et simplex, abstemius atque malorum || iusticiaeque tenax castoque timore repletus” (i.e., “prudent, without guile, abstaining from evil deeds, ‘holding fast to justice’ and filled with holy fear,” vv. 1603–04) is not completely without guilt. Interestingly, the poet's explanation for man's sinful nature is linked to the act of his conception, the formation of the fetus and the pains of birth (vv. 1580–88). A graphic description of the process follows, based most likely on Augustine's *De diuersis quaestionibus*.²³

23 Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, (ed.) A. Mutzenbecher, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 44A (Turnhout, 1975), 95–96.

In contrast, the first two sections of the versification are more conventional, relying primarily on Gregory's *Moralia* for the exegetical associations they propose. Thus, Job's suffering prefigures that of Christ who bears the pains of humankind (vv. 1475–76: "Ipso quippe suo signat Iob nomine Christum: || Christus enim nostros uoluit portare dolores."); Job lives in Uz as Christ inhabits the hearts of the righteous (vv. 1477–78: "Iob illa terra, quae dicitur Hus, habitauit: || Mentibus in iustis habitat sapientia Christus."); Job is mighty among the peoples in the East similar to Christ who is the sun of justice that surpasses all the elect (vv. 1494–95: "Iob pollens omnes orientales fuit inter: || Precellit cunctos electos iusticiae sol."), and so on. It is clear from these examples that the anonymous author of the *Liber Prefigurationum* uses the couplet as the building block of his poetic structure. Within this tiny verse unit, the first line paraphrases the biblical text, while the second provides its Christological signification. Some sections are, however, slightly more involved, as can be seen from the following example (vv. 1499–1507):

Iob gnati pariter comedebant atque bibebant:
 Est scriptura Dei potusque cibusque fideli.
 Nempe uelud cibus est, ubi mistica tanta figurat,
 Est tanquam potus, non est ubi sensus opacus.
 Sanctus Iheremias uates istud manifestat;
 "Paruus," ait, "petiit panem, nemo sibi fregit."
 Nam non dant plebi prelati pabula uerbi.
 Deperiisse siti multos uates ait idem:
 Heu! uix historias quisquam nouit modo sanctas.

[Job's children ate and drank together [Job 1:4]:
 God's scripture is food and drink to the faithful.
 Certainly, it is like food when it prefigures great mysteries
 And it is like drink when its sense is not obscure.
 The holy prophet Jeremiah clarifies this when he says [Lam. 4:4]:
 "The child begged for bread but there was nobody to break it for him."
 Indeed, the prelates do not give the nourishment of the word to the people.
 And yet the prophet says that many died of thirst [Is. 5:13]:
 Alas! Just now hardly anyone is conversant with sacred history.]

This passage from the *Liber Prefigurationum* is a close verse rendition of Gregory's text found in Book I of his *Moralia in Job*.²⁴ The poet not only borrows from his source the general idea of how the human intellect should handle the text

24 Gregorius, *Moralia* I.21.29, CCSL: 143, 40, lines 7–22.

of the *sacra scriptura*, but he also incorporates into his verses the actual biblical quotations from Lamentations and the Book of Isaiah, which Gregory himself had selected in support of his argument. It is significant that this particular episode from the Book of Job was among the ones chosen by the poet. It evidently gave him a chance to include in his work Gregory's discussion on the meaning of biblical *obscuritas*, a theme of paramount importance for a poem with its main focus on the exegetical idea of prefiguration.

C *Peter Riga's Aurora*

Peter Riga takes a different approach. His *Aurora* is the most important biblical versification of the Middle Ages, written incrementally by the poet between 1180–1200. In the process, multiple redactions were created, the *Liber Iob* being added to the work in its final stages together with the *Actus Apostolorum* and the *Cantica Canticorum*.²⁵ In its final version, the *Aurora* comprises around 15,000 verses, and its popularity during the Middle Ages is underscored by the fact that the poem is still preserved in over 450 medieval manuscripts. Riga's *magnum opus* was repeatedly expanded by both anonymous and known authors, most notably by Aegidius of Paris who revised the work twice and famously styled himself as the *corrector ultimus* of his predecessor's work.²⁶

In contrast to the poems examined above, which substantially offered only brief selections from the Book of Job, Peter Riga's versification represents a much fuller and more systematic treatment of the biblical story. It is, moreover, the only poem in which the biblical text, which the poet versifies and expounds, is actually quoted. Riga's own version comprises 578 rhymed hexameters, to which Aegidius adds 92 lines, mostly in his first redaction and at various places within the original.²⁷ Yet, despite its extensive length, Riga's

25 Petrus Riga, *Aurora Petri Rigae Biblia Versificata*, (ed.) Paul Beichner, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, IN, 1965), 1, xvii–xix.

26 Petrus Riga, *Aurora*, 1, xx–xxvii. Editions of anonymous accretions to the *Aurora* are found in Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Liber Ecclesiastes": An Anonymous Poem Incorporated in Peter Riga's *Aurora* (Ott. Lat. 399)," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, Studi e Testi 402 (2001), VIII, 159–72; eadem, "Additions to Peter Riga's *Aurora* in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 13050," *Mediaeval Studies* 69 (2007): 1–57; and eadem, "*Prouerbia Salomonis*: An Anonymous Accretion to Peter Riga's *Aurora*," in *Classica and Beneventana: Essays Presented to Virginia Brown on the Occasion of her 65th Birthday*, (eds.) Frank T. Coulson and Anna A. Grotans (Turnhout, 2008), 9–44. For Aegidius of Paris, see Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Aegidius of Paris and the Seven Seals: A Prose Prologue to the Gospels in Peter Riga's *Aurora*," *Mediaeval Studies* 73 (2011): 119–45 and eadem, "*Corrector Ultimus*: Aegidius of Paris and Peter Riga's *Aurora*," in *Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages*, (ed.) Slavica Rancović (Toronto, 2012), 172–89.

27 Petrus Riga, *Aurora*, 2, 669–702; Dinkova-Bruun, "*Corrector Ultimus*," 186.

poem in no way comes close to covering the entire text of the Bible. The following table will bear this out:

Peter Riga, <i>Liber Iob</i> (578 verses)	Biblical text (42 chapters)	Aegidius, Accretions (92 verses)
vv. 1–20—Prologus		
vv. 21–206 (186)	Job 1:1–22 (missing 1:13; 1:15)	50 vv. in 1:4–7, 11, 18–22
vv. 207–250 (44)	Job 2:4, 7–11, 13	30 vv. in 2:1, 3, 4, 6, 8
vv. 251–262 (12)	Job 3:1–3, 6, 9, 20, 24	
vv. 263–280 (18)	Job 4:1–2	
vv. 281–290 (10)	Job 5:7	
vv. 291–318 (28)	Job 6:1–8	
vv. 319–352 (34)	Job 7:1–8, 16, 21	2 vv. in 7:8
vv. 353–364 (12)	Job 8:1–3, 11	2 vv. in 8:1–2
vv. 365–407 (43)	Job 9:9, 24–26	
vv. 408–423 (16)	Job 10:1, 20–22	
vv. 424–453 (30)	Job 11:1–5, 8, 10, 14, 15, 17, 19	4 vv. in 11:1
vv. 454–501 (48)	Job 12:1, 4–6, 11–12, 15, 18–22	
vv. 502–519 (18)	Job 13:23, 25–28	
vv. 520–537 (18)	Job 14:1–2, 4, 6–9	
vv. 538–578 (41)	Job 42:7, 10–17	4 vv. in 32:2

It is readily apparent from the evidence in this table that the most comprehensive treatment of the *Liber Iob* is reserved for the first chapter of the book, which is versified in as many as 186 hexameters, with 50 additional lines by Aegidius. In fact, only two verses from Chapter 1 are omitted by Riga (namely, Job 1:13 and 1:16). In comparison, the remaining chapters of the book are represented only cursorily, with Chapters 15–41 omitted completely from the versification. Thus, a large section of Job's conversations with his former friends (Chapters 15–37), as well as with God (Chapters 38–41), has been disregarded by Riga who ends his poem with Job being rewarded by God for his constancy (Chapter 42). In most cases Aegidius simply provides more detail to the already existing poetic frame, with two exceptions, namely Chapter 12, verses 1, 3 and 6 and Chapter 32, verse 2, where he adds to Riga's text sections from the Book of Job which had been left out. The prologue to the poem is based on Gregory the Great's own preface to the *Moralia*, where the debated authorship of

the *Liber Iob* is settled in favor of Job himself.²⁸ In the final four verses of the prologue Riga explains his working method and acknowledges his debt to Gregory's masterpiece:²⁹

Guttare mellito librum Gregorius istum
 Exposuit, per multa notans mysteria Christum.
 Nos merito minimi longeque minus sapientes
 Illud opus sequimur,³⁰ de multis pauca canentes.

[Gregory expounded with a honeyed voice on this book [i.e., Job],
 denoting Christ through multiple mysteries.
 I, being thoroughly insignificant and knowing very little,
 am following this work [i.e., Gregory's], reciting a few things out of many.]

This statement captures well the character of Riga's poetic composition which is indeed an example of masterful *abbreviatio* of a very lengthy and involved theological treatise. In order to give an example of how Peter Riga approaches his prose source, let us examine in more detail his versification of Chapter 1:1 of the *Liber Iob*. The text in question reads:³¹

Vir erat in terra Hus nomine Iob.
 Nomine Iob uir erat, simplex et iuris amator,
 In terra que dicitur Hus prudens habitator.
 Inter gentiles uitam sine labe gerebat
 Et quasi flos roseus inter spineta nitebat.
 Iob sonat hoc nomen *merens*, Hus *consiliator*,
 Per quem signatur Christus, noster mediator,
 Qui propria nostrum sanauit morte dolorem,
 In cruce pro nobis roseum fundendo cruorem,
 Qui mentes habitat quas consilii uigor unit,
 Quas contra Sathanam diuina potentia munit.
Et erat uir ille simplex et rectus et timens Deum et recedens a malo.
 Simplex et rectus erat, ista duo sibi iungens,
 Admiscens oleo uinum, pungens et inungens;
 Simplex quippe bonis erat hic per cordis amorem,

28 Gregorius, *Moralia*, Praef. I.1–3, CCL: 143, 8–9.

29 Petrus Riga, *Aurora*, 2, 669, vv. 17–20.

30 sequimur] sequitur *Beichner*

31 Petrus Riga, *Aurora*, 2, 670, vv. 21–40.

Iniustus rectus zeli seruando rigorem:
 Plenius in Christo uirtutes he nituere,
 Quas nullus potuit sine Christo iustus habere.
 Iob Dominum timuit eius precepta tenendo,
 Deseruitque malum peccata maligna cauendo:
 Iuxta naturam carnis Dominum timuisti,
 Christe, cauensque malum solus sine labe fuisti.

[*There was a man in the land of Uz whose name was Job [Job 1:1].*

There was a man named Job, simple and a lover of justice.

This prudent man lived in the land called Uz.

He was leading a blameless life among the gentiles
 and was shining like a red rose among thorns.

The name Job means “grieving” and Uz means “counselor.”

Job signifies Christ, our mediator,

who healed our pain with his own death

by spilling for us his red blood on the cross.

He inhabits hearts which the strength of counsel unites

and which divine power fortifies against Satan.

*The man was simple and upright, one who feared God
 and turned away from evil [Job 1:1].*

He was simple and upright, uniting in himself these two qualities,
 mixing wine and oil, one pungent, the other anointing.

He was simple towards good people because of the love in his heart,
 and he was upright in zeal for retaining severity to the unjust.

These virtues shone even brighter in Christ,

and no just man can even possess them without Christ.

Job feared God and kept his precepts;

he abandoned wickedness and guarded himself against evil sins.

Christ, you feared the Lord according to the nature of your flesh,
 and guarding yourself against evil you alone were without stain.]

In comparison with the *Liber Prefigurationum* discussed above, Riga’s text is not only longer but also better crafted. If the *Liber Prefigurationum* gives the impression of being composed of individual two-line epigrams, the *Aurora*, while dealing with the same material, is a more accomplished poetic creation—its language is more nuanced, its verses flow effortlessly, its contents provide a useful exegetical digest for readers at different levels of intellectual maturity. Indeed, the 13th-century “Teacher’s Preface” to the *Aurora* states that

the work was suitable for all audiences, young and old, studious and gifted, disdainful and critical.³²

When the passage from the *Aurora* quoted above is examined in relationship to the corresponding sections of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*,³³ the reader immediately becomes aware of a number of differences. Some are minor, such as the replacement of Gregory's *inter spinas lilium* (a lily among thorns, 25) as referring to Christ with *flos roseus inter spineta* (a red rose among thorns [literally, in a thicket of thorns], v. 24). While the change could have been dictated by metric constraints, Riga seems to stress the red color of the rose as a link to the color of Christ's blood shed for the salvation of humankind. Some other discrepancies between the two texts are even more striking. For example, in lines 31–34 Riga compares Job's virtues of simplicity and uprightness to wine and oil, two substances that complement and temper each other to create a perfect mixture which can sooth and heal, as in the case of the good Samaritan in Luke 10:34. No connection of this kind is proposed by Gregory.

Finally, the most important dissimilarity between the *Aurora* and the *Moralia* is seen in the way in which the poet summarizes and abbreviates his prose source. As is well known, Gregory outlines his exegetical method in the prefatory letter to his treatise, explaining that he will investigate the biblical text of the Book of Job *tripliciter*:³⁴

Nam primum quidem fundamenta historiae ponimus; deinde per significationem typicam in arcem fidei fabricam mentis erigimus; ad extremum quoque per moralitatis gratiam, quasi superducto aedificium colore uestimus.

[For first, we lay the historical foundations; next, by pursuing the figurative sense, we erect the fabric of the mind into a citadel of faith; and finally, by the grace of moral instruction, we, as it were, clothe this edifice with additional embellishment.]

In the text of the *Aurora*, however, we see only the historical and the allegorical senses, not the moral. The section in the *Moralia* that deals with the *moralis significatio* of Job 1:1 presents Job and the land of Uz as prefigurations of *electus quisque*, every elect person who abides by wise counsel (i.e., Uz) and hurries in

32 Dinkova-Bruun, "Rewriting Scripture," 271–72.

33 Gregorius, *Moralia* I.1, CCSL: 143, 25–27, 31–33 and 43–45.

34 Gregorius, *Moralia*, Ad Leandrum 3, CCSL: 143, 4, lines 110–14.

grief (i.e., Job) from the worldly to the eternal.³⁵ He who longs for the kingdom of heaven begins to walk the path of simplicity and uprightness in fear, but he ends his peregrination in charity and unwillingness to sin, which is why Job is said to be fearful of God and turning away from evil.³⁶ Riga is not interested in any of this. His poem weaves together history and allegory but omits *moralitas*, most likely because the *Aurora* was expected to be studied at the schools, where a master could easily explain the moral significance of the text.

In addition to his *Liber Iob*, Riga mentions Job in his versification of the Gospels.³⁷ Here the long-suffering hero is mentioned in the company of Daniel and Noah as one of three men who, according to Ezekiel 14:14, were delivered by heaven because of their righteousness. Daniel designates the chaste, Job those united by love, and Noah the ones carried by the vessel of the Church. Hildebert also wrote an epigram on this theme, as noted above,³⁸ but the two works are so different in tone and content that any connection between them is probably accidental. The statement in Ezekiel definitely provides an attractive starting point for a nuanced exegetical comparison, which could quite easily have been chosen independently by each poet. The points of similarity regard the three men's attributes, namely, a millstone (*mola*) for Job, a bed (*thorus* in Riga or *lectus* in Hildebert) for Daniel, and a field (*ager*) for Noah.³⁹ However, Riga's text as can be expected from its length, is much more detailed in its typological comparisons and much richer in exegetical imagery. Especially remarkable are the verses in which Riga describes the characteristic qualities of the three biblical personages in question.⁴⁰ Thus, Job is tender (*tener*), Noah is strong (*fortis*), and Daniel is mild (*lenis*). It is as though the first grew up eating milk, the second bread, and the third honey. The sense of gradual movement from good, that is Job or the married state, to better, that is Noah or the active life, to best, that is Daniel or the *vita contemplativa*, is strengthened by a series of memorable comparisons, such as: Job lives in the fields, Noah in the hills, Daniel in the mountains; Job walks, Noah runs, Daniel flies; Job fears the stain of sin, Noah guards himself from it, Daniel flees from it. All three men are thrown into the whirlwind of the world, and while Job suffers danger for

35 Gregorius *Moralia* I.1, CCSL: 143, 43.

36 Ibid., 45.

37 Petrus Riga, *Aurora*, 2: 497–98, vv. 1859–96. See also Carsten Wollin, "Der 'Floridus Aspectus' D des Petrus Riga," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 44 (2009): 427–28, where a slightly different version of the text is printed.

38 See above, n. 17.

39 Petrus Riga, *Aurora*, 2: 498, vv. 1871–74.

40 Ibid., 498, vv. 1878–96.

a little while, Noah is in peril for an even shorter period of time, and Daniel not at all. Riga's poetic and didactic talent is demonstrated clearly in these verses. The clarity of style, the useful summary of exegetical typology, and the personalization of the biblical narrative are three of the characteristics of the *Aurora* that explain its unparalleled popularity.

11.4 Mnemonic Poetry

The final group of poems addressed in this essay represents a departure in a wholly new direction. The poetic corpus discussed thus far, from short epigrams to lengthy versifications, comprises works that excerpt, modify and interpret the text of the Bible, thus transforming it in the process into a new cultural phenomenon. The poetic qualities of these compositions were instantly recognizable, the literary ambition of their creators unmistakable. In contrast, the two poems examined below, namely, the *Summarium Biblie* attributed to Alexander de Villa Dei (d. 1240) but probably not actually authored by him, and the *Margarita* of Guido Vicentinus (d. 1331), are basically textual tools crafted to help the reader learn and remember the contents of Sacred Scripture. Guido outlines perfectly the aims and the characteristic features of this type of poetry in his preface to the *Margarita*, a poem still unedited and very little studied:⁴¹

Mea uero intencio fuit de omnibus et singulis capitulis librorum Biblie aliquos flores colligere et ordinem ac modum seruare qui traditur in diuina scriptura et communiter in Biblia continetur. Et ideo non laboraui uerbis exquisitis seu rethoricis et poeticis uti, sed uerbis illis quantum commode potui, quibus utitur diuina scriptura, ut melius ualeant in memoria retineri. Nec de meo aliquid apposui nec scripture uerba mutauit, nisi ponendo interdum uerba equipollencia propter necessitatem metri aut ponendo uerbum presentis temporis pro uerbo preteriti uel futuri. Propterea posui frequenter ratione breuitatis sententias diminutas et in una dictione uel duabus et secundum quod possibile fuit magnam sententiam comprehendere, de quibus faciliter propendere poterit quilibet intelligens lector.

41 For some preliminary discussion, see Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Versification and Memory in the Later Middle Ages," in *Culture of Memory in East Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, (ed.) Rafal Wójcik, Prace Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej 30 (Poznan, 2008), 53–64 (Latin text quoted here, 57, n. 13).

[In fact, my intention was to collect some *flores* from each and every chapter of the books of the Bible, while preserving their order and number as they are transmitted in Holy Scripture and as they are commonly contained in the Bible. Thus, I did not take pains to use exquisite, rhetorical and poetic expressions but adopted, as conveniently as I could, the words I found in Holy Scripture, so that they could be remembered more easily. I did not add anything of my own nor did I change the words of Scripture, except when for metric reasons I had to include an equivalent expression or change the past or future tense of a verb to the present. Therefore, for the sake of brevity, I often made use of short sentences, one or two words or whatever expression that could capture the essence of a long phrase, from which a discerning reader could follow their meaning easily.]

A number of important observations can be made on the basis of this passage. First, Guido is interested in completeness, that is, each and every chapter of the Bible will be summarized in two hexameters, as he specifies elsewhere, and included in his poem. No one, not even the famous Peter Riga, has performed such a feat, states Guido further in his prologue. Second, stylistic embellishments are outside Guido's sphere of concern. For him memorability is key, so he prefers to borrow directly from the Bible, because seeing the actual text of Sacred Scripture will help the reader better remember it. Third, preserving the order of the biblical material is of vital significance for Guido, who even warns the future copyist of his work never to change the sequence of his verses. This effort to achieve completeness is commendable, but results in a somewhat mechanical treatment of the biblical text, which often is rendered incomprehensible because of the extreme brevity of the versification.⁴²

Let us examine now how Guido's *Liber Iob* exemplifies his working methods and abbreviating techniques. The *Margarita* is preserved in about 30 medieval manuscripts,⁴³ and the one consulted for this essay is Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 4344, saec. XIVex., where the Book of Job is found on fols. 31v-34v. It becomes immediately apparent that Guido is true to his word, dedicating two verses to each of the 42 chapters of the book for a versification of 84 hexameters (the entire poem spans over 1500 verses). The number of chapters and a general outline of the book's contents are presented in the title preceding this section of the *Margarita*: "Quintusdecimus liber est Iob, in quo agitur de ipsius paciencia et perfectione, de disputatione quam habuit cum amicis, de

42 More detail is provided in Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Versification and Memory," 53-59.

43 A list of 26 manuscripts is found in Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi* (Rome, 1970-1975), vol. 2, 78-80, nos. 1417-20. This list, however, is not complete.

prouidencia diuina et de corporis resurrectione. Et habet capitula xlii” (“Fifteenth is the Book of Job, which is about Job’s patience and perfection, the debate he had with his friends, divine providence and the resurrection of his body. It contains 42 chapters”). The first eight lines on the initial four chapters of the versification read:

- 1 Iob bonus et diues a demone prole bonisque
Permitente Deo spoliatus eum benedicit.
- 2 Vlcere percussus sociam merito reprehendit,
Tres et amici conueniunt plorantque tacentes.
- 3 Iob loquitur, sensum sequitur, uitam maledicit
Et causas eius patitur, quoniam sine culpa.
- 4 Hinc Eliphaz credens prauum Iob et impatientem
Arguit et docet hec que uisio sancta reuelat.

- [1 The good and wealthy Job blesses [the name of] God, even though the demon [i.e., Satan] robs him of his children and riches with God’s permission.
- 2 Afflicted with sores, he rightly rebuffs his wife; three of his friends gather around him and cry silently.
- 3 Job speaks, follows his notion and curses his life, whose trials he bears patiently, being without fault.
- 4 Then Eliphaz, believing Job to be perverse and impatient, argues with him and tells him what a holy vision has revealed to him.]

On the one hand, these verses precisely follow Guido’s plan, that is, to summarize each biblical chapter in two hexameters, to refrain from using rhetorical language and to keep the order of the biblical material. On the other hand, very little in the quoted section comes from the actual text of the Bible, even though Guido insists in his prologue that this is what he is attempting to do in most cases. In fact, Guido’s text reads more as a generic paraphrase of the Bible than a truly functioning mnemonic versification. This imperfection was recognized by Guido’s successor Petrus de Rosenheim (d. 1433) who, while using the *Margarita* as an inspiration both textually and conceptually, wrote his *Roseum Memoriale* in order to offer the reader a much-improved tool for remembering the Sacred Scripture.⁴⁴

44 For the new abecedarian structure and cross-reference system introduced by Petrus, see Sabine Tredje, “The ‘Roseum memoriale divinorum Eloquiorum Petri de Rosenheim’:

The real pinnacle of abbreviation, however, is Ps.-Alexander de Villa Dei's *Summarium Biblie*, the popularity of which text in the later Middle Ages cannot be overstated. The work is preserved in at least 400 manuscripts, but this figure is only preliminary. The *Summarium* covers the entire Bible in only 200 verses, and the Book of Job in seven—an astonishing brevity achieved by means of dedicating just one word to each biblical chapter. The result is cryptic and puzzling, often verging on obscurity and incomprehensibility, at least for the modern reader.⁴⁵ Undoubtedly, this is the reason why the work was often accompanied by interlinear glosses clarifying the selected words. The *Summarium's* version of the *Liber Iob* reads as follows:⁴⁶

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.		
Ventus.	Percussit.	Maledixit.	Et	Stultum.		
			Eliphaz.			
6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	
Enea.	Militia.	Baldach.	Facit.	Ordoque.	Sophar.	
12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	
Fune.	Tacete.	Breues.	Eliphaz.	Ventosa.	Sepul-	chrum.
18.	19.	20.	21.	22.		
Baldach.	Latrones.	Sophar.	Ducunt.	Eliphazque.		
23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.
Nolo.	Bouem.	Baldach.	Coluber.	Cor.	Vulturis.	Arcus.
30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	
Luto.	Fedus.	Tres.	Elihu.	Regnareque.	Rursum.	
36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	42.	
Addens.	Ere.	Quis est.	Ibicum.	Behemoth.	Benedixit.	

A translation of this incoherent string of words is somewhat pointless, as the creation of the *Summarium* had nothing to do with meaning in the

A Bible Summary from the 15th Century," in *Retelling the Bible: Literary, Historical, and Social Contexts*, (eds.) Lucie Doležalová and Tamás Visi (Frankfurt am Main, 2011), 335–53.

45 Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Versification and Memory," 62–64.

46 The text (with some small corrections) is printed from Lucie Doležalová, "Biblia quasi in saculo: *Summarium Biblie* and other Medieval Bible Mnemonics," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 56 (2007): 5–35. The interlinear glosses to these verses are not included here.

conventional sense of the word. No rules of grammar are at play here—rather, each word chosen by the poet is meant to invoke an association bringing to mind the entire content of the biblical chapter in question. Thus, “ventus” for Chapter 1 of Job comes from Job 1:19: “Repente *ventus* vehemens inruit a regione deserti et concussit quattuor angulos domus quae corruens oppressit liberos tuos et mortui sunt” (“And suddenly a great wind came across the desert, struck the four corners of the house which, falling, crushed your children, and they are dead”). The gloss above the word “ventus” reads “concussit domum.” For Chapter 2 the poet chooses “percussit” from Job 2:7: “Egressus igitur Satan a facie Domini *percussit* Iob ulcere pessimo a planta pedis usque ad verticem eius” (“So Satan went out from the presence of the Lord and inflicted loathsome sores on Job from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head”). “Percussit” is glossed with “Sathan Iob.” As for Chapter 3, the chosen word is “maledixit” from Job 3:1: “Post haec aperuit Iob os suum et maledixit diei suo” (“After this Job opened his mouth and cursed the day of his birth”). The gloss above “maledixit” reads “Iob diei.” This method is adopted for each and every chapter of the book, with the exception of Chapter 41, which is omitted from the summary.⁴⁷ As strange as the *Summarium Biblie* might seem to a modern reader, the enormous popularity of the work demonstrates that the technique employed in it was successful. How precisely the poem was used as a mnemonic and teaching tool is still difficult to fathom, but, as I have suggested elsewhere, it is possible that the *Summarium* was viewed as a kind of index to the Bible, which would explain the fact that they were often copied together.⁴⁸ Whatever its use, the *Summarium Biblie* is the epitome of literary *abbreviatio*, as one can hardly imagine any shorter summary of the entire biblical text.

Related to the mnemonic poems because of its brevity, yet different from them because of its playful nature, is the final work that will be examined in this essay, namely, the parody *Cena Cypriani* versified by John the Deacon in the 9th century and reworked twice in the late 11th and early 12th century.⁴⁹ The *Cena* in its various versions tells of the story of the wedding feast in Cana, to which a certain king called Joel invites numerous guests who are all biblical

47 Doležalová, “*Biblia quasi in saculo*,” 26 gives “Benedixit” with a gloss “Dominus Iob” as referring to Job 41 but this must be a mistake. Chapter 41 in the Book of Job is about the sea monster Leviathan, not about God’s blessing of Job.

48 Dinkova-Bruun, “Biblical Versification and Memory,” 64.

49 The best studies on the *Cena* and its reception are: Christine Modesto, *Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption*, Classica Monacensia 3 (Tübingen, 1992); Francesco Masetti Casaretto, “Intorno alle corna della ‘Cena’ di Arras,” in *Poesía latina medieval (siglos V–XV): Actas del IV Congreso del “Internationales Mittellateinerkomitee,” Santiago de Compostela, 12–15 de septiembre de 2002*, (eds.) Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, Millennium

personages. The work's design is that, while describing the arrangements at the banquet, the biblical characters will be linked to objects and situations which a reader, who knows the Bible, would typically associate with them. For example, if we look at Samson, he is seated on columns, takes the jaw of the animal cooked for the guests, offers honey to Pilate, gives a lion as a present to the king, and is bound in chains at the end, when the king tries to find out who among his visitors had stolen from him. The lion, honey, jaw, columns and chains are words that cannot fail to invoke in the reader's mind the story of the glorious and tragic life of the Old Testament judge.⁵⁰ As for Job, he is mentioned five times: when the seating arrangements are presented, when the king gives everyone an outfit to wear during the feast, when the guests are dismissed to go home walking in a procession, and twice when the theft is discovered and the king tortures everyone to find the culprit. The relevant verses from John the Deacon's poetic version of the *Cena* read:⁵¹

(v. 32) Et dolebat Iob, sederet quod solus in stercore.

(v. 67) Iob biplagiam, Esaias fert medio copiam.

(v. 224) Iob dolorem docet fronte tristis sub effigie.

(v. 289) Quibus ualde condolebat Iob fractus meroribus.

(v. 298) Onesiphorus tendebat, tristabatur iustus Iob.

[(v. 32—seating) And Job was suffering, because he was seated alone in the dung.

(v. 67—garment) Job receives a double-folded one; Isaiah carries riches within one.

(v. 224—procession) Job, an image of sorrow, shows a grieving face.

(v. 289—torture) Job, broken by grief, suffered a great deal through this.

(v. 298—knowing about the theft) Onesiphorus paid attention; the righteous Job was saddened.

The leitmotif in these verses is related to grief, sorrow and suffering. It is evident that, for the author of the *Cena*, this was the most important characteristic of

medievale 55 (Florence, 2005), 801–15; and Lucie Doležalová, *Reception and its Varieties: Reading, Re-Writing, and Understanding Cena Cypriani in the Middle Ages*, Bochumer altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 75 (Trier, 2007).

50 Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Thematics: The Story of Samson in Medieval Literary Discourse," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, (eds.) Ralph Hexter and David Townsend (Oxford, 2012), 356–75, esp. 372.

51 The text is printed from Modesto, *Studien zur Cena Cypriani*, 177–218.

the Book of Job. There is no mention here of Satan's challenge to God, Job's conversations with his wife and friends, or his reward at the end. Thus, in comparison with Samson, Job's representation in the *Cena* is one-sided, making the mnemonic value of the poem in respect to this particular story somewhat limited. However, the entire premise of the *Cena* is so quirky and unique that once acquainted with it, the reader could hardly forget it.

11.5 Conclusion

The poems examined in this essay demonstrate clearly that the medieval verse renditions of the Book of Job are both diverse and indicative of the general developments in the genre of biblical versification. Thus, the works on Job can be divided into two major groups: one comprising exegetical compositions, whether historical or allegorical, and the second constituting more technical poems written for use as mnemonic tools. The characteristics of these two corpora can be outlined briefly as follows: the exegetical works exhibit a multitude of approaches and vary considerably in length, from short epigrams on selected biblical episodes (e.g., Hildebert, William de Montibus, and *Pictor in Carmine*) to extensive versifications covering larger sections of the Bible (e.g., Peter Riga and *Liber Prefigurationum*). All of these interpretative works depend heavily on Gregory the Great's treatise *Moralia in Iob*, which was mined by the poets for both textual and theological inspiration. The mnemonic poems are later creations that are much more mechanical, in that they aim to represent each and every biblical chapter, while preserving their order and often even their precise language (e.g., Guido Vicentinus, *Summarium Biblie*, and Petrus Rosenheim). Gregory plays no role in these compositions. The fact that only the second group is called 'mnemonic' does not mean that the poems in the 'exegetical' group were not used to help memorization. In fact, helping the memory of the reader is the prerogative of any *sermo metricus*. Nonetheless, memorability is achieved by different means in the poems from the two groups: in the first, rhetorical language, allegorical connections, and elegant verse were the qualities that charmed the reader; in the second, simplicity of language, orderliness, and completeness strove for usefulness if not beauty. In both groups, however, the brevity of the poetic treatment of the Bible was considered an important asset in the classroom.⁵²

52 Dinkova-Bruun, "Rewriting Scripture," 266–70; and Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Versification and Memory," 64.

**Appendix: Anonymous, *Book of the Prefigurations of Christ and the Church*,
vv. 1470–1615: Book of Job⁵³**

- 1470 Did not Job, a wondrous fighter and warrior,
who was unconquerable by the cruel enemy,
act as an allegorical symbol of Christ and the Church
and typify Christ in every respect through his deeds and words?
Who would not marvel at them and who will be able to unlock them?
- 1475 Thus, Job signifies Christ through his very own name,
For Christ wanted to bear our pains [Is. 53:4].⁵⁴
Job lived in the land called Uz [Job 1:1]:
Christ as Wisdom dwells in the hearts of the righteous.⁵⁵
Job was without guile,⁵⁶ upright, and filled with fear [Job 1:1]:
- 1480 Look, Christ reigns in the interest of just gentleness.⁵⁷
Job fathered seven sons and three daughters [Job 1:2]:
Hope, charity, and faith gain the faithful to your side, Christ.⁵⁸
Being a very rich man, he possessed oxen, asses, and sheep
as well as enough camels, slaves, and servant girls [Job 1:3]:
- 1485 Christ, the King of the Church, holds these spiritually.
Pontiffs, kings, and the faithful of both sexes,
teachers, students, shepherds, peasants,
the prudent and the humble, the ignorant and the foolish.⁵⁹
Christ, who reigns everywhere, calls them all to the Church.
- 1490 First, Job's stock is mentioned and then his retainers [Job 1:3]:
Indeed, fishermen become believers first of all [Mt. 4:18; Mk. 1–16].
Thus, Christ taught the sages through the fishing folk

53 See above, Section 11.3, B. The biblical references, added in brackets for the reader's convenience, are not present in the Latin text.

54 Job's name means *dolens* (suffering), which explains how he is a type of the Redeemer. See Greg., *Moralia, Praefatio*, 16. The link to Isaiah 53:4 is also established by Gregory in his preface. The references in the following notes are to the critical edition of Marcus Adriaen, *Moralia in Iob*, CCL, vols. 143, 143A, and 143B (Turnhout, 1979).

55 See Greg., *Moralia*, I.XI.15 (32, 10–12).

56 Job is called *simplex* (without guile) again at the end of the poem (v. 1603).

57 See Greg., *Moralia*, I.XII.16 (32, 1–5).

58 See Greg., *Moralia*, I.XXVII.38 (45, 13–15). The cardinal virtues faith, hope and charity are prefigured by the three daughters of Job. Without them the good works of the seven brothers are meaningless. Together the sons and the daughters represent the perfect number 10.

59 The last word *moriones* (fools) is glossed in the manuscript with the note *quasi asinos sensu* (similar to asses in understanding).

- making the strong of the world subject to the weak of the world.⁶⁰
 Job was mighty among the peoples of the East [Job 1:3]:
 1495 The sun of justice [Mal. 4:2] surpasses all the elect.⁶¹
 Job's sons fed each other on alternating days [Job 1:4]:
 The elect console each other by exchanging words;
 the teachers jointly clarify what they mean through writings.⁶²
 Job's children ate and drank together [Job 1:4]:
 1500 God's Scripture is food and drink to the faithful.
 Certainly, it is like food when it prefigures great mysteries
 and it is like drink when its sense is not obscure.
 The holy prophet Jeremiah clarifies this when he says [Lam. 4:4]:⁶³
 "The child begged for bread but there was nobody to break it for him."
 1505 Indeed, the prelates do not give the nourishment of the word to the people.
 And yet the prophet says that many died of thirst [Is. 5:13]:
 Alas! Just now hardly anyone is conversant with sacred history.⁶⁴
 When the day of the feasting had run its course,
 it is said that Job purified his sons,
 1510 for he cleansed them with offered holocausts [Job 1:5]:
 The company of the apostles rejoiced after the defeat of the demon;
 they are forbidden to exult in this way by Jesus Christ [Lk. 10:17–20].
 The holy companions are thus purified:
 all holy men are blessed by Christ's admonitions.
 1515 It is read that Job did so every day [of his life] [Job 1:5]:
 Christ offers himself for us every hour,
 for he shows to the Father his sacrifice through his presence.⁶⁵
 Thus, through his deeds this Job is a type of Christ.

Then he sings hymns of praise to Christ with his words

60 See Greg., *Moralia*, LXVII.25 (38, 1–7).

61 See Greg., *Moralia*, LXVIII.26 (39, 5–8).

62 See Greg., *Moralia*, LXIX.27–LXX.28 (39–40).

63 Jeremiah's meaning is that Scripture is explained by interpretation similarly to bread being broken into pieces.

64 For verses 1500–1507, see Greg., *Moralia*, LXXI.29 (40, 7–22). Here Gregory says that the weaker brethren asked for the more difficult sentences of the Bible to be broken down by exegesis, but competent commentators could not be found to do so. The larger point is that very few can grasp the hidden meaning of sacred Scripture, while plain history is understandable to many.

65 See Greg., *Moralia*, LXXIV.32 (42–43, 1–4). The sacrifice Gregory refers to here is Christ's incarnation.

- 1520 and spreads a thousand holy mysteries of Christ with his speech.
 “If somebody wants to contend with God,” he says,
 he cannot answer him even once for a thousand” [Job 9:3].
 Thus the person who thinks that he is perfect without Christ,
 it is evident that he exists without the beginning of holy life.⁶⁶
- 1525 “God is,” he says, “wise and mighty in strength” [Job 9:4].
 Indeed, God is wise in heart and outstanding in strength,
 as if he says: “God sees all [our] inmost secrets.”
 Nothing can oppose him, if he wishes to condemn it;
 nobody resists him, if he wants to punish the wicked.⁶⁷
- 1530 Again he says: “When God forbids it, the sun will not rise” [Job 9:7]:
 The light of the Gospel did not shine upon the Jews.⁶⁸
 “He spread out the heavens and walked upon the waves of the sea” [Job 9:8]:
 With Judaea not accepting the Gospel,
 the company of apostles is stretched out over the entire world [Mk. 16:15];
- 1535 it opposes haughty kings by performing miracles [Mt. 10:1; Mk. 6:7; Lk. 9:1].⁶⁹
 Job says: “Nobody would be able to resist his wrath” [Job 9:13]:
 For if he wishes to destroy something, nobody will be strong enough to save it.⁷⁰
 He says: “The earth had been delivered into the hands of the wicked” [Job 9:24]:
 The body of Christ our God was crucified by the Jews.⁷¹
- 1540 He says: “He knows the deceived and the deceiver” [Job 12:16]:
 Without God’s approval nobody will ever be condemned;
 with God’s permission the sinner becomes more wicked.⁷²
 Again Job says: “He looses the sashes of kings” [Job 12:18]:
 He allows the pure, [who are] haughty in in their body, to be corrupted.⁷³
- 1545 “He makes nations great, destroys them, and yet this same God restores them” [Job 12:23]:
 Christ causes men to be born, to die and to rise again.⁷⁴
 “He makes fools of the aged and changes the lips of the truthful” [Job 12:20]:

66 See Greg., *Moralia*, IX.III.3 (457, 23–27).

67 See Greg., *Moralia*, IX.IV.4 (458, 7–11).

68 See Greg., *Moralia*, IX.VIII.8 (461, 21–24).

69 See Greg., *Moralia*, IX.IX.10 (462–63).

70 See Greg., *Moralia*, IX.XVI.23 (474, 57–58). In fact Gregory shows that sometimes there is a possibility of resisting God’s anger, but the poet does not include this option.

71 See Greg., *Moralia*, IX.XXVIII.44 (487, 2–15).

72 See Greg., *Moralia*, XI.XII.18 (596–97).

73 See Greg., *Moralia*, XI.XIII.21 (597, 3–6).

74 See Greg., *Moralia*, XI.XVIII.29 (602–603, 2–5).

Indeed, the teacher who acts badly is perverted, so that he speaks ill;⁷⁵
while the gentiles believe in Christ, the Jew is in error.⁷⁶

- 1550 “Who cleanses a person conceived from unclean seed?” [Job 14:4]:
Only God can do this; he is the only one without blemish.⁷⁷
Again Job says: “I know that my Redeemer lives” [Job 19:25]:
Because he lives by the power of God, although he was crucified [2 Cor. 1:4].⁷⁸
“I believe that I shall rise at the last day from the earth” [Job 19:25]:
1555 Truly, this is the hope of all Christians.⁷⁹
“My skin will be given back to me together with my flesh” [Job 19:26]:
Here is the flesh with its skin! What reason is there still to doubt?⁸⁰

Job brings to light the mysteries of Christ in innumerable ways.

Because there is no possibility to reveal them all,

- 1560 we choose just one from his words,
through which alone the qualities of Christ the Lord may become clear.
Among other things Job says as if about himself:
“My own heart does not reproach me in all my life” [Job 27:6].
Yet, although Job was righteous and a servant of God,
1565 still this statement by no means suits him.
For no person of faith doubts that John spoke the truth,
when he states: “If anyone says that he is without sin,
he deceives himself because he stops being truthful” [1 John 1:8].
Blessed James, his fellow apostle, joins in by saying:
1570 “Brothers, we all transgress in many ways” [James 3:2].
“Everyone is a liar,” states the renowned harpist [Ps. 115:11].
And Solomon says: “There is no one living on earth who does not sin
and who cannot obtain salvation for himself” [3 Kings 8:46–53].⁸¹
The prophet Isaiah says the following among his true words:

75 See Greg., *Moralia*, XI.XV.23 (599, 13–18).

76 See Greg., *Moralia*, XI.XV.24 (599, 30–33).

77 See Greg., *Moralia*, XI.LII.70 (626–27).

78 See Greg., *Moralia*, XIV.LIV.67 (739–40, 5–7).

79 See Greg., *Moralia*, XIV.LV.68 (740, 16–19) and XIV.LV.69 (741, 43–44).

80 See Greg., *Moralia*, XIV.LVI.76 (746, 95–97).

81 For verses 1567–72, see Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Ecclesiasticum*, PL 109, III.9 (col. 854D–855A). The same biblical quotations are included by Hrabanus in Chapter IX of his commentary, which warns against speaking words that will be regretted later. Clearly, the poet thinks that Job is at fault here.

1575 “Our righteous deeds are like a filthy rag” [Is. 64:6],
 because if the crimes of righteousness are so filthy that
 the matter can neither be told by the tongue or be contemplated by the heart,
 this would agree with the words that nobody is born without sins.
 In fact the person who is begotten is justly born sinful,
 1580 for, in the words of the natural philosophers, when [the fetus] is conceived,
 it is said that it remains with the outward appearance of milk for seven days,
 in order to again turn into blood in the next nine days.
 Subsequently, it hardens and consolidates for twelve days
 and then within eighteen days it is formed and shaped.⁸²
 1585 It is kept warm for nine months in the womb of the mother;
 it is born in sorrow and through its crying declares itself
 a wretched being and a sinner by conception and birth,
 but not by proper action, because it has not yet done either good or evil.
 On account of which, some time ago, the custom grew in the churches
 1590 that a newborn be purified by baptism;
 and he who did not earn by himself the losses of death,
 through faith as a mediator holds in hope the joys of life;
 clearly, in the hope of life, not in the reality of life, because he does not know
 how to live. As Job says: “He, who flees like a shadow and lives for a
 1595 short while is filled with much bitterness
 and never remains the same because of his changing state” [Job 14:1–2]:
 In whatever direction he whirls himself, he sets himself in motion through
 a thousand dangers. His mind tosses in a “vast sea of cares”⁸³
 and his flesh speeds through various ages and deeds,⁸⁴
 1600 so that what he may do or say or think
 almost equals the drops of rain and the grains of sand [Sirach 1:2].
 Thus, although Job was a holy man and God’s servant,
 although he was prudent, without guile, abstaining from evil deeds,
 ‘holding fast to justice’⁸⁵ and filled with holy fear [Job 2:3],⁸⁶

82 For verses 1580–84, see Augustinus, *De diuersis quaestionibus, Quaestio LVI*, (ed.) A. Mutzenbecher, CCSL 44A (Turnhout, 1975), 95–96. This question deals with the issue that the temple was built in 46 years, a period of time that is linked to number of days for the formation of the fetus (45) plus one for the sum of all individual numbers, thus making a total of 46 days. The same passage is found also in Beda Venerabilis, *Homiliarum Evangelii libri II*, (ed.) D. Hurst, CCSL 122 (Turnhout, 1955), lib. II, hom. 1, 189, 194–99.

83 This is a quote from Vergil’s *Aeneid*, Book 8, verse 19.

84 See Greg., *Moralia*, XI.L.68 (625, 28–31). Gregory enumerates here the four ages of man: childhood, youth, manhood, and old age.

85 This expression is borrowed from Juvenal’s *Satires*, VIII.25.

86 See above, verse 1479.

- 1605 although he was unmovable in order to endure all sorts of afflictions,
 he still acknowledges that in his pain he spoke two things [Job 39:35],
 for which he felt regret and for which he criticized himself.⁸⁷
 From this we infer that Job is not talking about himself [when he says]:
 “My own heart does not reproach me in all my life” [Job 27:6],⁸⁸
- 1610 but that these are words of praise for Christ our Lord
 who did not commit any sins and did not even tell lies.
 Thus it is proven that Job relies on true knowledge,
 that he occupies the symbolic role of Christ and the Holy Church,
 and that Job, ‘a man noted for virtue,’⁸⁹ is holy in all things
- 1615 through his mores, life, suffering, teachings, and sacrifice.

87 See Greg., *Moralia*, XXXII.III.4 (1628, 29–33).

88 See above, verse 1563.

89 This phrase is from Vergil’s *Aeneid*, Book 1, verse 10.

The Book of Job and the Figure of Job in Old English Literature

Martin Chase

12.1 Introduction

References and allusions to the Book of Job occur in texts from a variety of literary genres across the Old English period, but they can be difficult to trace and compile for analysis. Until the publication of the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*¹ in 1981, scholars had to rely on whatever they or others happened to have noticed, or on Albert S. Cook's *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*.² Thanks to the *Corpus*, it is now possible to conduct word-searches of the entire body of surviving Old English literature, so that, at least in theory, every Old English text that mentions Job can be identified. Allusions to the Book of Job where Job's name is not mentioned are more slippery, but Old English or Latin keyword searches can locate many of them. The analogous *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*³ published by the *Middle English Dictionary* and Mary W. Smyth's *Biblical Quotations in Middle English before 1350*,⁴ although less comprehensive, serve a similar function for Middle English literature and are useful for identifying 12th-century texts that might more properly be considered Old English.

The availability of these tools makes it easier to investigate long-standing questions as well as raises new ones, and the study of the Book of Job in Old English literature is thus a field likely containing a treasure waiting to be discovered. Robert E. Bjork noted a decade ago that "Scant attention has been paid to the role Job plays in Old English literature after Lawrence L. Besserman

1 *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*, (eds.) Antonette diPaolo Healey with John Price Wilkin and Xin Xiang (Toronto, 2011), last updated February 10, 2013, <http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/pages/pub/web-corpus.html>. First version, *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (Toronto, 1981).

2 Albert S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers* (London, 1898). Cook's work is still useful, especially for tracking down biblical allusions in texts where the reference is not identified.

3 *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*, last updated February 22, 2006, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cme/>.

4 Mary W. Smyth, *Biblical Quotations in Middle English before 1350* (New York, 1911).

published his wide-ranging, meticulous study of the Job legend in the Middle Ages in 1979,⁵ and indeed, the situation has not changed significantly since the publication of Bjork's own seminal article in 2005.⁶ Tantalizing insights into the use of Job in Old English have appeared in studies that focus primarily on other questions, and the time is ripe for a systematic gathering and analysis of the data. A detailed study is beyond the scope of this bibliographical article, but it can at least outline the possibilities and serve as an impetus. A search of the *Old English Web Corpus* for references to either the figure of Job or the biblical book yields a list of texts that can be divided into three groups: homiletic literature (including saints' lives), vernacular poetry, and texts translated from Latin.⁷ Related to, but lying outside, these categories are obscure references to Job in a charm for cursing cattle thieves and a life of St. Malchus. What follows is a survey of the original Old English texts that mention or allude to Job—translations from Latin that refer to Job are best studied in the originals—and a contextualizing examination of them showing the aspects of the Job story that most interested the Anglo-Saxons, where their familiarity with the story (or typically, parts of it) came from, and the symbolic value they placed on Job as an exemplary figure.

12.2 Ælfric and the 10th Century

Ælfric's homily on Job is undisputedly the best known use of the Job story in Old English, and the text in which it receives fullest treatment.⁸ Ælfric of Eynsham (c.950–c.1010), an important leader in the 10th-century Benedictine

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- 5 Lawrence L. Besserman, *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1979).
- 6 Robert E. Bjork, "The Symbolic Use of Job in Ælfric's Homily on Job, *Christ II*, and the *Phoenix*," in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, (eds.) Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe and Andy Orchard (Toronto, 2005), 2:315–30.
- 7 Notably Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* (Henry Sweet, (ed.), *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, EETS o. s. 45, 50 [London, 1871; reprint, London, 1958], at 252; cf. Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, (ed.) Floribert Rommel, trans. Charles Morel, SC 381–82 [Paris, 1992], 3.12); the Old English translation of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (Hans Hecht, (ed.), *Bischofs Waerferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen über das Leben und die Wundertaten italienischer Väter und über die Unsterblichkeit der Seelen*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 5 [Part 1, Leipzig, 1900; Part 2, Hamburg, 1907, reprint, Darmstadt, 1965], 322; cf. Grégoire le Grand, *Dialogues*, (ed.) Adalbert de Vogüé, SC 251, 260, 265 [Paris, 1978–80], 4.38); and the Old English translation of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* (Julius Zupitza, "Englisches aus Prudentiushandschriften," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 20 [1876]: 36–45 at 38–39).
- 8 In Malcom R. Godden, (ed.), *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series. Text*, EETS s. s. 5, (London, 1979), 260–67.

reform, was educated at Winchester and went on to become a monk of Cerne Abbas and then abbot at Eynsham. He composed the homily on Job for the second series of his *Sermones Catholici*. The two series of Catholic Homilies are homiliaries—collections of homilies on scriptural texts (normally the gospels), sermons on moral topics, and saints' lives arranged to follow the progression of the liturgical year.⁹ As monastic liturgical texts, homiliaries were normally composed in Latin, but there are two vernacular Anglo-Saxon homiliaries from the 10th century in addition to Ælfric's collections: the *Blickling Homilies*¹⁰ and the *Vercelli Homilies*.¹¹ Why they were composed in English has never been fully explained, but a common assumption is that they were used for private devotional reading or for preaching to lay people. Ælfric's second series is the only homiliary known to contain a homily on Job, and the Job homily, unlike the majority of Ælfric's homilies, does not make use of identifiable sources. It is highly unusual for a homily to be based on a text other than a gospel pericope, and in order to understand the context of Ælfric's Job homily, it is necessary to chart the complex liturgical tradition, unfamiliar to many modern readers, from which it emerges.

The manuscript title for the homily, "For the First Sunday in September, when Job is Read,"¹² alludes to the reading of the Book of Job at nocturns, the midnight portion of the divine office. The monastic night office, at least for Sundays, normally consisted of three "nocturns" or groups of four readings, combined with the chanting of psalms and interspersed with antiphons, responses, and paired versicles. In the summer season between Pentecost and Advent, the readings of the first two nocturns were from the Old Testament (called *historie*),¹³ after which the incipit of the gospel for the mass of the coming day was read. The final nocturn then consisted of four readings from a homily (taken from a homiliary) on that gospel text.¹⁴ For most of the liturgical year,

9 On homiliaries, see Mary Clayton, "Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England," *Peritia* 4 (1985): 207–42.

10 Richard Morris, (ed.) *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, EETS o. s. 58, 63, and 73 (London, 1874–80), reprinted as one volume (London, 1967); Richard J. Kelly, (ed.), *The Blickling Homilies* (London, 2003).

11 D.G. Scragg, (ed.), *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS o. s. 300 (Oxford, 1992).

12 The rubric "Dominica .I. in Mense Septembri. Quando Legitur Iob" accompanies the homily in MS Cambridge, CUL, Gg. 3. 28. See Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, 260.

13 During the rest of the year, the first nocturn was scriptural, the second a sermon, and the third a homily (Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* [Toronto, 1982], 61).

14 Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 50–66.

the readings for the nocturns of a given Sunday were set and never changed, but in the summer months (the Sundays between Pentecost and Advent), the pattern lost its coherence. The readings for mass, including the gospel text, were set according to the liturgical calendar and numbered according to the Sundays (first, second, third, etc.) after Pentecost. Dependent on the fluctuating date of Easter, the dates of these Sundays with respect to the secular calendar varied from year to year. The summer and autumnal readings for the nocturns of the divine office, however, were organized according to the months of the secular calendar. In the liturgical books (antiphonals and breviaries), the material was normally presented in two consecutive sections, the first containing the Old Testament lessons for the first and second nocturns, and the second the gospel sentences and homilies which constitute the lessons for the third nocturn of Sundays.¹⁵ Throughout the summer and autumn, the readings of the first two nocturns were taken from the books of Kings, Wisdom, Job, Tobit, Judith, Maccabees, and Ezekiel, and assigned to specific dates, hence Ælfric's association of Job with the first Sunday in September.¹⁶ Ælfric bears testimony to this tradition in his *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, a customary adapted from the *Ordines Romani* and composed in Latin, where he prescribes that "[From] the kalends of September we read Job for two weeks."¹⁷ Liturgical additions in Ælfric's time to a number of earlier manuscripts suggest a heightened interest in the Anglo-Saxon church with respect to the summer *historie* readings. In the *Durham Collectar*, the incipits for the antiphons, versicles and responses for the readings from Kings, Wisdom, and Job,¹⁸ as well as Tobit, Judith, Maccabees, and the Minor Prophets¹⁹ have been added on blank folios and in margins. The text in the *Durham Collectar* is barely legible, but the 11th-century *Portiforium of St. Wulfstan* contains, following a full psalter, a collectar, a benedictional, and prayers for private devotions, a kind of appendix including a second common of saints and complete texts for Sunday nocturns for the

15 Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 222.

16 Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 10–12; M. McC. Gatch, "The Office in late Anglo-Saxon Monasticism," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, (eds.) Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), 341–62, at 352–56.

17 Christopher A. Jones, (ed.), *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 24 (Cambridge, 1998), 146–47 and n. 347.

18 Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.IV.19; facsimile edition: *The Durham Ritual: A Southern English Collectar of the Tenth Century with Northumbrian Additions*, (ed.) T.J. Brown, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 16 (Copenhagen, 1969), fol. 76 [69]v, and see Introduction, 48.

19 *The Durham Ritual*, fols. 64v–75r, and Introduction, 49.

seasons when Judith, Job, Tobit, and Maccabees are read.²⁰ Portions of this text are also found as marginalia in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 41, an Old English translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, where versicles and responses for office readings from Job, Tobit, Judith, and the Minor Prophets have been added.²¹ Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* is a customary based largely on the *Regularis Concordia*, but the final section, where the instructions about reading Job and the other summer *historie* appear, is his own addition.

Why did Ælfric compose a homily on Job? Its content links it to the first two nocturns of the office, but the homiletic readings of the third nocturn for a Sunday were invariably taken from a homily on the Gospel, so that it is unlikely it was read as a part of the liturgical office—even if we are willing to consider the possibility of the use of the vernacular.²² If we are, is it then conceivable that Ælfric considered these night readings so important that he felt it necessary to make them, rather than the gospel, the subject of his homily at mass the following day? This seems possible in the case of his four analogous homilies on Old Testament texts. These homilies were all composed for Mid-Lent or Laetare Sunday, a time when the readings for the office, like those for the mass,

20 *The Portiforium of St. Wulfstan: Corpus Christ College Cambridge, MS 391*, (ed.) Anselm Hughes, Henry Bradshaw Society 89–90 (Leighton Buzzard, 1956–1960), 2:43. Unfortunately the edition does not print the entire text, but it can be read online in the digital facsimile of CCCC 391, 669–72 at *The Parker Library on the Web* (<http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page.do?forward=home>).

21 Cambridge, CCCC 41, 45–47. The Job texts are on 45. Raymond S.J. Grant (*Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41: The Loricis and the Missal* [Amsterdam, 1978], 27–28) notes that “Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 contains in its margins a quantity of liturgical material in Latin which has never been fully listed or discussed. ... The Latin writings in question are selected from the *Temporale*, *Sanctorale*, and *Missae Votivae* sections of the supplemented Roman Sacramentary of the 10th and 11th centuries. ... It thus emerges clearly that Corpus 41 contains in its margins a considerable portion of the *Temporale* of a regular mass-book, without a break or omission, and several other masses, not in complete order, from the *Temporale*, *Sanctorale* and *Missae Votivae*. The sheer regularity of the *Temporale* section shows that Corpus 41 was copied in part from a complete missal rather similar to the *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*.” Grant does not mention the presence of office texts as well, and when his edition of the marginal material comes to manuscript 475, he notes simply, “*Responses identified by James as from Job*.”

22 There is no conclusive surviving evidence of the use of the vernacular in monastic liturgies, but Milton McC. Gatch makes the tantalizing suggestion that “the reformed English monasteries may possibly have made liturgical use of the native tongue or have prepared vernacular texts to facilitate in some fashion the participation of members of the English school in the liturgical life of the community” and that “the relationship of monastic liturgies to the rise of vernacular preaching materials may ... have been underestimated” (Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England*, 40–41).

were fixed according to the liturgical calendar, so that the gospel incipits and corresponding homiletic readings would have been a non-varying part of the night office. Nevertheless, Ælfric composed three (or four, depending on how they are reckoned) different homilies²³ on the Old Testament readings from the nocturns for that day. Both the homily on Job and the first homily for Mid-Lent refer explicitly to the office readings. The Job homily begins:

My brothers: We read now in the office about the blessed man Job. We would now like to tell you a bit about him, because the depth of the story is beyond our understanding, and even more so for the unlearned. One should speak to laymen according to the measure of their understanding, so that they not be disheartened by the depth or wearied by the length.²⁴

The introduction to the Mid-Lent homily is quite similar:

Most beloved men: We read now in the office about the establishment of the Old Law. We would now like to speak briefly in explanation of that Testament, so that you not be entirely lacking in understanding, for it is beyond our capacity to explicate for you its full meaning, and there is likewise no way you might fully understand its deep mystery.²⁵

It is not clear whether Ælfric composed these homilies to be read at mass, in an extra-liturgical situation (such as a monastic chapter meeting), or privately. Does his “we” refer to the entire implied audience, or is it a self-referential

23 “Dominica. In Media Quadragesime” and “Secunda Sententia de hoc Ipso” (two homilies for the day under one heading), in Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, 110–120 and 121–26; “De Oratione Moysi; In Medio Quadragesima,” in Walter B. Skeat, (ed.), *Ælfric's Lives of Saints: Being a Set of Sermons on Saints' Days Formerly Observed by the English Church*, EETS o. s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London, 1881–1900, reprinted in 2 vols., New York, 1966), 1:283–306; and “De Populo Israel,” in John C. Pope, (ed.), *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, EETS 259, 260 (London, 1967–68), 2:638–66.

24 “Mine gebroðra. We rædað nu æt godes ðenungum be ðan eadigan were Iob. nu wille we eow hwæt lytles be him gereccan. for ðan þe seo deopnys ðære race / oferstihð ure andgit. and eac swiðor þæra ungelæredra; Man sceal læwedum mannum secgan be heora andgites mæðe. swa þæt hí ne beon ðurh ða deopnysse æmode. ne ðurh ða langsumnysse geæðrytte” (Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, 260).

25 “Men ða leofostan we rædað nu æt godes ðenungum ymbe gesetnysse þære ealdan .æ. Nu wylle we eow / sume geswutelunge be þære gecypnysse sceortlice secgan. þæt ge eallunge þæs andgites orhlyte ne syn. for ðan ðe ure mæð nys. þæt we eow be fullum andgite hí geopenian magon. ne ge eac nateshwon hire deopan digelnysse fulfremedlice understandan ne magon” (Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, 110).

explanation (“we monks”) for a wider audience? Is the comment in the Job homily about how one should preach to the unlearned meant to advise monks about how to preach to the laity, or is it again self-referential (“this is how I should preach to you laymen”)? The former seems more likely in the case of the Mid-Lent homily and in the introduction to the Job homily, but in its conclusion there seems to be a shift to an implied lay audience and a theoretical reference to possible monastic readers or hearers:

If any learned man should read over or hear read this story, I ask that he not reproach the abbreviation. His own understanding can speak to him more fully about it. And for you unlearned men, this is enough, even though you do not know its deep mystery. This is truly what happened to Job, as he himself wrote. But nevertheless the spiritual significance of this narrative pertains to Christ’s humanity and to his church, as learned men have expounded. If anyone of us should become infirm, we should be mindful of this great man, and be patient in the adversity imposed on us by the Almighty, and have greater care for our souls than for the brief prosperity we must relinquish.²⁶

What is clear is that with respect to these two occasions, Ælfric thought that the Old Testament reading from the night office, which normally only monastics would have been aware of, was as worthy (or needing) of comment as the gospel from the Sunday mass. This is easy enough to understand in the case of Mid-Lent: Ælfric’s homilies draw on a variety of sources to explicate the key texts from Exodus and Joshua in patristic typological style. Read in this way, these texts proclaim the same message as the gospel, and it is not surprising that Ælfric would want to comment on the typological significance of the liturgical readings.

The Job homily, however, is different in that it does not draw on an ancient monastic homiletic tradition or use intricate exegetical methods. As Robert E. Bjork comments, “This homily is basically a paraphrase, sometimes a direct translation, of parts of the Book of Job, interspersed with commentary

26 “Gif hwilc gelæred man þas race oferræde. oððe rædan gehyre. þonne bidde ic þæt he ðas scyrtinge ne tæle; Him mæg his agen andgyt secgan fulllice be ðisum. and eow læwedum mannum is ðis genoh. ðeah ðe ge ða deopan digelnysse ðæron ne cunnon; Hit gelamp ðus soðlice be iobe. swa swa hé sylf awrat. ac swa ðeah seo gastlice getacnung þære gerecednysse belimð to cristes menniscnysse. and to his gelaðunge. swa swa lareowas trahtnodon; Gif ure ænigum sum ungelimp becume. ðonne sceole we beon gemyndige þises mæran weres. and geðyldige beon on ðam ðwyrmysum þe ús se ælmihtiga on besent. and habban maran care ure sawle. þonne ðære scortan gesælðe. þe we sceolon forlætan” (Godden, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, 267).

deriving largely from Gregory's *Moralia in Job*.²⁷ The paraphrased portions of Job that make up the homily are eight in number, precisely the number of *lectiones* that would have been read in the first two nocturns of the night office. An examination of the *Portiforium of St. Wulfstan*, the one surviving witness from Anglo-Saxon England that tells precisely what parts of Job were read in the September office, reveals a striking correspondence.²⁸ This breviary is unusual in that it presents the first two nocturns for the first Sunday in September with the gospel incipit and third nocturn for the fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost as one fixed text, rather than in two separate sections to be combined according to the needs of the calendar.²⁹ The following table shows the antiphons, *lectiones*, responses (marked with \mathfrak{R}), and versicles (marked with \mathfrak{V}) from the Job office in the *Portiforium* alongside an outline of Ælfric's homily with the paraphrases from Job in the sequence in which they occur. Verses in the *Portiforium* that correspond to those paraphrased by Ælfric are in bold type. Items marked with an asterisk are also found in CCC 41, marginalia on p. 475.

TABLE 12.1 *Antiphons, lectiones, responses and versicles in the Portiforium with Ælfric's homily*

<i>Portiforium</i>	Homily ³⁰
ant. Job 2:10b-c, 1:22 ³¹	
ant. Job 1:22; 3:6–7; 3:3 ³²	
Lectio I Job 1:1–2	Job 1:1–8

27 Bjork, "The Symbolic Use of Job," 315–16.

28 Cambridge, CCC 391, 669–72.

29 This 11th-century codex is the earliest example of a primitive Anglo-Saxon breviary, in which "an attempt has been made to provide within one volume a large part of what is needed for performing the office" (Helmut Gneuss, "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, 91–141, at 111).

30 See Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS s. s. 18 (Oxford, 2000), 595–600.

31 "Cum audisset iob nuntiorum uerba sustinuit patienter et ait si bona suscepimus de manu domini mala autem quare non sustineamus in omnibus his non peccavit Job labiis suis neque stultum aliquid contra deum locutus est." Cf. René-Jean Hesbert and René Prévost, eds., *Corpus antiphonalium officii* [hereafter CAO], *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta*, Series maior, Fontes 7–12 (Rome: 1963–1979), 1980.

32 "In omnibus his non peccavit iob labiis suis neq; stultum quid contra deum locutus est. Noctem illam tenebrosus turbo possideat non computetur in diebus anni nec numeretur in mensibus sed sit nox illa solitaria nec laude digna in qua dictum est conceptus est homo." Cf. CAO 3263.

℞ Job 2:10; 1:21 ³³	
℣ Job 1:22	
Lectio II Job 1:3a-b	Job 29:12–16; 31:16–18, 25, 29, 32–33
℞ Job 3:24–26 ³⁴	
℣ Job 23:6	
Lectio III Job 1:3c-4	Job 1:9–22
℞ Job 6:2 ³⁵	
℣ Job 6:3	
Lectio IV Job 1:5	Job 2:1–10
℞ Job 6:25–28 [Ælfric: 6:27] ³⁶	
℣ Job 7:1	
Lectio V Job 1:6–7	Job 2:11–13
*℞ Job 7:5,7 ³⁷	
*℣ Psalm 101:12	
Lectio VI Job 1:8	Job 6:1–3, 26–27; 7:1
*℞ Job 7:7–8 ³⁸	
℣ Job 7:7	
Lectio VII Job 1:9–10	Job 7:5; 30:16–17, 19; 19:25–27

33 “℞ Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini malla autem quare non sustinuemus dominus dedit dominus abstulit sicut domino placuit ita factum est sit nomen domini benedictum.

℣ In omnibus his non peccauit iob labiis suis necq; stultum quid contra deum locutus est.” Cf. CAO 7647.

34 “℞ Antequam comedam suspiro et tamquam inundantes aquae sic rugitus meus quia timor quem timebam evenit mihi et quod uerebar accidit nonne dissimulaui nonne silui et iam quieui et venit super me misericordia [Vulgate and CAO: indignatione] tua domine.

℣ Nolo multa fortitudine contendat mecum nec magnitudinis sue mole me premat. equitatem proponat contra me. Nonne *dissimulaui*.”

35 “℞ Utinam appenderentur peccata mea quibus iram merui et calamitas quam patior in statera.

℣ Quasi arena maris haec gravior apparet unde et verba mea dolore sunt plena.” Cf. CAO 7813.

36 “℞ Quare detraxistis sermonibus ueritatis ad increpandum uerba componitis et subuertere nitimini amicum uestrum uerumptamen quae cogitastis explete.

℣ Militia est homini.” Cf. CAO 7463.

37 “℞ Induta est caro mea putredine et sordibus pulueris cutis mea aruit et contracta est memento mei domine quia uentus est vita mea.

℣ Dies mei sicut umbra declinaverunt et ego sicut fenum arui.” Cf. CAO 6956.

38 “℞ Memento mei deus quia uentus est uita mea nec aspiciet me uisus hominis.

℣ Et non reuertetur oculus meus ut uideat bona.” Cf. CAO 7143.

TABLE 12.1 *Antiphons, lectiones, responses and versicles in the Portiforium with Ælfric's homily (cont.)*

<i>Portiforium</i>	Homily
* \mathring{R} Job 10:20–21 ³⁹	
* Ψ Job 7:21	
Lectio VIII Job 1:11–12	Job 42:7–10
* \mathring{R} Job 13:20–21 ⁴⁰	
* Ψ Job 13:22	
Gospel incipit Luke 7:11 ⁴¹	
Lectio I Bede, <i>In Luce Evangelium</i>	
<i>Expositio</i> , Luc 7:11 ⁴²	
* \mathring{R} Job 14:13 ⁴³	
* Ψ Job 10:5	
Lectio II Bede, <i>In Luce Evangelium</i>	
<i>Expositio</i> , Luc 7:11–12 ⁴⁴	
\mathring{R} Job 8:3, 17:3 ⁴⁵	
Ψ Psalm 34:2	

39 “ \mathring{R} Paucitas dierum meorum finitur breui dimitte me domine sine plangam paululum dolorem meum antequam uadam ad terram tenebrosam et opertam mortis caliginem.

Ψ Ecce in puluere sedeo et in puluere dormio et si mane me quaesieris non subsistam.” Cf. CAO 7367.

40 “ \mathring{R} Ne abscondas me domine a facie tua manum tuam longe fac a me et formido tua non me terreat.

Ψ Voca me et respondebo tibi aut certe loquar et tu responde mihi. manum.” Cf. CAO 7202.

41 Luke 7:11–15 was the gospel traditionally read on the fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost. Here it is incorporated into the office for the first Sunday of September, even though that Sunday would not necessarily have fallen as the fifteenth after Pentecost. This text would have been seen as being typologically related to Job: the restoring to life of the widow's son (Luke 7:14–15) confirms and fulfills Job's faith in the resurrection of the body (Job 19:25–27).

42 Bede, *In Lucae Evangelium Expositio*, *In Marci Evangelium Expositio*, (ed.) D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), 157.

43 “ \mathring{R} Quis mihi tribuat ut in inferno protegas me et abscondas me donec pertranseat furor tuus domine nisi tu qui solus es deus et constituas tempus in quo recorderis mei.

Ψ Numquid sicut dies hominis dies hominis dies tui et anni tui sicut humana sunt tempora.” Cf. CAO 7501.

44 Bede, *In Lucae Evangelium Expositio*, 158.

45 “ \mathring{R} Numquid dominus supplantat iudicium aut omnipotens subvertit quod iustum est libera me domine et pone me iuxta te et cuiusuis manus pugnet contra me.

Ψ Apprehende arma et scutum et exsurge in adiutorium michi. Libera me.” Cf. CAO 7244.

Lectio III Bede, *In Luce Evangelium**Expositio*, Luc 7:11–12⁴⁶℞ Job 30:17⁴⁷

℣ Job 7:20, 7:16

Lectio IV Bede, *In Luce Evangelium**Expositio*, Luc 7:11–12⁴⁸℞ Job 31:30, 7:16⁴⁹

℣ Job 7:20, 7:16

ant. Luke 7:14–15⁵⁰

The eight paraphrases of Ælfric's homily and their resemblance to the office in the *Portiforium* suggest that it is more than a homily on Job "for September, when Job is read": it is closely linked to the office of nocturns and may well be a translation of the lections from a nocturn for the first Sunday of September, perhaps delivered the following day in an extra-liturgical setting for the benefit of monks whose knowledge of Latin was weak, or for a lay audience.

The paraphrase of the Job story in the homily is typical of the treatment of Job in Old English literature: Ælfric is interested only in the first few chapters of the Book of Job, which tell of Job's original prosperity and the afflictions set on him by the devil, and the end of the book, which describes his vindication by God. The theme of the homily, as Malcolm Godden comments, is "the continual warfare waged by Satan against man."⁵¹ Ælfric presents the story not as God's testing of Job's patience and faithfulness, but as Job's victory over Satan with God's help. The heart of the text is Ælfric's discussion of Job 7:1. When Job's friends ask "Where is your patience?" and he replies "Man's life is warfare on earth, and as the days of a hireling, so are his days,"⁵² Ælfric comments

46 Bede, *In Lucae Evangelium Expositio*, 158.

47 "℞ Nocte os meum perforatur doloribus et qui me comedunt non dormiunt a multitudine eorum consumitur uestimentum meum comparatus sum luto et assimilatus sum fauillae et cineri.

℣ O custos hominum quare posuisti me contrarium tibi et factus sum michimetipsi grauis. parce michi domine nichil enim sunt dies mei." Cf. CAO 7217.

48 Bede, *In Lucae Evangelium Expositio*, 157.

49 "℞ Versa est in luctum cithara mea et organum meum in voce flentium parce michi domine quia nichil sunt dies mei.

℣ O custos. ut supra." Cf. CAO 7846.

50 "Adolescens tibi dico surge et resedit qui erat mortuus et coepit loqui et dedit illum matri suae." Cf. CAO 1285.

51 Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, 594.

52 "Hwær is ðin geðyld" (Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series. Text*, 264–65).

He says that man's life is warfare on earth, because each one of those who thrive with God is in strife against the invincible devil, and against his own desires, while he is in this life, and as the hired man awaits his reward, so the spiritual warrior awaits his reward from Almighty God. God's chosen are in battle in this world, and the impious rejoice in it, but the warfare of the righteous turns to joy and the joy of the impious to bitter sorrow in the eternal world, which rewards the patient. All these temptations of the devil, and the loss of his possessions, the death of his children and his own sickness, his wife's foolishness, and his friends' scorn, could not move Job from the constancy of his mind, nor from his great faith, which he continually had in Almighty God; but the devil who wanted to deceive him was routed.⁵³

Ælfric is not interested in justifying God's ways to men: his aim is to expose the wiles of the devil and show how he can be overcome. For him, patience is not passive, long-suffering acceptance of what is beyond his understanding, but a weapon, a determined and fierce perseverance, to be wielded against Satan.

Ælfric takes up this theme again in his homily for St. Bartholomew's Day.⁵⁴ This text is based on the traditional Latin version of the legend of Bartholomew,⁵⁵ which focuses on Bartholomew's battles with the devil in the guise of a variety of pagan idols. After following his source closely, Ælfric concludes by adding about 100 lines of his own composition. One of the main themes of the traditional *Passio Bartholomæi* is the devil's affliction of people with disease, and in a lengthy discussion of the true causes of illness and healing, Ælfric adds the example of Job:

53 He cwæð þæt mannes lif wære campdom ofer eorðan. for ðan þe ælc ðæra ðe gode geðihð bið on gewinne. wið ðone ungesewenlican deofol. and ongean his agenum lustum. þa hwile ðe hé on life bið; And swa swa se hyrman his edleanes anbidað. swa geambidað se gastlica cempa his edleanes æt ðam ælmihtigum gode; Godes gecorenan sind on gewinne on ðyssere worulde. and ða arleasan on hire blissiað. ac ðæra rihtwisra / gewinn awent to blisse. and ðæra arleasra bliss. to biterum sarnyssum on ðære ecan worulde þe gewelgað ða þolmodan; Ealle ðas costnunga deoffles and ðæra æhta lyre. his bearna deað. and his agen untrummys. his wifes gewitleast. and his freonda edwit. ne mihte awecgan Iob of his modes anrædnysse. ne fram his micclan geleafan. ðe he to þan ælmihtigan gode / symle hæfde. ac se scucca wearð gescynd. þe hine beswican wolde (Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, 265).

54 Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, 439–50.

55 Printed in Boninus Mombritius [Bonino Mombrizio], (ed.), *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum* 2nd ed. (Paris, 1910), 1:140–44.

For trial are some men afflicted with disease, as was the blessed Job, when he was righteous and obedient to God. Then the devil asked that he might try him. And in one day he destroyed all his possessions, and then made Job himself sick with the greatest disease, so that maggots wriggled throughout his whole body. But the patient Job did not sin with his mouth or speak anything foolish against God in all these misfortunes, but said, “God gave me possessions, and took them again from me: blessed be his name.” God also then healed him and restored his possessions to him twofold.⁵⁶

In the Job homily, Ælfric makes no mention of Job being tested; here, he makes it clear that it is the devil—not God—who tests him. By refusing to speak against God, Job resists the devil and scores a victory against him. Ælfric brings up the topic of Job’s sickness at the conclusion of yet another homily, composed for Monday in Rogation Week,⁵⁷ but here the theme is more conventional:

Concerning the sick, the Almighty says, “I correct and chastise those whom I love.” ... If we are sick, we should be patient, just as the blessed Job has given us an example. It is now time-consuming to say much about him in this little discourse, but we will read this later. If we should suffer misfortunes with respect to our possessions, then we should follow Job and have patience. He lost all his possessions in one day, but he had patience and submitted easily, saying immediately, “God gave the possessions, and God took them again. Blessed be his name.”⁵⁸

56 “For fandunge beoð sume men geuntrumode swa swa wæs se eadiga iób. þa ða he wæs rihtwis 7 gode gehyrsum. þa bæd se deofol þæt he his fandian moste, 7 he þa anes dæges ealle his æhta amyrd. 7 eft hine sylfne mid þam mæstan broce geuntrumode swa þæt him weollon maþan geond ealne ðone lichaman, | ac se geþyldiga iob on eallum þysum ungelimpum ne syngode mid his muþe. ne nan þing stuntlices ongean god ne spræc, ac cwæð; God me forgeaf þa æhta 7 hi eft æt me genam, sy his nama gebletsod; God eac ða hine gehælde. 7 his æhta mid twyfealdum him | forgeald” (Clemoes, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, 449).

57 Godden, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, 180–89.

58 “Be untrumum mannum. se ælmihtiga cwæð. Ic ðreage and swinge. þa ðe ic lufige ... Gif we untrume beoð. uton beon geðyldige. swa swa se eadiga IOB. us eallum bysnode. be ðam is nu langsum. on ðisum lytlum cwyde eow to gereccenne. ac we rædað þis eft; Gif us ungelimpas. on æhtum getimiað. þonne sceole we niman geðyld æfter IOBE. se ðe ealle his æhta. anes dæges forleas. ac he hæfde geðyld. þus cweðende sons; God forgeaf ða æhta. and god hi eft ætbræd. sy his nama gebletsod. and forbær ðus eaðelice” (Godden, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, 188).

Ælfric says nothing more about what is to be read later, but it is presumably a reference to the office readings from Job, which will come later in the liturgical year (Rogationtide is the three days before the Feast of Ascension) and perhaps also to his own homily on Job, which appears later in the same homiliary and was composed before this one.⁵⁹ Although the Rogation homily seems to advocate a more passive acceptance of suffering, there is a hint of active perseverance. Much of the homily deals with resistance of the devil, and it is surprising that Ælfric does not mention it here. But in the sentence translated “then we should follow Job and have patience” (“þonne sceole we niman geðyld æfter Iobe”) the Old English reads literally “we should take up (*niman*) patience,” a somewhat unusual formulation that may be an echo of St. Paul’s metaphorical “armor of light” for doing battle with the devil:⁶⁰ “the breastplate of faith and love,”⁶¹ “the shield of faith,”⁶² and “the helmet of salvation.”⁶³ Read alongside the Job homily, the patience urged here may be a virtue to be taken up or put on, rather than merely to be possessed.

Job appears again in Ælfric’s “Memory of Saints,”⁶⁴ a text that appears to have been composed as a general introduction to his *Lives of Saints*, a collection similar in scope to the *Catholic Homilies* and composed a decade later. “Memory of Saints” opens with an enumeration of “holy patriarchs” who lived before the Incarnation: Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Job, Elias, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, and Daniel, before turning to the bridge figure of John the Baptist.⁶⁵ From Ælfric’s typological point of view, “they all made known, with words or with works, that the glorious Savior would release us from the torments of hell by himself.”⁶⁶ It is noteworthy that Ælfric considered Job, a pagan, worthy to be included among those who prefigured Christ. “Memory of Saints” concludes with a statement of why saints are important: they show us how to use the virtues (as Christ did) to overcome the devil: “Now you have heard how these holy virtues overcome those vices that the devil sows in us, and if we do not want to overcome them, they will sink us to hell. We can, by

59 Godden, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, 528.

60 Rom. 13:12.

61 1 Thess. 5:8; Eph 6:14.

62 Eph. 6:16.

63 1 Thess. 5:8.

64 Skeat, *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*, 1:337–63.

65 Skeat, *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*, 1:337–43.

66 “hi ealle cyddon / mid wordum . oððe mid weorcum . þæt se wuldor-fulla hælend. / wolde us alysan fram helle wite þurh hine sylfne” (Skeat, *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*, 1:342).

God's assistance, conquer those fiendish sins in battle, if we fight keenly."⁶⁷ In the account of Job, Ælfric reiterates the idea that because Job "had overcome the devil,"⁶⁸ remaining constant in the face of his trials and refusing to swerve from God's love, God repaid him his losses and he lived happily thereafter.

Allusions to Job appear in another of the *Lives of Saints*, the "Passio Sancti Eustachii."⁶⁹ This text is no longer ascribed to Ælfric, but it is contemporary with him and he may have known it or even been involved in its composition.⁷⁰ There is some confusion about the date of the commemoration of Eustace: *Lives of Saints* assigns it to November 2, but the text itself tells that his martyrdom was celebrated on the kalends of November [September 20].⁷¹ This is the only surviving copy of the Old English translation, but it is part of an extensive tradition and is closely related to the Latin versions printed by Mombritius⁷² and the Bollandists.⁷³ The *Passio Eustachii*, in all its forms, draws heavily on the Book of Job.⁷⁴ Scholarship has emphasized the influence of popular tales and eastern legends on the *Passio*, but it also draws heavily on the Bible, notably the stories of Balaam (Num. 22:2), Cornelius (Acts 9:1–9), Daniel, and Job.⁷⁵

67 Nu ge habbað gehyred . hu pas halgan mægnu / oferswyðap ða leahtras . þe deofol besæwð on us . / and gif we nellað hi ofer-swiðan . hi besencað us on helle . / we magon þurh godes fylst ða feondlican leahtras / mid gecampe ofer-winnan . gif we cenlice feohtað" (Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 1:362.).

68 "forðan þe he ofer-swiðde þone deofol" (Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 1:340.).

69 Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 2:190–219.

70 Robin Norris, "Reversal of Fortune, Response, and Reward in the Old English *Passion of Saint Eustace*," in *Anonymous Interpolations in Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, (ed.) Robin Norris (Kalamazoo, 2011), 97–117 at 98–99; and Michael Lapidge, "Æthelwold and the *Vita S. Eustachi*," in *Scire Litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*, (eds.) Sigrd Krämer and Michael Bernhard (Munich, 1988), 255–65.

71 Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 2:218. Roman calendars assign Eustace to September 20, but all the extant English Benedictine calendars place the celebration on November 2. See Thomas J. Heffernan, "An Analysis of the Narrative Motifs in the Legend of St. Eustace" *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6 (1975): 63–89 at 67.

72 Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, 2:466–73.

73 *Acta Sanctorum*, September VI, 123–37. This information comes from Hugh Magennis, "On the Sources of Non-Ælfrician Lives in the Old English *Lives of Saints*, with Reference to the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," *Notes and Queries* 32 (1985): 292–99 at 297.

74 See especially Heffernan, "An Analysis of the Narrative Motifs," 70–75.

75 See Thomas J. Heffernan, "An Analysis of the Narrative Motifs," 70, who notes that "the English Lives usually retain only the allusions to Job, with the single exception of the Northern Homily Cycle version, which makes brief mention of the Old Testament figures Abraham and Tobit." "Pe story off placidas" from the Northern Homily Cycle (c.1315), has been edited by Carl Horstmann in "Die Evangelien-Geschichten des Ms. Vernon," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 57 (1877): 241–316 at 262–72.

Eustace, like Job, is a righteous pagan who is tested by the devil and triumphs over him. At the beginning of the narrative, the hunter Placidus (who will change his name to Eustachius at baptism) has a vision of Christ on the cross speaking to him from between the horns of a stag. He believes immediately and hurries to be baptized, and after baptism returns to the same place and sees “the same vision he had seen before.” Christ speaks again and tells him, “You ... will be tested by sufferings and labor, as my beloved servant Job, and be the devil’s vanquisher through patience.”⁷⁶ Eustace goes on to lose possessions, wife, and children, and, like Job, laments to God:

I remember, dear Lord, that you said that I would be tested just like Job, but in some things I suffer more than he. He truly lost his possessions, but nevertheless his dunghill was left to him so he could sit on it.... Lord, set a guard on my mouth, that my heart not give in to evil words, lest I be cast away from your countenance.⁷⁷

The Old English text reproduces many of the verbal parallels to the Book of Job found in the Latin sources: they have never been systematically identified,⁷⁸

76 “Ʒu ... beon gecostned þurh þrowunga . and geswinc . swa min se leofa ðeow iob . and deofles oferswiðend þurh geþyld (Skeat, *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*, 2:198). This theme is expanded in the later Northern Homily Cycle version, where Christ says to Job:

he [Satan] wol þe fonde . on mony wyse, / ffor þou leuest . his seruyse ... / þerfore . bi foren . warny þe, / To make þe stif . aʒeyn hym be / And ouer come . his wikkednes / wiþ pacience . and Mekenes; / Let Mekenes . beo þi scheld . and spere, / ffor þer wiþ maiʒt þou . best þe were: / ffor þer wiþ feld I. his Maystri / And made hym ligge . and criaunt cri ... / Loke þat þou beo . Meke of Mood, / ffor he schal fonde þe . as fast / As he dude Job . . but atte last / schal I. ful wel . dilyuere þe / Of fondyng . and take þe to me (Horstmann, “Die Evangelien-Geschichten des Ms. Vernon,” 264).

77 “ic geman leof drihten þæt þu scæde . þæt ic sceolde gecos[t]nod beon eall-swa iob . ac on sumum þingum mare ic þolige þonne he . he soðlice þeh him æhta losodon . swa-þeah him wæs his myxen forlæten . þæt he þær-uðppan sittan mihte ... sete drihten heordrædene minum muðe . þæt min heorte ne abuge to yflum wordum . þi-læs þe ic beo aworpen fram þine ansyne” (Skeat, *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*, 2:202). The allusion to Ps. 140:3–4 (“Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth: and a door round about my lips. Incline not my heart to evil words; to make excuses in sins. With men that work iniquity: and I will not communicate with the choicest of them.”) associates Eustace’s prayer with Job, who took care not to sin with his lips (Job 1:22; 2:10; 27:4).

78 Thomas J. Heffernan comments on the Latin version, “Besides this most explicit statement of the parallel between Eustace and Job, the very language of the Book of Job seems to have exercised some influence on the hagiographer in the composition of this unit of the legend” (Heffernan, “An Analysis of the Narrative Motifs,” 73).

but among them are Eustace's righteousness ("rihtwisnyse"),⁷⁹ the magnificence of God's creating and sustaining power ("I am Jesus Christ, who made heaven and earth out of nothing, and made light to spring up, and divided the darkness ... and I am he who formed man from earth"⁸⁰), Job's tearing of his hair at the death of his children,⁸¹ and his faith in the Resurrection, as he prays, "Grant to me, Lord, that I may at least see them in the day of resurrection ... ," and God answers, "Believe, Eustace; truly in this present time you will return to your former dignity, and you will receive both your wife and your children; truly, at the resurrection you will see much greater things."⁸²

The *Passio Eustachii*, being a *passio*, ends differently than the Book of Job, at least at the literal level: Eustace is martyred, while Job dies old and full of days. But from the Ælfrician typological point of view, the stories are the same. Both figures are rewarded for their victory over the deceptions and assaults of the devil. As Eustace and his restored family are about to be burned, they pray that God forgive those who have fallen into sin (another allusion to Job, who prayed that God not punish his friends for their misdeeds⁸³), and then, that their bodies not be separated. A voice from heaven replies:

It shall be as you pray, and much more, because you were fighting throughout a good life, and you were enduring many temptations, and nevertheless were not conquered. Come now in peace, and receive the crown of glory of your victory, and [in exchange] for these transitory evils enjoy eternal goods for ever and ever.⁸⁴

The treatment of Job in the *Passio Eustachii* thus mirrors and confirms Ælfric's interpretation of Job as a victorious contender against the devil.

79 Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 2:190, cf. Job 1:1, etc.

80 Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 2:195, cf. Job 38:4–5, 9–10; 33:6, etc.

81 "þa tær he his loccas heofende" ("then he tore the locks of his head," Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 2:200, cf. Job 1:20).

82 "Forgif me drihten . þæt ic huru on æristes dæge hi geseon mote ... Getryw eustachi . soðlice on þisse andweardan tide þu gehwyrfst to þinum þam ærran wurðscipe . and þu onfehst ge þin wif ge þine cild. Witodlice on þære æriste þu gesihst micelre mrran þincg" (Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 2:204, cf. Job 19:26).

83 Job 42:7–9.

84 "þa com stefn of heofonum þus cwepende . swa hit bið swa ge biddað . and miccle ma . for-þam ge wæron winnende on godan life . and ge wæron for-þyldiende mænig-fealde cost[n]unga . and swa-þeah næron ofer-swiþde . Cumað nu on sybbe . and onfoð wuldor-beah eowres siges . and for þissum hwilwendlicum yflum . brucað þæra ecera goda on worulda woruld" (Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 2:216).

In addition to these relatively full and coherent treatments of the figure of Job, Ælfric refers to verses or short passages from the Book of Job in a number of homilies and other writings as the basis for patristic-style exegesis. A favorite image for Ælfric was the fire that falls from heaven and kills Job's sheep and their shepherds.⁸⁵ In an apparently original interpretation, Ælfric saw this as an example of Satan's deception. In the preface to the first series of *Sermones Catholici*, he states that he is preparing the collection to help people resist the attacks of the Antichrist: "Everyone may the more easily fight the coming temptation, through God's help, if he is strengthened by book learning, for those who are steadfast in faith to the end will be preserved."⁸⁶ As an example of the devil's deceptive assaults Ælfric writes:

The impious one will cause fire to come from above, *as if from heaven*, in the sight of men, *as if he were God Almighty*, who rules over heaven and earth; but Christians must then be mindful how the devil acted, when he asked God that he might tempt Job. He made then fire to come from above, *as if from heaven*, and burned all his sheep out in the field, and the shepherds too, except one who was to announce it to him. The devil did not send fire from heaven, though it came from above; for he himself was not in heaven, since he, for his pride, had been cast out. Likewise the cruel Antichrist has no power to send down heavenly fire, though he, through the devil's craft, *may so feign*. It will now be wiser that everyone know this, and know his belief, lest anyone have to await great misery.⁸⁷

There is a similar passage in the Job homily, where Ælfric uses the same example and the same language to make the same point: "That fire ... by no means

85 Job 1:16.

86 Gehwá mæg þe eadelicor þa towardan costnunge acuman ðurh godes fultum. gif hé bið þurh bóclíce lare getrymmed. for ðan ðe ða beoð gehealdene þe oð ende on geleafan þurhwuniað (Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, 175).

87 "Se arleasa deð þæt fyr cymð ufan swilce of heofonum on manna gesiðe. swilce hé god ælmihtig sý. ðe ah gewæld heofenas 7 eorðan. ac þa cristenan sceolon beon þonne gemyndige. hú se deofol dyde. ða ða he bæd æt gode þæt he moste fandian IOBES; He gemacode ða þæt fyr cóm ufan *swilce of | heofenum*. 7 forbærnde ealle his scep út on felda. 7 þa hyrdas samod. buton anum þe hit him cyðan sceolde; Ne sende se deofol ða fyr of heofenum. þeah ðe hit ufan come. for ðan ðe he sylf næs on heofonum. syððan he for his modignysse of aworpen wæs; Ne eac se wælhreowa antecrist næfð þa mihte þæt he heofenlic fyr asendan mæge. ðeah ðe he þurh deofles cræft hit *swa gehwige*; Bið nu wislicor þæt gehwa ðis wite 7 kunne his geleafan. weald hwa ða micclan yrmðe gebidan sceole" (Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, 175–76).

came from heaven, even though it might thus be feigned ... just so will the Antichrist do when he comes: he will send fire from above *as if* from heaven.”⁸⁸ An analogous allusion to the devil’s deceit, though separated from the Book of Job’s image of the descending fire, appears in Ælfric’s homily for St. Bartholomew’s Day. Translating a text found in his Latin source, Ælfric relates a demon’s confession to Bartholomew:

Our ruler, as he is now bound, sent us to mankind, that we might afflict them with various infirmities; first their bodies, because we have no power over their souls, unless they offer us their sacrifices. But when they for their bodies’ health offer to us, then we cease from afflicting the body, for we have then their souls in our power. *Then it seems as though we heal them*, when we cease from those afflictions. And men worship us as gods, when we truly are devils.... When they believe that we are gods, and sacrifice to us, then the Almighty God abandons them, and we then leave the body unafflicted, and attend to the soul that has bowed to us, which is then in our power.⁸⁹

Ælfric’s creative use of the Job text may have begun with this traditional theme, to which he subsequently attached the image from Job.

The remaining Ælfrician references to Job are more incidental, and several of them are simply translations of other works. The image of fire appears, not surprisingly, in the homily for Pentecost in the first series of *Sermones Catholici*, where the descending fire of Pentecost may have joggled Ælfric’s thought to the descending fire of Job 1:16 and an unexpected association of meek innocence with Pentecost:

88 “þæt fyr ... ne com ná of heofenum þeah ðe hit swa gehíwod wære ... Eall swa deð antecrist ðonne he cymð. he asent fyr ufan *swilce of heofenum*” (Godden, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, 263).

89 “Ure ealdor swa gebunden swa he is. sent us to mancynne þæt we hi mid mislicum untrumnyssum awyrdon rest heora lichaman for þan ðe we nabbað nænne anweald on heora sawlum buton hi heora lac us geoffrianæ Ac þonne hi for heora lichaman hælðe us offriað þonne geswice we þæs lichaman gedrecednyssse. for þan ðe we habbað syððan heora sawla on urum gewealdeæ þonne *bið gepuht* swilce we hi hehælon. þonne we geswicað þæra áwyrdnyssa. 7 men us wurþiað for godas. | þonne we soðlice deoflu sind ... ðonne hi gelyfað þæt we godas sind. 7 us offriað þonne forlæt se ælmihtiga god hi. 7 we þonne forlætað þone lichaman ungebrocenedne 7 cepað ðære sawle þe us to gebeah. 7 heo þonne on ure anwealde bið” (Clemoes, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, 443–44). Cf. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, 1:143.

God's Spirit was manifested in the likeness of a dove and in the semblance of fire. For he makes those whom he fills with his grace to be meek in innocence and burning in the will of God. Meekness is not pleasing to God without wisdom, nor wisdom without meekness, as it is said of the blessed Job, that he was meek and righteous. What is righteousness without meekness? Or what is meekness without righteousness? But the Holy Spirit, who teaches both righteousness and meekness, should be manifested both as fire and as a dove, for he causes the hearts of those men whom he enlightens with his grace to be meek through innocence, and kindled by love and wisdom.⁹⁰

This passage, like much of the homily, is a direct translation from Gregory's homily on John 14:23–27,⁹¹ but with one striking deviation: Ælfric's word "wisdom" ("snoternysse"), which occurs three times in the passage, replaces Gregory's *zelus*. This changes the tone dramatically, and seems more in keeping with the theme of the Book of Job, where *sapientia* is an important and recurring word, while *zelus* never appears.

Job's wisdom appears again in the homily for Christmas Day in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*.⁹² The source is Alcuin's *De animae ratione* (a treatise on the unity of the soul and the mind). Ælfric concludes the homily with a paean to wisdom: "This wisdom is written of in holy books, and it is said of it, 'omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est.' 'Every wisdom is of God.' Now because of this, every man is happy and blessed who is wise in God, and if he orders his works with wisdom. Of this blessed Job said, 'The wisdom of man is righteousness, and true knowledge is that he depart from evil.'"⁹³ In a homily for the twelfth Sunday after the

90 "On clufan anlicnysse. 7 on fyres hiwe wæs godes gast æteowod. for þan ðe he deð þæt ða beoð bylewite on unscaedðinysse. 7 byrnende on godes willan þe he mid his gife gefylð; Ne bið seo bylewitnys gode gecweme buton | snoternysse ne seo snoternys buton bylewitnysse swa swa gecweden is be þam eadigan iob. þæt he wæs bylewite | 7 rihtwis; Hwæt bið rihtwisnys buton bilewitnysse? ac se halga gast þe tæcð rihtwisnysse 7 bylewitnysse sceolde beon æteowod æigðer ge on byre ge on culfran. for þan ðe he deð þæra manna heortan þe he onliht mid his gife þæt hi beoð liðe þurh unscaedþinysse. 7 onælede þurh lufe 7 snoternysse" (Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, 360).

91 Gregory the Great, *Homelias in Evangelia* 2.30, (ed.) R. Etaix, CCL 141 (Turnhout, 1999), 262.

92 "VIII Kalendas Ianuarii, Natiuitas Domini Nostri Iesu Christi," in Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 1:10–25. The homily also survives in a 12th-century adaptation: see A.O. Belfour, (ed.), *Twelfth-Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343*, EETS o. s. 137 (London, 1909; reprint, Cambridge, 1962), 78–97.

93 "Þæs wisdom is awryten on halgum bocum . and be ðam is þus gecwæden . Omnis sapientia a domino deo est . Ælc wisdom is of gode . Is nú forðy ælc man eadig and gesælig . se

octave of Pentecost, Ælfric translates Bede's allusion to Job 27:3–4 ("As long as breath remaineth in me, and the spirit of God in my nostrils, / My lips shall not speak iniquity, neither shall my tongue contrive lying") in reference to the touching of the nostrils in the rite of baptism:

The blessed Job spoke about the same thing; and the odor in the nose symbolizes the odor about which the apostle Paul thus wrote: *Christi bonus odor sumus Deo in omni loco*: We ourselves are truly the odor of Christ, the good odor of God in every place. As long as the breath is dwelling in us, and the Spirit of God in our noses, we shall not speak unrighteousness with our lips, nor taste any deceit with our tongues.⁹⁴

Ælfric uses another homily by Bede as the source for a homily on the third Sunday after Easter.⁹⁵ Here, Ælfric adds a reference to Job to Bede's text. Where

ðe for gode wis bið . and gif heo his weorc mid wisdome gefadað . Be þæm cwæð se ædiga iób . Þæs mannes wisdom is árfæstnys . and soð ingehyd . þæt he yfel forbúge" (Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 1:24). Cf. Alcuin, *De animae ratione*, "Haec in Virgiliacis non inuenitur mendaciis, sed in evangelica affluenter reperietur veritate. De vera scilicet sapientia dicitur: Omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est (Eccles. 1:1). Quidquid enim recte per sapientiam intelligitur et amatur, Dei donum est. Proinde omnis, qui secundum Deum sapiens est, beatus est. Unde in Job dicitur: Sapientia hominis est pietas, recedere autem a malo scientia (Job. 28:28) (PL 101:646B-C). Note that Vulgate Job 28:28 reads "et dixit homini ecce timor Domini ipsa est sapientia et recedere a malo intellegentia."

- 94 "Be þam ilcan gecwæð se eadiga Iob:
 7 þære nosa stenc getacnað þone stenc
 be þam þe se apostol Paulus þuss awrat:
Christi bonus odor sumus Deo in omni loco:
 We syndon us sylfe soðlice Cristes bræð,
 Gode sylfum god bræð on ælcere stowe.
 Swa lange swa [s]eo oreðung is on us wunigende,
 7 Godes Gast on urum nosum, ne sceolon we sprecan
 unrihtwisnyse on urum welerum,
 ne leasunga smeagan mid ure tungan ahwar. (Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, 573). Cf. Bede, *Homiliarum Evangelii Libri II*, (ed.) D. Hurst, CCL 122 (Turnhout, 1955), "Homelia 6," 222: "... amplectantur odorem de quo dicit apostolus, christi bonus odor sumus deo in omni loco, et ut meminerint se iuxta exemplum beati iob donec superest alitus in eis et spiritus dei in naribus eorum non loqui iniquitatem labii nec lingua mendacium meditari debere ..."
- 95 Bede, *Homiliarum Evangelii Libri II*, "Homelia 13," 267–71; Bruno Assmann, (ed.), *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 3 (Kassel, 1889; reprint with introduction by Peter Clemoes, Darmstadt, 1964), "Ælfric's Homelie über Ioh. XVI, 16–22," 73–80.

Bede cites John 16:21 to illustrate the disciples' sorrow turned to joy after the Resurrection ("A woman, when she is in labor, hath sorrow, because her hour is come; but when she hath brought forth the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world"), Ælfric adds a paraphrase of Job 14:1–3: "That child that is born cries out immediately with weeping and thereupon prophesies the toil of this world and the coming trials, even though it knows nothing, because it comes here to heavy toil and to much strife, as Job once wrote."⁹⁶

Another incidental use of Job occurs in Ælfric's *Grammar*. The *De Arte Grammatica Anglice*⁹⁷ is a grammar of Latin written in English for use in a monastic school. Ælfric's acknowledged source is the Latin *Excerptiones de Prisciano*,⁹⁸ a 10th-century compilation. Ælfric sometimes supplements or replaces Priscian's examples with his own, and this is the case in the section dealing with impersonal verbs. As an example of an impersonal 'joined to an accusative and a genitive,' Priscian cites Terence:

alia acusatiuo cum genitiuo, ut "Tedet me (uel 'te' uel 'illum') istius rei"; similiter "pudet", "piget", "miseret" (Terrentius: "Pudet me uanitatibus"; idem: "Fratris me quidem pudet pigetque.")

("Others are joined to an accusative with a genitive, such as 'That matter wearies me [or you or him,]' and likewise 'It is shameful,' 'It is annoying' and 'It is pitiable.' [Terence: 'I am ashamed of vanity;' again, 'I am ashamed and annoyed at my brother.'])"⁹⁹

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- 96 "Pæt cild, þe bið acænned, sona hit cyð mid wope
and þærrichte witezað þissere worulde zeswinc
and þa towardan costnunza, þeah þe hit ne cunne nan þin3,
fordan þe hit cymð hyder to hefezum zeswince
and to micclum zewinne, swa swa Iob iu awrat" (Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, 77–78). Cf. Job 5:6–7a ("Nothing upon earth is done without a cause, and sorrow doth not spring out of the ground. Man is born to labour") and 14:1–2: ("Man born of a woman, living for a short time, is filled with many miseries. Who cometh forth like a flower, and is destroyed, and fleeth as a shadow, and never continueth in the same state").
- 97 Julius Zupitza, (ed.), *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar: Text und Varianten* (Berlin, 1880; reprint with introduction by Helmut Gneuss, Berlin, 1966).
- 98 David W. Porter, (ed.), *Excerptiones de Prisciano: The Source for Ælfric's Latin-Old English Grammar* (Cambridge, 2002).
- 99 Porter, *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, 196–97.

Ælfric prefers instead to quote from Job:

accvssativo *taedet me* mē âðrÿt: *taedet animam meam uitae meae*, cwæð
Iob.

(Accusative: *taedet me* it wearies me: *taedet animam meam uitae meae* ["my soul is weary of my life"], said Job [Job 10:1]).¹⁰⁰

Ælfric's use of Job 10 here is noteworthy, because elsewhere in his writings he refers only to the beginning and end of the Book of Job. Chapter 10 was read in its entirety in the nocturns of the office of the dead, the other occasion, alongside the month of September, when Job was read in the liturgy. As late as the beginning of the 9th century, the office of the dead was nothing more than an occasional devotion in English monasteries, but by Ælfric's time, the end of the 10th, it had been universally adopted as a daily obligation.¹⁰¹ Chapter 10 of Job would thus have been utterly known to monks, and the absence of homiletic references may indicate that Ælfric thought that any comment on the text would be redundant, while the other portions of the book, recurring for just two weeks each year, required special attention. It is noteworthy that the office of the dead, later known as the *Dirige* or dirge after the incipit of its first antiphon, inspired so little Old English literature: in the Middle English period its association with popular as well as monastic piety led to an explosion of related texts.¹⁰²

Near the end of his career, shortly before Ælfric became Abbot of Eynsham in 1005, he wrote a piece known as the "Libellus de Veteri Testamento et Novo," also known as the "Letter to Sigeward."¹⁰³ The "letter," the addressee of which has not been identified, is an exposition of the canon of the Bible, with comments on each book. Of Job, Ælfric writes:

100 Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, 207.

101 Thomas Symons, "Monastic Observance in the Tenth Century: I.—The Offices of All Saints and of the Dead (*continued*)," *The Downside Review* 51 (1933): 137–52 at 152.

102 See Karis Ann Crawford, "The Middle English *Pety Job*: A Critical Edition with a Study of Its Place in Late Medieval Religious Literature" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1977), 93–117.

103 James Hurt, *Ælfric* (New York, 1972), 34. The text is edited in Richard Marsden, (ed.) *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric's Libellus de Veteri Testamento et Novo*, EETS o. s. 330 (Oxford, 2008), 201–30; and by Larry J. Swain, "Ælfric of Eynsham's Letter to Sigeward: An Edition, Translation and Commentary" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Chicago, 2009).

Job was the name of a high servant of God in the land of Chus, a very faithful man, wealthy in possessions. He was tested by the deceitful devil as his book, which he himself composed after he was tested, says. I have translated a homily about this into English previously, and it is likewise certainly a prophecy about Christ and about his Church, as the learned say, and the book is included in this canon.¹⁰⁴

The *Libellus* thus repeats the summarizing assertions made at the conclusion of the Job homily and shows what Ælfric thought was most important about the Book of Job: the story of Job is the historically true story of Job's testing by the devil, it was written by Job himself, and its primary significance is its typological foreshadowing of Christ and the church: just as Job's victory over Satan foreshadows the central event of Christ's victory, the reverse typology of the church's struggles against the devil assures that the outcome will be the same.

An anonymous homily from Ælfric's time, once attributed to Wulfstan, introduces the images of Leviathan and Behemoth, which were beloved by many exegetes, but, apart from this instance, ignored by Old English homilists. The homily, titled "Ammonitio amici" and dealing with the eight capital sins, translates an exegetical passage from Gregory's *Moralia* in a warning against the devil:

Most of all the devil overpowers people with these two vices: that is, with pride and lust: thus God spoke through Job, "*sub umbra dormit in secreto calami et locis humentibus.*"¹⁰⁵ "*Calamus*" means "reed," and that symbolizes the proud. "*Loca humentia*" means "wet places," which symbolizes foul lust.¹⁰⁶

104 "Job waes gehaten sum heah Godes þegen on þam lande Chus, swiþe geleafull wer welig on æhtum. Se wearð afandod þurh þone swicolan deofol, swa swa his boc ys segð þe he sylf gesette siþþan he afandod waes. Be þam ic awende on Englisc sumne cwide iu, and hit ys eac witegung witodlice be Criste and be his gelapunge, swa swa lareowas secgað. And seo boc ys geendebyrd on þissere gesetnyssse" (Marsden, *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric's Libellus de Veteri Testamento et Novo*, 216).

105 Job 40:16 ("He sleepeth under the shadow, in the covert of the reed, and in moist places").

106 "ealra swyðust deofol gewylt mancyn mid þissum twam unþeawum, þæt ys mid modignyssse and galscipe; swa god cwæð þurh Job: *sub umbra dormit in secreto calami, in locis humentibus. calamus*, þæt byð hreod, and þæt tacnað þa modigan. *loca humentia*, þæt beoð wæte stowa, þa getacnjað þa fulan gælsan." (Arthur Napier, (ed.), *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler 4 [Berlin, 1883; reprint with appendix by Klaus Os-theeren, Berlin, 1967], 246–50 at 249).

The exegesis of Job is straight from Gregory,¹⁰⁷ but the mention of the devil is the addition of the Anglo-Saxon author, another example of the Anglo-Saxon image of Job as a resistor of the evil one.

12.3 Post-Ælfrician Homilies

The late anonymous Old English homilies of the 12th century have been much less studied than Ælfric's works. The texts of many of them (without commentary) are available in Richard Morris's two volume edition from the 19th-century,¹⁰⁸ but much remains to be done contextualizing them and identifying their sources.¹⁰⁹ The homilies from this period show an interest in Job as lively as Ælfric's. There are four homilies in each of Morris's collections that refer or allude to Job, and half of them follow the Ælfrician custom of portraying Job as a warrior. This theme is even more pronounced and zealous here than in Ælfric's works. Two of them are homilies on the Magnificat antiphon for vespers of the Feasts of St. Michael and of apostles: "Estote fortes in bello et pugnate cum antiquo serpente et accipietis regnum aeternum" ("Be strong in war and fight against the ancient serpent and you will receive the eternal kingdom").¹¹⁰ The homily from Lambeth MS 487 begins by referring to Job as an example of the "simple and righteous man" (Job 1:8; 2:3) who has the fortitude to take up the fight¹¹¹ and concludes with an exhortation to the warrior to "clothe yourself with the weapons of God, and take good belief for your hauberk, hope for a helmet, true love for a shield, and God's word for a sword," for "so desires God that we may herewith overcome the old serpent, and have for our reward

107 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 33.3.8–9, (ed.) Marc Adriaen, CCSL 143B (Turnhout, 1985), 1676–77.

108 Richard Morris, (ed.), *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises (Sawles Warde, and þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd: Ureisuns of Ure Louerd and of Ure Lefdi, &c.) of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, EETS o. s. 29, 34 (London, 1868); and *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century from the Unique Ms. B. 14. 52. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Series, with Three Thirteenth Century Hymns from Ms. 54 D.4.14 in Corpus Christi College*, EETS o. s. 53 (London, 1873).

109 Mary Swan's "Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* in the twelfth century," in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, (eds.) Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne (Cambridge, 2000), 62–82 is an important recent contribution.

110 Cf. CAO 2684.

111 "Ah Iob wes an fald rihtwis. Mon." (Morris, *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises*, 151).

everlasting bliss.¹¹² This echoes the imagery of the homily for Rogation Monday in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* discussed above.¹¹³ The homily on the same text from Trinity College, Cambridge MS B.14.52 embellishes the description of the warlike Job, "who fought against the devil, of whom the book says, he was a simple, righteous, and God-fearing man, strong in the fight of which I spoke."¹¹⁴ This homily also cites the famous Job 7:1 ("militia est vita hominis super terram"), though it misattributes it to Tobit: "Now you have heard to what strength our Lord exhorts us, hear now to what conflict we ought to apply this strength. The holy man Tobias says what fight this is, saying 'man's life on earth is warfare.'"¹¹⁵

A militant homily on Ephesians 6:10–17 ("Induite Vos Armatura Dei"), the epistle reading for the twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost, gets it right and cites Job:

Every Christian man ... as soon as he steps out of the font ... makes three enemies for himself: ... The first is the devil and his host, the second is this earth, the third is very near the Christian man, that is, his own flesh. These three, like three robbers, fight against each believing man as long as we wander in the wilderness of this world. Therefore the holy Job said, "*Militia est vita hominis super terram*—man's life on earth is knightship."¹¹⁶

A homily for the second after Easter seems to refer to Job 5:7 without identifying the source in its description of all who lived before Christ:

112 "Scruðeð ow mid godes wepne. and nimeð gode ileue to burne. To hope to helme soðe luue to scelde. godes word to sworde ... swa wile god þet we moten her mide þe alde neddre ouercume. and habbe to mede endelese blisse" (Morris, *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises*, 155).

113 Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, 180–89.

114 "Iob ... þe wan wið þe wurse. of hwam þe boc seið. *Erat uir ille simplex et rectus ac timens domini. et recedens á malo*. He was ofeald man and rihtwis. and Godfriht. and strong on þe fihte þe ic offe speke" (Morris, *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, 187).

115 "Nu 3e hauen herd to wich strengðe ure drihten us to munezeð. hereð nu to wiche fihte we o3en þis strengðe notien. þe holi man tobias seið wiche fiht þat is þus queðinde. *Milicia est uita hominis super terram*. Mannes liflode buuen eorðe is fardung" (Morris, *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, 189).

116 "Ælc cristen mán ánon se stepð up of þe funte ... maceð him þri ifón ... Se forme is se deofel. and his igéng. Se oðer þes middennard. Se þridde is wel nich þe cristen men. þat is his a3on flese. Þas þri fihteð agen elcen ileafful man also longe se we iðese westen of þesser woruld wandrið. also þri reaferes. Þer for sede se hali iob. *Milicia est uita hominis super terram*. Cnihtscipe is mannes lif upen eorðe" (Morris, *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises*, 241–42).

Truly into this world—*ubi omnis homo cum dolore nascitur et cum dolore moritur*—Into this world they went where each man is born in great sorrow, and ends his life in great grief. Here they lived all their lifetime in anxiety and in affliction, and in great toil; and after this life their souls went to hell ... none might resist ... until the strong lion that was the Son of the living God.¹¹⁷

Christ is seen as “the strong lion” who is the only one who can overcome the devil, “who goes about like a hungry lion seeking whom he may destroy” (“þe geð abutan alswa þe gredie leo sechinde hwen he ma e fordon”), a reference to 1 Peter 5:8.

A homily for the feast of St. Andrew, again without identifying the source, quotes Job 14:2 in a meandering meditation on the transitoriness of this world:

Qui fugit velut umbra et nunquam in eodem statu permanet—He is fleeting as a shadow and stands never in one place, but declines ever from youth to age, from health to sickness, from comeliness to uncomeliness, from love to hate, from honor to dishonor, from bliss to sorrow, from laughter to weeping, from weal to woe, and lastly, from life to death.¹¹⁸

There is a brief mention of Job in an unusual homily on Psalm 125:6–7 (“Going they went and wept, casting their seeds, but coming they shall come with joyfulness, carrying their sheaves”). The subject of the homily is tears and weeping, and Job is named in a list of tearful biblical figures: “Sometimes the holy men shed hot tears because weary of the world, for they were sorry because this earthly life lasted too long for them. *Tales lacrimas fudit Job; quando dicebat. Tedet animam meam vitae meae*—Job shed such tears when he uttered these words, ‘Woe is my soul that my life lasts thus so long!’” (cf. Job 10:1).¹¹⁹

117 “Soðliche on þissere worulde. vbi omnis homo cum dolore nascitur & cum dolore moritur. on þissere weorlde heo bicomen þer iwilch mon bið iboren mid muchele sara. and mid muchele sorþe his lif iendað. her heo leueden al heore lifdazes on kare and on pine and on unimete iswinche. and efter þisse liue heore saulen ferden to helle ... Ne mihte þer nan wiðstonden ... a ðet þa streonge leo þet wes þes liuizendes godes sune” (Morris, *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises*, 129–31).

118 “He is fleonde also shadewe and ne stont neure on one stede. Ac sigeð eure fro zuweðe to helde. fro hele to unhele. fro wenliche to ateliche. fro lieue to loðe. fro wurðe to unwurðe. fro blisse to sorinesse. fro lehtre to wope. fro wele to wowe. and attan ende fro liue to deaðe” (Morris, *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, 175).

119 “oðerhwile þe halie. Men. scheden hate teres for laþe of þe worlde for hom ofþuchte þet þis orliche lif hom to longe leste. Tales lacrimas fudit Iob quando dicebat. Tedet

The fullest treatment of Job in a 12th-century homily is in a homily on “*Libera me domine*,” the response at the end of the third nocturn of the office of the dead.¹²⁰ This meditation on death and judgment anticipates the way Middle English devotional texts, many of them closely related to the office of the dead, use the figure of Job. While Ælfric is only interested in the beginning and end of the Book of Job, this homily also acknowledges the middle section, the part that for modern readers has been most engaging. In a lengthy summary of the story of Job, the homily says that Job had three states of life: the first was in great worldly prosperity, and the third was in prosperity twice as great as the first. But there is also “an intermediate state” (“*midleste biwist*”),¹²¹ in which, after suffering grievous torments, Job

raised his eyes to heaven and his heart to God, and his hands to his breasts, and sorely sighed, and struck his heart and implored God’s mercy, thus saying, “*Libera me domine*, etc., deliver me, Lord, from eternal death in the horrible day, that heaven and earth shall quake and be in dread, then you come to judge all mankind with fire.” Thus the holy man himself prayed, and gave example to all men so to pray; and as often as the priest sings this prayer at the sepulchre he reminds all those who are there thus for themselves to pray—“Deliver me, Lord, from eternal death.”¹²²

animam meam vite mee. swiche teres schedde iob þa þe he þos word seide. Wa is mine saule þet mi lif þus longe ilest” (Morris, *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises*, 157).

120 “*Libera me domine de morte eterna in die illa tremenda, quando caeli movendi sunt et terra, dum veneris iudicare saeculum per ignem. Dies illa, dies irae, calamitatis et miseriae, dies magna et amara valde*” (“Free me, Lord, from eternal death on the great day when heaven and earth will be moved, when you will come to judge the world with fire. That day, the day of wrath, calamity, and misery, the great and bitter day”). Cf. Job 17:3; Joel 3:16; Zeph. 1:15.

121 Morris, *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, 168.

122 “hefde þo his egen to heuene. and his heorte to gode. and his honden to his breste. and sore sihte. and his heorte biet. and bed godes milce þus queðinde. *Libera me domine et cetera*. Ared me louerd of eche deaðe. on þe grisliche dai. þe heuene and eorðe shulen quakien. of dred. þanne þu cument to demen al mankin mid fire. Þus þe holi man him bad. and 3af alle men forbisne swo to bidden. and alswo ofte swo prest singeð þis bede at lich huse. he mine3eð alle ðo þe þer ben. hem þus to bidden. *Libera me domine. de morte. et cetera*. Ales me louerd of eche deaðe” (Morris, *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, 169).

12.4 Accidental Appearances?

The figure of Job turns up unexpectedly in an Anglo-Saxon charm and in a Life of St. Malchus, bearing witness to Job's presence in the thoughts of the 11th-century scribes, if not to the intentions of the authors. An Old English charm against cattle thieves, variations of which survive in four Anglo-Saxon manuscripts,¹²³ has a Latin incantation that reads:

Abraham tibi semitas, vias, montes concludat, Job et flumina.¹²⁴

(“May Abraham close to you the paths, roads, and mountains. May Job also close the rivers.”)

This text in turn derives from a charm written in the margin of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41, pp. 207–8,¹²⁵ the same manuscript of Bede that includes the nocturns for Job in the margins:

Habracham tibi uias montes silua semitas fluminas Andronas cludat. Isáac tibi tenebras inducat. Crux Iacob te ad iudicium ligatum perducatur.¹²⁶

(“May Abraham close to you the roads, mountains, forests, paths, rivers, passages. May Isaac lead you into darkness. May the cross of Jacob lead you bound to judgment.”)

The charm's manuscript tradition and reception history are beyond the scope of this essay,¹²⁷ but Christopher Hohler has made a convincing hypothesis about how Job found his way into the incantation: “The several invocations must, when [the text] was originally written, have begun <Deus> Abraham

123 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, 130, and London, BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 106 (both the mid-11th century); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383, fol. 59r (turn of the 12th century); and Rochester, Cathedral Library, Textus Roffensis, pt. 1, fol. 95 (early 12th century).

124 Godfrid Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (The Hague, 1948), 202–204.

125 Incorrectly cited as 206 by Stephanie Hollis, “Old English ‘Cattle-Theft Charms’: Manuscript Contexts and Social Uses,” *Anglia* 115 (1997): 139–64 at 141.

126 Grant, *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41*, 6.

127 See Hollis, “Old English ‘Cattle-Theft Charms’”; and Lea Olsan, “The Inscription of Charms in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,” *Oral Tradition* 14 (1999): 401–19.

... <Deus> Isaac ... <Deus> Jacob ... and ‘*Crux Jacob*’ and ‘*Job*’ in various versions will be bad shots at the last of these.”¹²⁸ Stephanie Hollis seems to read “Andronas” as a proper name when she writes that the later form of the charm is “substituting Job for the unfamiliar *Andronas*,”¹²⁹ and Raymond Grant’s capitalization of the word in his edition (it is lower case in the manuscript) suggests that he makes the same mistake. It is in fact the accusative plural of the unfamiliar common noun *andron* (“passageway”). The invocation of Job to close the rivers is not as bad a shot as it might at first appear: it is very likely an allusion to either Job 14:10–11 (“But man when he shall be dead, and stripped and consumed, I pray you where is he? As if the waters should depart out of the sea, and *an emptied river should be dried up*”)¹³⁰ or Job 20:17–18 (“Let him not see the streams of the river, the brooks of honey and of butter. He shall be punished for all that he did, and yet shall not be consumed: according to the multitude of his devices so also shall he suffer.”)¹³¹

Michael S. Armstrong and Peter Jackson have identified a similar instance of confusion in the Old English translation of Jerome’s *Life of St. Malchus*, where a scribe may have misread a contraction for “Jacob” (“Iōb”) as the name of Job.¹³² The translation survives in just one manuscript, London, BL Cotton Otho C.i, from the mid-11th century.¹³³ Job crops up in Malchus’s description of his life as a shepherd: “Then it seemed to me, that I had some resemblance to the blessed Job, and I was mindful of Moses, of how he tended his animals in the desert.”¹³⁴ The corresponding Latin text names Moses and Jacob, “both of whom were once shepherds in the open country.”¹³⁵ The reference to Job does not occur in any of the editions of the Latin *Vita*.¹³⁶ Armstrong and Jackson point out that

128 Christopher Hohler, review of *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41*, by Raymond S.J. Grant, *Medium Ævum* 49 (1980): 275–78 at 278.

129 Hollis, “Old English ‘Cattle-Theft Charms,’” 149.

130 “homo vero cum mortuus fuerit et nudatus atque consumptus ubi quaeso est / quomodo si recedant aquae de mari et fluvius vacuefactus arescat.”

131 “non videat rivulos fluminis torrentes mellis et butyri / luet quae fecit omnia nec tamen consumetur iuxta multitudinem adinventionum suarum sic et sustinebit.”

132 Michael S. Armstrong and Peter Jackson. “Job and Jacob in the Old English Life of Malchus,” *Notes & Queries* n. s. 49 (2002): 10–12.

133 Edited by Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, 199–207.

134 “Pa þuhte me, þæt ic hæfde hwæthwugu gelices þam eadigan Iobe, and ic wæs Moyses gemyndig, hu he fedde his nytenu in westenne” (Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, 202; translation by Armstrong and Jackson, “Job and Jacob,” 10.

135 “qui ... in heremo pecorum quondam fuere pastores” (Armstrong and Jackson, “Job and Jacob,” 12).

136 Armstrong and Jackson, “Job and Jacob,” 10–11.

“Neither *iob* nor *iōb* appears to have been used at any time in the medieval period as an abbreviation of *iacob*,”¹³⁷ but they have located, among the more than 100 manuscripts of the Latin *Vita Malchi*, two in which “the original scribe has written *iob*, and the letters *ac* have been added above the same line—it seems in the same hand—more or less between the *i* and the *o* of *iob*.¹³⁸ Excluding the possibility of abbreviation, they hypothesize that

the scribe of the Latin exemplar underlying the Old English text had forgotten the relevant part of Jacob’s story and thus missed Jerome’s (or Malchus’) point that the captive and enslaved saint took comfort in the reflection that his biblical predecessors Jacob and Moses had also been shepherds, instead assuming that he must have had in mind Job, that most famous model of patient submission under extreme affliction. His Old English follower, realizing that something was amiss, but not thinking to emend *iob* to *iacob*, retained the reading but altered the grammar to reflect his recollection that only one of the two heroes had laboured as a shepherd.¹³⁹

While this ingenious theory has much to commend it, it requires us to imagine a scribe who could forget that Jacob was a shepherd, yet remember the story of Job. Given the similar instance of confusion in the charm, the possibility of a mis-read abbreviation seems worth revisiting: in the case of the charm, an awareness of the association of Job with rivers drying up may have led a scribe to mis-read “*Iōb*” for Job, and in the case of the *Life of Malchus*, knowledge not only of Job’s patient endurance, but of his many sheep, could have caused a similar leap of mind.

12.5 Poetry

Job appears less frequently in Old English poetry than in prose, but there have been a number of attempts to demonstrate a relationship. The poem known as *Soul and Body II* concludes with a lengthy and gruesome description of what will happen to the sinner’s body after the second judgment: it will be torn apart

137 Armstrong and Jackson, “Job and Jacob,” 12. They base this assertion on the absence of such an abbreviation in Adriano Cappelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, 4th ed. (Milan, 1949) and Auguste Pelzer, *Abréviations latines médiévales* (Louvain, 1964).

138 Armstrong and Jackson, “Job and Jacob,” 11.

139 Armstrong and Jackson, “Job and Jacob,” 12.

and devoured by vicious worms.¹⁴⁰ In a study of this image in medieval literature, Benjamin P. Kurtz argues that Job's references to worms attacking the body (Job 7:5; 17:1,14; 18:12–14; 19:26; 21:26; 24:20; 25:6; 33:22) “are the *loci classici* of the literature of Gifer the Worm.”¹⁴¹ Perhaps, but as Kurtz himself acknowledges, the use of the image as well as the theme of the poem are dramatically different from what we find in Job, and understanding Job as the source of the image means assuming that it has been “misunderstood, ignobly transformed, and applied to a new purpose” in the Anglo-Saxon poem.¹⁴²

The theme of the *Riming Poem*, also preserved in the Exeter Book,¹⁴³ is the reversal of fortune, and many critics have seen the poem as parallel to (and even a paraphrase of) Job 29 and 30.¹⁴⁴ But there seems to be a growing scholarly consensus, summarized by Bernard Muir in his recent edition:

These lines [1–77 of a total 87] have a thematic structure which is similar to that of Job 29–30, although this does not mean that the biblical text is to be understood as a direct source for the poem—the Book of Job and the patristic and homiletic treatments of it would have been familiar to any educated person in the Middle Ages.¹⁴⁵

W.F. Bolton, following in the critical tradition of Bernard F. Huppé, has attempted to show that the Book of Job is “an analogue and perhaps a source of some of the concepts, imagery, and even diction” of the *Dream of the Rood*.¹⁴⁶ His examples are certainly analogues and material for a comparative approach, but it is difficult to identify Job as a source for the poem. Bolton points to such similar themes as the importance of dreams (Job 4:12–14, 7:14, 20:8,

140 *Soul and Body II*, in Bernard Muir, (ed.), *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501*, Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies (Exeter, 1994), 1:278–82 at 281–82.

141 Benjamin P. Kurtz, “Gifer the Worm: An Essay toward the History of an Idea,” *University of California Publications in English* 2 (1929): 235–61 at 255.

142 Kurtz, “Gifer the Worm,” 256.

143 In Muir, *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, 1:264–67.

144 See Besserman, *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages*, 74–75, and Emily Doris Grubl, *Studien zu den angelsächsischen Elegien* (Marburg, 1948), 74–76 for a summary of the scholarly discussion.

145 Muir, *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, 2:553. See also Ruth P.M. Lehmann, “The Old English ‘Riming Poem’: Interpretation, Text, and Translation,” *JEGP* 69 (1970): 437–49, at 440.

146 W.F. Bolton, “The Book of Job in *The Dream of the Rood*,” *Mediaevalia* 6 (1982 for 1980): 87–103.

33:14–16);¹⁴⁷ contrasts of light and darkness, glory and degradation;¹⁴⁸ and military language (Job 14:14).¹⁴⁹ Correspondences like these are indeed striking to a reader familiar with both texts, but as Bolton's examples from a variety of other texts show, these themes occur widely in biblical and homiletic literature, and it is difficult to know whether the poet of the *Dream* specifically had Job in mind. Not surprisingly, Bolton makes much of the image of the tree in Job and in the *Dream of the Rood*. Job says:

A tree hath hope: if it be cut, it growth green again, and the boughs there-
of sprout. If its roots be old in the earth, and its stock be dead in the dust:
At the scent of water, it shall spring, and bring forth leaves, as when it
was first planted. ... He hath stripped me of my glory, and hath taken the
crown from my head. He hath destroyed me on every side, and I am lost,
and he hath taken away my hope, as from a tree that is plucked up. (Job
14:7–9, 19:9–10)

Bolton points out that according to Gregory's *Moralia*, this tree symbolizes "at times the Cross, at times the just man, or even the unjust, at times the incarnate Wisdom of God,"¹⁵⁰ and suggests that the poem views Job as a forerunner of Christ and the dreamer.¹⁵¹ The image of the tree appears again in Job 29:18–19: "And I said: I shall die in my nest, and as a palm tree shall multiply my days. My root is opened beside the waters, and dew shall continue in my harvest." Gregory offers two allegorical interpretations of this passage. He associates it with Psalm 1:3 ("And he shall be like a tree which is planted near the running waters, which shall bring forth its fruit in due season. And his leaf shall not fall off: and all whatsoever he shall do shall prosper.") and says that "we open our root beside the waters when we turn our attention to the interior infusion of the silent heart;"¹⁵² and then from another point of view, that the tree is the incarnate Christ, and the running waters are the people passing by: "providing fruit and the protection of his shade for us, the Creator appeared in the flesh, so that by his resurrection he might "plant" the human race [i.e. stop its incessant

147 Bolton, "The Book of Job in *The Dream of the Rood*," 87–89.

148 Bolton, "The Book of Job in *The Dream of the Rood*," 89–92.

149 Bolton, "The Book of Job in *The Dream of the Rood*," 98–99.

150 "aliquando crux, aliquando uir iustus aut etiam iniustus, aliquando uero incarnata Dei sapientia figuratur" (Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* 12.4.5, CCSL 143A, 630).

151 Bolton, "The Book of Job in *The Dream of the Rood*," 93–94.

152 "Radicem igitur nostram secus aquas aperimus, cum infusioni intimae cogitationem taciti cordis intendimus" (Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* 19.28.51, CCSL 143A, 997).

flux],¹⁵³ which by falling off was day by day going on into death.”¹⁵⁴ For Bolton, “that simile and Gregory’s explanation of it ... tell us something of the central personification of *The Dream of the Rood*; show how this personification serves further to unite the experience of Job, the Dreamer, the Cross, and Christ.”¹⁵⁵ While it is indisputable that many medieval readers would have recognized this unity, it is difficult to know whether it was the poet’s intent to draw attention to so precise an allusion.

The imagery of Job 29:18–19 is explicitly referred to in another Old English poem, *The Phoenix*.¹⁵⁶ At the end of the poem, a patristic-style exposition of the symbolism of the phoenix, the poet writes:

Listen to the wisdom of Job’s songs ... “This I do not disdain in my heart’s thoughts, that I, a man weary of body, should settle for a deathbed within my nest and from there set out abject upon the long journey, despondent of my former deeds, covered in clay in the soil’s embrace—and then after death the grace of the Lord, be allowed, just as the phoenix bird, to possess renewed life after resurrection ... Though my corpse must grow mouldered in its earthen chamber as a thing desirable to the worms, even so the God of the multitudes will set free my soul upon the hour of death and awaken it in glory. The hope of this will never crumble in my heart, for I have secured an enduring joy in the Ruler of the angels.”¹⁵⁷

153 Cf. Job 14:2 and n. 127 above.

154 “fructum et protectionem sui nobis umbraculi proferens, apparuit creator in carne, ut humanum genus per resurrectionem figeret, quod per defectum cotidie ibat in mortem” (Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* 19.28.51, CCSL 143A, 998).

155 Bolton, “The Book of Job in *The Dream of the Rood*,” 94.

156 In Muir, *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, 1:167–90.

157 “Gehyrað witedom

Iobes gieddinga ...

‘Ic þæt ne forhycge heortan geþoncum,

þæt ic in minum neste neobed ceose,

hæle hræwerig, gewite hean þonan

on longne sið ...

in greotes fæðm,

ond þonne æfter deaþe þurh dryhtnes giefe

swa se fugel fenix feorh edniwe

æfter æriste agan mote ...

Peah min lic scyle

on moldærne molsnad weorþan

wyrnum to willan, swa þeah weoruda god

æfter swylthwile sawle alysed

This is a paraphrase of Job 29:18 and 19:25–26, and it is noteworthy for two reasons. First, it gives no suggestion of Job as a patient sufferer, but, like most Anglo-Saxon references to Job, uses him as an example of the triumphant victor over death—like the phoenix, and like Christ. Second, the reference to the phoenix relies on an alternate translation of Job 29:18: rather than the Vulgate “In nidulo meo moriar, et sicut palma multiplicabo dies” (“I shall die in my nest, and as a palm tree shall multiply my days”), the poet quotes a version based on either the Hebrew text or the Septuagint. The Hebrew word rendered as *palma* by Jerome is חול, a word that the rabbinical tradition has variously understood to mean either “sand” or “phoenix” in this context (the modern scholarly exegetical consensus seems to have settled on “phoenix”).¹⁵⁸ The Greek Septuagint correctly has φοῖνῖξ, which can mean “date palm” or “phoenix,” hence the confusion. Among all the Bible versions and commentaries that survive, there is only one indicating that any medieval Latin author knew of the reading “phoenix” in this verse. A mysterious commentary on Job, sometimes attributed to Bede, but attributed by Bede himself to Philip the Presbyter,¹⁵⁹ is the only medieval Latin text known to consider this reading:

The palm tree is called *phoenix* in Greek. That bird, which many believe can easily come to life, is likewise named by the word *phoenix*. It is possible that this text is speaking of the same, since just as the bird, a long time after making a nest for itself, is said to incinerate itself in it, and to rise again shortly afterwards from the ashes of the same nest, and then to live again for a long time; it may be that holy Job compares himself to that bird, saying that after his death in the ashes of flesh just as in a nest, he expects that, as a faithful worshipper of God, he will in the future be resurrected in glory and live eternally in blessed days. For thus he has spoken above, saying: “And I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh I shall see my God” [Job 19:26].¹⁶⁰

ond in wuldor aweceð. Me þæs wen næfre
forbirsteð in breostum, ðe ic in brego engla
forðwardne gefean fæste hæbbe” (Muir, *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, 1186,
lines 548b–69; English translation by S.A.J. Bradley, (ed.) and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*,
[London, 1982], 298).

158 See the full discussion in Robert Gordis, *The Book of Job: Commentary, New Translation, and Special Studies* (New York, 1978), 321–22.

159 Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 4, in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera Didascalica*, (ed.) C.W. Jones, CCSL 123B (Turnholt, 1977), 263–544, at 281.

160 “Palma autem arbor secundum Græcos phoinix dicitur. Avis quoque illa, quam multi facile quidem vivere autumant, phoinix eodem nihilominus vocabulo nuncupatur. Potuit

Very little is known about the origin or provenance of this text, and it has never been critically edited, but there is no evidence to suggest the *Phoenix*-poet used it as a source, and the way in which the tradition it represents was mediated to Anglo-Saxon England remains to be discovered.¹⁶¹

There is one more mention of Job in Old English poetry, also in the Exeter Book: the poem on the Ascension known as *Christ II*. The poet imagines angels announcing Christ's victory over Satan, a victory on behalf of all the faithful:

The King of glory, Protector of the heaven-kingdom, did battle against his ancient enemies with the resources of the one God. There from the fortress of the fiends he delivered out of bondage the most enormous booty, a countless tally of people—this same throng on which you are gazing here.¹⁶²

Then, without naming his source, he goes on to paraphrase a homily by Gregory the Great inspired by Job 28:7:¹⁶³

fortassis de eadem hoc loco dixisse, ut sicut illa nidum sibi faciens, in ipso post multa tempora a semetipsa dicitur concremari, et rursus de eisdem nidi cineribus fertur intra breve tempus resurgere, quæ deinceps multis vivat temporibus fieri ergo potest ut sanctus Job in similitudine avis illius dicat se post mortem in cinere carnis, velut in nido pro tempore futurum, et inde resurrecturum in gloriam, atque hos esse æternos ac beatos dies, quos multiplicandos sibi fidelis Dei cultor expectet. Ita enim et superius est locutus, dicens: *Et rursum circumdabor pelle mea, et in carne mea videbo Deum*" (*In Iob Libri Tres*, 2.12, in *Venerabilis Bedæ Presbyteri Anglo-Saxonis ... Opera quotquot reperiri potuerunt omnia* [Cologne, 1612], 4:556).

161 See also Albert Stanburrough Cook, (ed.), *The Old English Elene, Phœnix, and Physiologus* (New Haven, 1919), 121–22; N.F. Blake, (ed.), *The Phoenix*, rev. ed. (Exeter, 1990), 21–22; and R. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix according to Classical and Early Christian Traditions* (Leiden, 1972), 59–61.

162 "... wuldres cyning,
heofonrices helm, hilde gefremede
wiþ his ealdfeondum anes meahtum,
þær he of hæfte ahlod huþa mæste
of feonda byrig, folces unrim,
þisne ilcan þreat þe ge her on stariað" (Muir, *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, 1:70–71, lines 565–70; English translation by Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 221).

163 "Pro hac ipsa namque carnis nostrae subleuatione per figuram beatus Iob Dominum auem uocat. Quia enim ascensionis eius mysterium Iudaeam non intelligere conspexit, de infidelitate eius sententiam protulit dicens: *Semitam ignorauit auis*. Auis enim recte appellatus est Dominus, quia corpus carneum ad aethera librauit. Cuius auis semitam ignorauit quisquis eum ad caelum ascendisse non credidit" ("In respect to this raising

Concerning that, Job, as he was well able to, recited a poem: he praised men's Protector, extolled the Saviour, and with the sympathy of love devised a name for the Ruler's Son and called him a bird whom the Jews could not understand in the strength of his divine spirit. The flight of this bird was concealed and hidden from those enemies on earth who had dim perception of mind and a stony heart ... So the beloved bird ventured into flight. Sometimes, brave, strong in his powers, he would attain to the dwelling of the angels, that illustrious home; sometimes he would dive back to earth, reached the ground, by grace of the Spirit, and returned into the world ... They could not have known of the flight of the bird, those who made denial of the Ascension ... He dignified us at that time—he who created this world, the spiritual Son of God—and gave us gifts, everlasting mansions among the angels on high; and also he sowed and planted abundantly throughout men's minds wisdom of intellect.¹⁶⁴

up of our body Job referred to the Lord as a bird. He beheld Judea not understanding the mystery of his ascension, and he expressed this by saying of its unbelief: *It did not know the path of the bird*. The Lord is aptly called a bird, since he launched his body into the air. Anyone not believing that he had ascended into heaven did not know the path of this bird" [Gregory the Great, *Homelias in Evangelia* 29.10, (ed.) R. Etaix, CCL 141 (Turnhout, 1999), 253; English translation by David Hurst, *Gregory the Great: Forty Gospel Homilies*, Cistercian Studies 123 (Kalamazoo, MI, 1990), 233].

164 "Bi þon giedd awræc Iob, swa he cuðe,
 herede helm wera, hælend lofede,
 ond mid siblufan sunu waldendes
 freonoman cende, ond hine fugel nemde,
 þone ludeas ongietan ne meahtan
 in ðære godcundan gæstes strengðu.
 Wæs þæs fugles flyht feondum on eorþan
 dyrne ond degol, þam þe deorc gewit
 hæfdon on hreþre, heortan stænne ...
 Swa se fæla fugel flyges cunnode;
 hwilum engla eard up gesohte,
 modig meahtum strang, þone maran ham,
 hwilum he to eorþan eft gestylde,
 þurh gæstes giefe grundsceat sohte,
 wende to worulde ...
 Ne meahtan þa þæs fugles flyht gecnawan
 þe þæs upstiges ondsæc fremedon ...
 Ða us geweorðade se þas world gescop,
 godes gæstsunu, ond us giefe sealde,

12.6 Conclusion

For the Anglo-Saxons Job was such a figure, at times stooping low to suffer patiently, at times Alcuin's "intrepid warrior of faith in arms, prefiguring the sacred times of the Christ of God"¹⁶⁵ or Aldhelm's "belligerent Job to whom God gave strength"¹⁶⁶ soaring in victory. As Ælfric was fond of noting, Job's significance pertains to Christ's humanity and his church: in the warfare, physical as well as spiritual, that life represented for Anglo-Saxon Christians, Job's battle against the devil was a part of Christ's, the saints', and their own—as was his victory.

uppe mid englum ece staþelas,
ond eac monigfealde modes snyttru

sewo ond sette geond sefan monna" (Muir, *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, 1:773–74, lines 633–63; English translation by Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 223).

165 "Hinc Iob intrepidus fidei bellator in armis / Presignans Christi tempora sacra dei" (Alcuin, *In Sacrum Bibliorum Codicem*, in *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* 1, (ed.) Ernest Dümmler, MGH Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi 1 [Berlin, 1881], 290, verse 103).

166 "Belligero quondam qui vires tradidit Iob" (Aldhelm, *Enigmata Aldhelmi, Praefatio*, in *Aldhelmi Opera*, (ed.) Rudolf Ehwald, MGH Auctorum Antiquissimorum 15 [Berlin, 1919], 99, verse 25).

Patience on Pilgrimage: Job in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*

Jane Beal

13.1 Introduction

In the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer invokes the name of Job in the Wife of Bath's Tale, Clerk's Tale, Tale of Melibee, Friar's Tale, and Parson's Tale. In each case, Job serves as an archetypal, almost allegorical figure of the virtue of patience or long-suffering; he is also associated with the related virtues of humility and contrition. He participates in a wider network of meaning that connects him to issues of good moral character in marital conflicts, deserved and undeserved suffering inflicted by devils, and the penitence appropriate to people in general and pilgrims in particular. To understand Chaucer's use of Job's figural power, it is important to examine the biblical and extra-biblical textual milieu that influenced Job's reception in the Middle Ages, Job's multiple appearances in the *Canterbury Tales*, and the overall role that Job—and the virtue of patience—plays on the pilgrimage to Canterbury.

13.2 Job in the Middle Ages

As Lawrence L. Besserman observes in *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages*, there are three textual traditions associated with Job: the biblical tradition, including the Hebrew and Greek versions of the book of Job as well as allusions to Job in Ezekiel, Tobias, and James; the apocryphal tradition, including *The Testament of Job*; and the ecclesiastical tradition, which includes the exegetical and liturgical uses of Job, namely, Gregory the Great's *Moralia on Job* and the Latin Office of the Dead.¹ Each of these influenced the reception of Job in the Middle Ages and Middle English vernacular representations of him in the 14th century. Chaucer was certainly aware of Job's primary allegorical

1 Lawrence L. Besserman, *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 3. See also Ann Astell, *Job, Boethius, and Epic Truth* (Ithaca, 1994), who cites such writers as Origen, St. John Chrysostom, Jerome, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, Bede, Rabanus Maurus, and St. Thomas Aquinas as contributing to this tradition of interpretation (1–2).

association with patience, which he deployed to good (and varying) effect in his tales while using various compositional modes, including verisimilitude, allegory, and typology.

Like the *Canterbury Tales*, the book of Job is contained within a frame narrative.² It begins with a description of Job's wealth and personal righteousness on earth followed by the story of how Satan ("the adversary") approaches God in heaven, God declares the righteousness of his servant Job, and Satan asks permission to test Job, which God grants. Satan then destroys much of Job's property, the lives of his children, and the health of his body in quick succession. Job famously responds to these tragedies by saying, "The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord" (1:21). Job's wife, however, tells him to "curse God and die" (2:9).

As Job sits scraping his sores with a potsherd, three of Job's friends come to speak with him: Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite. The majority of the book of Job thereafter is taken up with speeches by these men to one another, and by a fifth man, Elihu, son of Barachel the Buzite, who joins the conversation in Chapter 32. The debate focuses on the problem of pain, especially the undeserved suffering of the righteous. While Job's friends assume that he must have sinned egregiously to suffer so much, Job protests that he has done nothing wrong. Eventually, God himself enters into the discussion, and through an overwhelming theophany, speaking out of a whirlwind, he reveals his greatness as the creator of the world and everything in it—and, by direct contrast, Job's lack of knowledge and smallness in the overall scheme of things. After God has spoken to him, Job admits, "I know that you can do all things, and that no purpose of yours can be thwarted" (42:2), and he repents "in dust and ashes" (42:6). God then vindicates Job, but expresses his anger against Eliphaz and his two friends, saying that Job has spoken rightly about him but they have not. Therefore, God requires them to offer a burnt offering of seven bulls and seven rams, and he says Job shall pray for them, "and I will accept his prayer not to deal with you according to your folly. For you have not spoken to me what is right, as my servant Job has" (42:8).

The book ends with the other half of the frame narrative: the restoration of Job's fortunes. Job receives from the Lord "twice as much as he had before" (42:10), including gold from his brothers and sisters and all who had known

2 Along with other short story collections contained within a broader frame narrative, like Boccaccio's *Decameron*, 1001 *Arabian Nights*, and the *Odyssey*, the book of Job may have influenced the structure of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Like Elihu, one of Chaucer's pilgrim tale-tellers joins the group after they have begun their storytelling—the Canon's Yeoman—who is not described in the General Prologue although he has his own tale.

him in the past, a great number of sheep, camels, oxen, and female donkeys, as well as ten more children, seven sons and three daughters, who are beautiful and to whom he gives an inheritance along with their brothers. Job himself lives to see the fourth generation of his family (Ch. 42).

It is clear from the biblical narrative alone that Job is long-suffering or patient (from the Latin *patior*, “to suffer”). Yet the Bible never describes him as patient per se. Indeed some of Job’s speeches give no hint of patient resignation to the circumstances, but rather suggest frustration, anger, and Job’s sense that justice is being violated. Of course, just as Job’s friends noticed, so too did medieval exegetes notice that Job’s complaints, if sustained, could impugn the nature of God’s goodness and love in the minds of those who heard or read them. Therefore, the book of Job underwent some substantial changes in one re-writing, *The Testament of Job*, and considerable transformation through allegorical interpretation, especially in Gregory’s *Moralia in Job*. The Latin Office of the Dead (known as the *Dirige*, from its opening Latin word, from which modern English derives its word “dirge”) alone preserved Job’s complaints (albeit interspersed with psalms and in much abbreviated form suitable for a liturgical service),³ even while emphasizing the Christian understanding of Job’s eternal hope.

It is useful to consider the most common liturgical context in which all English people, including Chaucer, encountered Job: the Latin Office of the Dead. Although Job’s story was available to readers of the Latin Bible and its Middle English translations and paraphrases, such as the Wycliffite Bible and the tradition of “Pety Job” redactions (actually derived from the Office of the Dead), and in Middle English primers and Books of Hours containing the *Dirige*, much more commonly, Job became familiar to medieval English people through their experience of listening to the *Dirige*: the cycle of prayers said at a burial mass, after the death of their family members, friends, and neighbors. As Sarah Schell observes, “The Office of the Dead would have been one of the most familiar liturgical rituals in the medieval period, and was recited almost without ceasing at family funerals, gild commemorations, yearly minds, and chantry chapel services. The *Placebo* and *Dirige* were texts that many people knew through this constant exposure”⁴ As such, Job was profoundly connected to medieval English people’s personal experiences of death, loss, and

3 Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 56–64.

4 See Sarah Schell, “The Office of the Dead in England: Image and Music in the Book of Hours and Related Texts, c. 1250-c. 1500” (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2009), 1. In *Legend of Job*, Besserman notes: “In a liturgical setting, then, and in a drastically abbreviated format, the Book of Job was experienced *daily* by medieval clergy and laity, who

long-suffering. From it, they derived comfort in seasons of sorrow and were reminded of their hope in eternal life from Job's own words:

Scio enim quod redemptor meus vivat et in novissimo de terra surrecturus sim et rursum circumdabor pelle mea et in carne mea videbo Deum quem visurus sum ego ipse et oculi mei conspecturi sunt et non alius. Reposita est haec spes mea in sinu meo (19:25–27).

[I know that my Redeemer lives, and on the last day I shall rise from the earth, and again will be enclosed in my skin, and in my flesh I will see God, whom I myself will see, and my eyes behold, and not another. This is my hope laid within my breast.]⁵

Yet the last words of Job that are cited in the Office of the Dead actually come from Job 10:18–22. Chaucer's Parson meditates on these words in connection with his thoughts on contrition. As we will see, the Office of the Dead was the most significant influence on Chaucer's representation of Job in the *Canterbury Tales*, though this only gradually becomes apparent.

13.3 Job in the *Canterbury Tales*

Chaucer makes striking allusions to Job in several of his tales that deal with conflict in marriage. Sometimes called the Marriage Group, these tales were originally thought to include the Wife of Bath's Tale, the Clerk's Tale, and the Franklin's Tale; two of these, the Wife of Bath's Prologue to her Tale and the Clerk's Tale, allude to Job.⁶ Chaucerian scholars later expanded the Marriage Group to encompass virtually all tales dealing with marriage, including the

recited the Divine Office and those additional prayers, like Matins of the Dead, sanctioned by the Sarum Use" (58).

5 The verses from the book of Job recited in the first nocturn of the Office of the Dead were 7:16–21, 10:1–7, 10:8–12; in the second, 13:23–28, 14:1–6, 14:13–16; in the third, 17:1–3, 17:11–15, 19:20–27, 10:18–22. See Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 58.

6 Eleanor Prescott Hammond coined the term "The Marriage Group," while George Lyman Kittredge popularized it. For the proper attribution to Hammond and an overview of subsequent scholarship, see Derek Pearsall, "Eleanor Prescott Hammond," *Medieval Feminist Forum* 31 (2001): 29–36; and Elizabeth Scala, "The Women in Chaucer's Marriage Group," *Medieval Feminist Forum* 45:1 (2009): 50–56. For a brief, supplementary bibliography, see Mark Allen and John Fisher, "Canterbury Tales-The Marriage Argument," *The Essential Chaucer* (<http://colfa.utsa.edu/chaucer/ec28-1-7.html>)—accessed 6 June 2012.

Tale of Melibee and even the Parson's Tale, both of which also allude to Job.⁷ Though the Friar's Tale has not traditionally been considered part of the Marriage Group, it does deal with an issue related to marriage: a summonor's false claim that a widow committed adultery in the past. Indeed, infidelity—both real and imagined—is often a part of the marriage conflicts in the *Canterbury Tales*.

What is so striking about Chaucer's allusions to Job? Within the textual traditions of the Job legend, the conflict between Job and his own wife (*sic* "Curse God and die") became part and parcel of antifeminist rhetoric that negatively characterized "wicked" wives (and sometimes wives in general) as nagging, complaining, demanding, unlearned, and unfaithful.⁸ However, in Chaucer's *magnum opus*, the patience of Job is not associated with men, but with women, and specifically characterized as the predominant virtue of long-suffering wives: the Wife of Bath herself, Griselda in the Clerk's Tale, and Prudence in the Tale of Melibee.

The Wife of Bath's Prologue is ostensibly an autobiographical (or, in medieval terms, "confessional") account of her marriages to five different husbands. The textual traditions contributing to Chaucer's representation of her character include the Samaritan woman (John 4), allegorical figures personifying vice in morality plays (cf. Lust in *Everyman*), and antifeminist satires and treatises, not the least of which was Jerome's *Against Jovinian*, which clearly established a sexual hierarchy for medieval society that valued virgins first, widows second, and married people last.⁹ The subject of the Wife's Prologue is the authority of experience as it pertains to "mastery" and who will have it in marriage, the husband or the wife.¹⁰

7 While the Tale of Melibee is about a marriage, the Parson's Tale is primarily a sermon on penitence and its three parts (contrition, confession, and satisfaction); it does, however, include some comments on marriage. The Parson notes that Eve was not drawn from Adam's head, that she should rule over him, or from his foot, that he should rule over her, but from his side "for womman sholde be felawe unto man" (line 927). See Sister Mariella, O.S.B., "The Parson's Tale and the Marriage Group," *Modern Language Notes* 53:4 (1938): 251–56.

8 Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 49–50. This was frequently the literary and dramatic characterization of Noah's wife as well.

9 In addition to Migne's *Patrologia Latina* printed edition, Book I of Jerome's *Adversus Jovinian* is available in English translation online: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/30091.htm>.

10 Derek Pearsall presents an insightful overview of Chaucer's fascination with this issue in the context of his biography. See Derek Pearsall, *The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford, 1992), 135–43; for his discussion of marriage in the *Canterbury Tales*, see 253–62. He notes, among other things, that marriage figures significantly in fifteen of the twenty-four tales.

While the Wife of Bath argues the case for wives, and claims that she herself usually ruled the roost in her own home, details of her life-story that she reveals suggest otherwise.¹¹ First married at the age of 12 to a man many years her senior, she could have had little understanding of marriage and little ability to give her willing and fully informed consent, even by medieval standards.¹² Her fifth marriage, by her own description, clearly included psychological intimidation and physical violence. Her emotional strategy for coping with such “experience” appears to be ribald humor in her tale-telling and reveling in those aspects of her sexuality that gave her any sense of power in her marriages.¹³

The allusion to Job in the Wife's Prologue occurs in her description of a verbal altercation she had with her third husband:

Thanne wolde I seye, ‘Goode lief, taak keep
 How mekely looketh Wilkyn, oure sheep!
 Com neer, my spouse, lat me ba thy cheke!
 Ye sholde been al pacient and meke,
 And han a sweete spiced conscience,
 Sith ye so preche of Jobes pacience.
 Suffreth alwey, syn ye so wel kan preche;
 And but ye do, certein we shal yow teche

-
- 11 The Wife's argument in favor of the mastery of wives and the submission of husbands was in opposition to predominant medieval understandings of Pauline teachings about marriage in, for example, Ephesians 5. This is one of the reasons why her Portrait and Prologue are read as satire by Chaucerian scholars. See Jill Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire* (Cambridge, Eng., 1973).
- 12 By the 14th century, marriages officially sanctioned by the church needed to have the consent of both bride and bridegroom, a public ceremony officiated by a priest (the sacrament of marriage), and physical consummation. On the legal and ecclesiastical importance of mutual consent, see Georges Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1994), 17, 20, 25; and Charles Donahue, *Law, Marriage and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Eng., 2007), which deals with the issue extensively. Socially, the medieval problem of January-May marriages, in which a much older man married a very young woman—usually because he was wealthy and her family was not—was mocked and critiqued in literature from Marie de France's *Lais* to Chaucer's Merchant's Tale specifically and the Marriage Group generally.
- 13 The Wife's Prologue has been frequently but contradictorily interpreted as anti-feminist on the one hand and proto- or pro-feminist on the other. For a review of the scholarly debate, including a brief overview of the historical, New Critical, New Historicist, Marxist, psychological, dramatic, and feminist approaches to the Wife of Bath, as see Peter G. Beidler, “A Critical History of the Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale,” in *Geoffrey Chaucer: The Wife of Bath*, (ed.) Peter G. Beidler (New York, 1996), 89–114.

That it is fair to have a wyf in pees.
 Oon of us two moste bowen, doutelees,
 And sith a man is moore resonable
 Than woman is, ye moste been suffrable (III. 431–442).

[“Then I would say, ‘Good love, notice how meekly Wilken our sheep looks! Come close, my spouse, and let me kiss your cheek. You should be completely patient and meek, and have a sweetly spiced conscience, since you preach of Job’s patience so. Endure always, since you can preach so well. For if you do, it is certain we shall teach you how fair it is to have a wife in peace. One of us to must bow, doubtless, and since a man is more reasonable than a woman is, you must be the most enduring.”]¹⁴

This speech is what Lawrence Besserman has characterized as a “comic application” of the Job story.¹⁵ It certainly would have been amusing to the Wife’s fellow pilgrims and Chaucer’s 14th-century audience to hear the Wife tell her husband to act like a sheep and then say she would “ba” (“kiss”—note the word play on how a sheep sounds) his cheek, then point out that her husband had to practice what he preached when it came to his lectures to her on the patience of Job—and so turn the traditional antifeminist characterization of women as unreasonable on its head by saying it meant men had to be more long-suffering than women.

It might also have been interpreted as an example of poor biblical exegesis by an unlearned, contentious, oversexed woman—and thus viewed as a satirical comment by Chaucer.¹⁶ Yet it seems that both the Wife and Chaucer genuinely intend to show that the Wife’s third husband (and all her husbands, for that matter) lack the patience of Job while she, by contrast, may actually possess it. For underlying the Wife’s humorous storytelling in the Prologue is a series of tragic losses worthy of Job himself, ranging from the loss of her personal autonomy at age 12 to the death of all five of her husbands to the deafness that resulted in her left ear after being struck by her last husband. She has been a widow many times, and her primary hope of seeing her

14 All Middle English quotations are taken from Larry D. Benson, (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edition (Boston, 1987). All translations are my own.

15 Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 113. On Chaucer’s use of Job in the larger context of his general use of the Bible, see Lawrence L. Besserman, *Chaucer and the Bible: A Critical Review of Research, Indexes, and Bibliography* (New York, 1988); and idem, *Chaucer’s Biblical Poetics* (Norman, Okla., 1998).

16 There are several other instances in the Wife’s Prologue of surprising biblical interpretations that contrast with accepted Christian exegetical traditions in the later Middle Ages.

fortunes restored has been in remarriage. Furthermore, the Wife never mentions any children who might support her in old age; it appears that she is barren.

The Wife's focus on marriage as the means to restore her fortunes, her social position, and her sex life allows Chaucer to critique—through the Wife's harassment of her husbands by threatening, among other things, to sell her "bele chose" (when it has, in a sense, already been sold to these husbands in exchange for financial stability)—the nastier economic sides of marriage in his time. Marriage could be comparable to prostitution when girls as young as 12 (and younger, as medieval contracts show) were promised to men far older, richer, and more powerful than they. This was a very real social and moral problem in the Middle Ages. Chaucer takes note of how wives endured this with his Joban allusions not only in the Wife of Bath's Tale, but in the Clerk's Tale as well.

The Clerk's Tale has long been considered a direct response to the Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale.¹⁷ The Wife's fifth husband, Jankyn, was a clerk, so it appears that the Clerk going on pilgrimage with the Wife takes offense on behalf of his profession when he hears of the nature of the Wife's relationship to Jankyn, and then is further insulted by her tale, and subsequently offers a moral corrective to the Wife's argument in favor of wifely mastery by telling his own tale of Griselda: a woman who completely submits to her husband in everything. The tale of the testing of "patient Griselda" is one many modern readers find difficult to comprehend.

Griselda is a virtuous peasant woman chosen by a nobleman, Walter, to be his wife on the condition that she obey him completely. She agrees. He tests her fidelity to her promise by taking away from her their firstborn child and telling her he is sending this daughter away to be killed. She submits, asking only that the child be buried properly. He tests her again by taking away from her their second-born child and telling her he is sending this son away to be killed as well—ostensibly because, he says, the people do not want his heir to be of low birth. She submits again, saying she knows she is of low birth and is willing to die if he wishes it; she adds that she has had none of the joys of motherhood, only the pain of childbirth and the death of her children. Finally, in a third test, Walter obtains a papal bull that permits him to divorce her, and he does so, publicly. She submits for the third time, asking only that she not be sent naked from the palace:

17 This basic argument was first forth by George Lyman Kittredge, "Chaucer's Discussion of Marriage," *Modern Philology* 9 (1912): 435–67. The Clerk directly addresses the Wife of Bath at the conclusion of his tale (lines 1170 ff.), which contributed to Kittredge's analysis.

“Naked out of my fadres hous,” quod she,
 “I cam, and naked moot I turne agayn.
 Al youre plesance wol I folwen fayn.
 But I hope it be nat youre entente
 That I smoklees out of youre paleys wente” (IV. 871–75).

[“Naked out of my father’s house,” she said, “I came, and naked must I return again. I wish to follow all your pleasure, but yet I hope it is not your intent that I go out of your palace without a smock.”]

The first two lines of Griselda’s speech here directly allude to Job’s words (Job 1:21).¹⁸ Thus, in her role as a long-suffering wife, she is represented as a female version of Job, for clearly Griselda has the patience of Job.¹⁹

The Clerk actually extends this comparison beyond Griselda to include all women (not just wives) when Griselda returns to her father’s house in rags after being rejected by her husband:

Men speke of Job, and moost for his humblesse,
 As clerkes, whan hem list, konne wel endite,
 Namely of men, but as in soothfastnesse,
 Though clerkes preise wommen but a lite,
 Ther kan no man in humblesse hym acquite
 As womman kan, ne kan been half so trewe
 As wommen been, but it be falle of new (IV. 932–38).

[“Men speak of Job, and mostly for his humility, as clerks, when they want to, can easily describe, comparing him to men, but as in truthfulness, though clerks praise women but a little, there is no man who in humility can acquit himself like a woman can, nor be half as true as women are—unless it happens differently in the future”].

18 Notice, however, that Job speaks of coming “naked from [his] mother’s womb,” not his “father’s house,” as Griselda says. This change may reflect Griselda’s own silenced pain over anything connected with birth, which reminds her of her own lost children.

19 Besserman has suggested that Griselda’s father Janicula’s curse (lines 901–03) echoes Job 3:1, and thus that Chaucer “splits” Job’s negative and positive characteristics between Griselda and Janicula (112). This notion of Chaucer “splitting” Job has been accepted in later scholarship (e.g., Astell, Wurtele, etc.). However, a closer look at Chaucer’s lines in comparison with Job 3:1 reveals neither an exact nor an approximate verbal correspondence. It does not appear that Chaucer is “splitting” Job here.

It seems that the Clerk, while he disagrees with the Wife's argument for the sovereignty of wives within marriage and has told his tale in opposition to it, is nevertheless sympathetic to the unjust sufferings of women. In fact, here he argues along the same lines that the Wife herself did when she asked the question, "Who painted the lion? Tell me, who? By God, if women had written histories, as clerks have within their oratories, they would've written of men more wickedness than all [with] the mark of Adam may redress" (ll.692–96).²⁰ The Clerk, too, suggests the gendered prejudice of male writers: while men compare other men to patient Job, it is in fact women who are more truthful, more humble, more faithful—in essence, more like Job.²¹

20 Mary Carruthers comments, "In her prologue, the Wife of Bath refers to the Aesopian fable of the painting of the lion: the lion complains of a picture showing a man killing a lion and suggests that if the lion had painted it, the result would have been different. Just so, says Alisoun, if women told tales of marital woe to match those of the authorities represented in Jankyn's book, they would show 'of men more wickednesse/ Than al the merk of Adam may redresse.' The moral of the fable expresses an aspect of that general concern with the relationship of 'auctoritee' to 'experience' which she announces in the first sentence of her prologue. Alisoun has often been characterized as attempting to do away with authority altogether, as setting up a heterodox doctrine of marriage based on female supremacy to replace the traditional medieval view, sanctioned by the Church fathers and by common law, that wives should be humble, obedient, and submissive to their husbands in all things. But the wife's understanding of the uses of 'auctoritee' is more complex than this analysis allows. Alisoun does not deny authority when authority is true: she tells us straight off that authority and experience agree on the great lesson 'of wo that is in mariage.' She does insist, however, that authority make itself accountable to the realities of experience. The fable of painting a lion teaches that the 'truth' of any picture often has more to do with the prejudices and predilections of the painter than the 'reality' of the subject and that truthful art (and morality) must take account of this complexly mutual relationship. In her prologue, the wife describes her own progress toward building a 'trewe' marriage out of her experience and personality and uses her experience as an ironic corrective both for the pronouncements of those clerics and other authorities at whom she pokes fun in her prologue and for the idealistic romancing in which she engages in her tale." See Carruthers, "The Wife of Bath and the Painting of Lions," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (PMLA) 94 (1979): 209–222, here 209.

21 In *Legend of Job*, Besserman says this statement is "hard to take seriously, especially when the Clerk make his claim in a statement of the 'all-clerks-are-liars' variety" (112). Indeed, when compared to the exaggerated words in Lenvoy of Chaucer ("ye arch-wives, stand on the defense, since you are as strong as the great camel, and do not suffer that men do you any offense," etc.) and of the Host (who wishes "my wife at home had heard this legend once!") that follow the Clerk's Tale, a satiric rather than sincerely straightforward interpretation of the Clerk's words here is certainly plausible.

At the conclusion of the Clerk's Tale, Griselda's patience, like Job's, is rewarded. Under the pretense of asking her to attend his wedding to his new bride, Walter recalls Griselda to the palace. Once there, she simply asks him not to torment his new wife the way he has her. At this, when he sees "hire pacience" (line 1044), Walter says now he knows her steadfastness, and he takes her in his arms and kisses her. He reveals that the young woman before her is not his bride, but their daughter, and he introduces their son as well, both of whom had been raised by his sister in another town. Griselda embraces her children tightly before being led away to be re-clothed in shining gold cloth and crowned with a crown of rich stones. One day, when her son succeeds to the throne, he has a fortunate marriage—and Griselda's son never tests his wife.

To this "happy" ending, the Clerk adds a moral conclusion: the point of the story is not, he says, that wives should follow Griselda in humility, but rather that every person should be constant in adversity; just as a woman was patient with a mortal man, so should we all graciously receive whatever God sends to us (lines 1142–51). The moral sense with which the Clerk glosses the tale renders it allegorical, and the literal events depicted in it with such heart-wrenching Chaucerian verisimilitude, are, in the end, turned into a parable. While this conclusion may have worked for a medieval audience,²² a lingering sense of discomfort may irritate the modern reader—and the allegorical inversion effected by the moral to the story seem insufficient—given the abuse Griselda suffered for no other reason than her husband's desire to test her.²³ Yet is this not the same reason that Job suffered? The parallel is clear.

22 The popularity of the story, which draws on the Cupid and Psyche myth as well as the allegory of the marriage of St. Francis to Lady Poverty and, ultimately, of the divine bridegroom and his bride (as understood in medieval allegorical glosses of the Song of Solomon), is proved in its extant versions by Chaucer's immediate sources, Petrarch and Boccaccio. Tony Equale has suggested that Boccaccio concluded the *Decameron* with Griselda's story as a subversive way of commenting on the injustice of God in striking Europe with the Black Plague (see his "Griselde's Tale," *Tony Equale's Blog*, <http://tonyequale.wordpress.com/2011/05/09/griseldas-tale/>). Though Chaucer most likely knew Boccaccio's version as well as Petrarch's, as Jessica Harkins has shown convincingly (see Jessica Lara Lawrence Harkins, *Translations of Griselda* [Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 2008]), it is noteworthy that Chaucer does not conclude the *Canterbury Tales* with Griselda's story, but rather with the Parson's Tale, a discourse on penitence (not patience) that manages to pull together themes from the storytelling competition throughout the pilgrimage as the pilgrims approach Canterbury.

23 See Susan K. Hagen, "What's Really Being Tested in 'The Clerk's Tale'?" <http://faculty.bsc.edu/shagen/gresgend.htm>.

The theme of long-suffering wives who possess the patience of Job when their husbands do not continues in Chaucer's Tale of Melibee. In this story, Melibee goes out to his fields "to pleye" (line 2), leaving the doors of his house "faste yshette" (line 3)—shut fast or locked—behind him. While he is away from home, three of his enemies scale the walls of his home with ladders and break in, assaulting his wife Prudence and his daughter Sophie. Sophie receives five wounds from these foes: in her ears, her nose, her mouth, her hands, and her feet. Candace Hull Taylor has observed the rich allegorical potential of this scene, wherein two women are named after allegorical virtues, the classical one of Prudence and the Judeo-Christian one of Wisdom, and then attacked:

Chaucer seems to understand that by locking up Prudence, thereby preventing her from her duty as doorkeeper (or windowkeeper here), Melibee is letting the vices of the world, by way the five senses, enter into the house of his soul. In fact, this opening image of the tale is an exemplum of what can go wrong, often disastrously, when Sophia/Prudence is set aside or otherwise incapacitated..... Iconographically, ladders are associated with the figure of prudence, by which means a person may ascend contemplatively to reach union with God. When Melibee locks up both his practical wisdom, Prudence, and his connection to the divine, Sophia, his foes literally take over the ladder, debasing it for a more violent and evil use.²⁴

The emotional effects for Melibee are considerable. He is both enraged and dismayed when he returns to see what has happened to his family, and he weeps uncontrollably—a particularly understandable reaction if his three enemies are allegorically understood to be the world, the flesh, and the devil.²⁵

His wife, however, advises him to calm himself. She specifically reminds him to remember "the patient Job," and then she quotes Job's own words (from Job 1:21):

Wherfore us oghte, as well in the deeth of oure children as in the los of oure othere goodes temporels, have pacience. Remember yow upon the pacient Job. Whan he hadde lost his children and his temporeel substance,

24 Candace Hull Taylor, "Medieval Allegorical Representations of the Cardinal Virtues," unpublished paper, 12. Taylor spoke on related matters in her paper at the 41st International Congress on Medieval Studies, "Reading Prudence: Contemplating the Counseling Woman and Finding God" (2006).

25 This interpretation can be derived from Chaucer's less realistic, more allegorical source of this tale, the *Le Livre de Melibe et de Dame Prudence* ascribed to Renaud de Louens, which is itself based on Albertinus of Brescia's *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*.

and in his body endured and received ful many a grevous tribulacion, yet seyde he thus: 'Oure Lord hath yeve it me; oure Lord hath biraft it me; right as oure Lord hath wold, right so it is doon: blessed be the name of our Lord!' (VII. 998–100)

[Wherefore we ought, just as in the death of our children as in the loss of our other temporal goods, have patience. Remember the patient Job. When he had lost his children and his temporal substance, and in his body had endured and received a great many grievous tribulations, yet he spoke thus: 'Our Lord has given it to me; our Lord has taken it from me; just as our Lord has willed, just so is it done: blessed be the name of the Lord!']²⁶

Thus Prudence, in quoting Job, becomes another female figure of Job like Griselda; in advising her husband to be more like Job, she behaves similarly to the Wife of Bath in her prologue conversing with her third husband (albeit perhaps with greater sincerity). To his wife's advice, Melibee replies, "All your words are true and thereto profitable, but truly my heart is troubled" (line 1000).

Throughout the tale, Melibee will be more emotional and bent upon revenge than his wife, who will urge him to act wisely and to forgive. But in the end, he harkens to her wisdom:

Whanne Melibee hadde herd the grete skiles and resouns of dame Prudence, and hire wise informaciouns and techynges, his herte gan encline to the wil of his wife, considerynge hir trewe entente, and conformed hym anon and assented fully to werken after hir conseil, and thonked God, of whom procedeth al vertu and alle goodnesse, that hym sente a wyf of so greet discrecioun (VII. 1869–72).

[When Melibee had heard the great arguments and reasons of Lady Prudence, and her wise information and teaching, his heart began to incline to the will of his wife, considering her true intentions, and he conformed himself presently and assented fully to work according to her counsel, and thanked God, from whom proceeds all virtue and all goodness, that he sent him a wife of such great discretion.]

²⁶ Although Sophia is only injured (if badly so), she is not killed (as far as readers know), yet Prudence speaks of the "death of our children." This can best be understood in light of the fact that the Latin Office of the Dead was one of Chaucer's primary sources of understanding of Job.

He forgives the three men who, on a literal level, assaulted his wife and child and who, on the allegorical level, assaulted his own inner virtues: prudence and wisdom. He thus demonstrates the virtue of his own allegorical name, Melibee, which means “sweet learning,” “sweet knowledge” or “a man who drinks honey.”

Chaucer is consistent throughout these three tales—the Wife’s confessional Prologue, the Clerk’s Tale, and his own Tale of Melibee (told, like the Tale of Sir Thopas, by Chaucer-the-Pilgrim within the frame narrative)—in associating the patience of Job with long-suffering wives who possess it and who advise their husbands to pursue it.²⁷ Yet his references to Job are not limited to wifely rhetoric in marital disputes. They also appear in the mouth of a devil in the Friar’s Tale and in the mouth of a humble saint, the Parson, in his sermon, which concludes the *Canterbury Tales*.

In the Friar’s Tale, a summonor falls in with a devil disguised as a yeoman. The summonor of the story is corrupt, as shown later in the story when he falsely tells a widow he paid a fine for her in the past to get her off of charges of adultery and then asks her to give him a bribe to get off of yet another wholly-invented charge. In conversing with the summonor, the devil explains how he actually does God’s will in tormenting people:

For somtyme we been Goddes instrumentz
 And meenes to doon his comandementz,
 Whan that hym list, upon his creatures,
 In divers art and in diverse figures.
 Without hym we have no myght, certayn,
 If that hym list to stonden ther-agayn.
 And somtyme, at oure prayere, han we leve
 Only the body and nat the soule greve:
 Witnesse on Job, whom that we diden wo! (III. 1483–91)

[For sometimes we are God’s instruments
 and means to do his commandments,
 when he wills, upon his creatures,
 by diverse arts and in diverse figures.

27 Although Job is not named directly in the Man of Law’s Tale, Ann Astell characterizes Constance, the virtuous (and allegorical) heroine of the tale, as uttering a “Joban prayer,” thus making her another female figure of Job in the *Canterbury Tales* as well. See Ann Astell, *Job, Boethius, and Epic Truth*, 108.

Without him we have no might, that's certain,
 If he wills to stand there-against.
 And sometimes, at our prayer, we have leave
 only the body and not the soul to grieve:
 witness Job, to whom we did such woe!]

In medieval fabliaux and moral fables such as this, devils, being corrupt, speak in ways that can rarely be trusted. Yet sometimes they tell the truth or part of the truth, if only to accomplish a nasty end. In this case, at the end of the tale, the summonor's soul is hauled off to hell by the very same devil with whom he is so comfortable chatting when the widow, whom he has harassed, righteously calls down a curse on him for his unjust treatment of her. Here, a clear contrast emerges from the Friar's perspective: while the torment Job suffered at the hands of devils was undeserved, the summonor's was quite deserved, and his punishment is just.

The Friar's treatment of Job's righteousness can be contrasted with the Parson's extended meditation on Job in relation to the subject of contrition. The Parson's first mention of Job is in a misattribution of Proverbs 12:4 to him (line 134), but he subsequently (and correctly) quotes Job 10:20–22, Job 20:25, and Job 10:22. The first and the last references, drawn from the tenth chapter of Job, are also cited in the Latin Office of the Dead. Notably, the Parson refers to Job as "Seint Job" (line 223). The Parson's recognition of Job's saintliness no doubt has its roots in Job's well-known association with patience,²⁸ but the Parson is careful to emphasize Job's contrition for his sins as well:

'And therefore seith Job to God, 'Suffre, Lord, that I may a while biwaille and wepe, er I go withoute returnyng to the derke lond, covered with the derknesse of deeth, to the lond of mysese and of derknesse, whereas is the shadwe of deeth, whereas ther is noon ordre or ordinaunce but grisly drede that evere shal laste.' Loo, here may ye seen that Job preyde respit a while to biwepe and waille his trespass, for soothly oo day of respit is better than al the tresor of this world. And forasmuche as a man may acquiten himself biforn God by penitence in this world, and nat by tresor, therfore sholde he preye to God to yeve hym respit a while to biwepe and biwailen his trespass. For certes, al the sorwe that a man myghte make fro the bigynnyng of the world nys but a litel thing at regard of the sorwe of helle (x. 175–79).

28 On the cult of Saint Job, see Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 64–65.

[And therefore Job said to God, 'Permit, Lord, that I may awhile wail and weep, before I go outside, returning to the dark land, covered with the darkness of death, to the land of dis-ease and darkness, where there is the shadow of death, where there is no order or ordinance but grisly dread that shall last forever.' Lo, here may you see that Job prayed for a respite during which to weep and wail over his trespass, for truly one day of respite is better than all the treasure of this world. And as much as a man may acquit himself before God by penitence in this world, and not by treasure, he should therefore pray to God to give him respite a while to weep and wail his trespasses. For certainly, all sorrow that a man might make from the beginning of the world is but a little thing in comparison to the sorrow of hell.]

The Parson is quoting Job 10:21–22, the last words in the Latin Office of the Dead.²⁹ Yet he turns the quotation to make it serve another purpose than it does in the liturgical service. Here the repetition of words like “biwaille,” “wepe,” “derknesse,” “deeth,” and “trespas” draw attention to the need to repent, from the heart, for wrongdoing. Although Job is a “Seint” (line 223), he is also a man, and as such, a sinner. While some traditions of interpretation saw Job as a righteous man suffering in an undeserved way, the Parson, without condemning him, clearly interprets Job’s words in Job 10:20–22 penitentially—and notes the implication for every man: namely, that it is much better to acquit oneself before God through penitence in this world than to do so in hell.

The Parson’s sermon is appropriate for the group of pilgrims nearing Canterbury as they ought to come humbly, like Job, after patiently enduring the sufferings of life, and contritely, so that Saint Thomas à Beckett might answer their prayers for healing (cf. line 18 of the General Prologue, “that hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke” [“that has helped them when they were sick”]). Douglas Wurtele has suggested that the Parson’s sermon is particularly directed at the Monk, whose series of “de casibus virorum illustrium” stories in his tale focuses on men falling from high positions on the wheel of fortune to low positions—without subsequently being restored. Wurtele further suggests that the Monk is a kind of anti-Joban figure, full of “rebellious despair” and “reckless impatience,” who, despite being steeped in the Latin Office of the Dead as part of his monastic life, has not learned the lessons of Job articulated

29 The allegorical exposition of this passage that follows in the Parson’s sermon is taken, in its essence, from Gregory’s *Moralia*.

in it.³⁰ Yet many of the failings of the Canterbury pilgrims, not just the Monk, might be rectified by the patience, humility, and contrition of Job. Indeed, through multiple allusions to Job throughout the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer makes Job yet another pilgrim on the journey, but a model pilgrim, worthy of imitation, who can help his fellow pilgrims to conform to the likeness of Christ.

13.4 Conclusion

In medieval thought, the legend of Job developed in such a way that Job could be seen typologically in relation to Christ.³¹ Literally, in illuminated manuscripts and liturgical settings, medieval people could see and hear Job paired with Christ;³² even in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, some of the characters associated with Job are also associated with Christ.³³ Job's primary virtue, and the way he took on the role of representing patience almost allegorically in many cases, associated him with the long-suffering of Jesus.

This typological connection was reinforced through the Latin Office of the Dead, which Chaucer quotes repeatedly in the Parson's sermon. Indeed, one of the last biblical allusions in the *Canterbury Tales* comes once again from Job. In line 1068, the Parson declares, "... alle the riches in this world ben in aventure and passen as a shadwe on the wal" ["all the riches of this world

30 See Douglas Wurtele, "Reflections on the Book of Job and Gregory's *Moralia* in Chaucer's Monk's Tale," *Florilegium* 21 (2004): 83–94. Significantly, Wurtele observes that Gregory's *Moralia in Job* was absorbed into the major sources of the Parson's Tale, including "the early 13th-century *Summa casuum poenitentiae* by St Raymund of Pennaforte. Hence much of the Parson's lecture to the pilgrims reflects Gregory's exegesis" (86).

31 Early in the life of the Christian church, the typological association was made by St. Zeno, Bishop of Verona (d. 371), in a sermon that is reproduced in the Office of Readings in the Liturgy of the Hours. Zeno makes several typological connections, including this one: "The restoration of health and riches to Job prefigures the resurrection, which gives health and eternal life to those who believe in Christ. Regaining lordship over all the world, Christ says: 'All things have been given to me by my Father.' And just as Job fathered other sons, so too did Christ, for the apostles, the sons of the Lord, succeeded the prophets." For the full sermon in English in one liturgical context, see <http://divineoffice.org/ord-wo8-sat-or/>; for the Latin, compare to Zeno, "Tractatus xv: De Job," in *Sermons by Zeno*, (eds.) Pietro Ballerini and Girolamo Ballerini, CCL 22 (Verona, 1739), 189–92.

32 Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 2, 4, 55, etc; for an image of Christ and Job and others, see 127.

33 Griselda's restoration in shining gold cloth with a crown of rich stones and Sophia's five wounds are two examples other scholars have commented upon as representing Christological qualities.

are going out and passing away like a shadow on the wall”], a reference to Job 14:2. By making such references to death, the Parson reminds all the pilgrims of how much they need their Redeemer.³⁴ Do they know their Redeemer lives? Will they trust in him—or give in to “wanhope” [“despair”]? The last words of Chaucer’s Parson, emphasizing spiritual poverty, humility, travail, and “life by death and mortification of sin” (line 1080), strongly suggest that the Canterbury pilgrims ought to cling to the virtues of Job.

In a sense, patience has been on pilgrimage with them all, and the figural power of Job has been used to represent it. While Chaucer claims in the General Prologue that there are nine-and-twenty pilgrims, in fact, there were more, both literally—because adding up all the people Chaucer names who are making the journey to Canterbury usually gives 32, including Chaucer-the-Pilgrim and the Host—and spiritually. The New Testament promised medieval believers that they were surrounded by “a great cloud of witnesses” (Hebrews 12:1), which they understood to be the saints. By the 14th century, and according to Chaucer’s Parson, Job was certainly one of those saints. It appears that Chaucer intended Job’s presence among his pilgrims to help to prepare them, and with them, his readers, for their final destination: not Canterbury, but heaven.

34 Indeed, Carl Phelpstead takes note of the Parson’s Tale’s use of Job in the context of *ars moriendi* (“art of dying”) treatises written in the Middle Ages. As he notes, “Some of these texts use a *momento mori* [‘remember you will die’] to encourage the living to lead better lives, reminding readers that because the death comes to all and may come at any time, one should always be ready for it. Other texts focus on providing deathbed instructions for the sick” (162). See his essay, “Th’ ende is every tales strengthe’: Chaucerian Perspectives on Death and Judgment” in *Chaucer and Religion*, (ed.) Helen Phillips (Woodbridge, 2010), 97–110, here 102.

Job and the Wycliffites

J. Patrick Hornbeck II

14.1 Introduction

In 1831, when the British Methodist theologian Adam Clarke published his massive six-volume commentary on the Bible, he opined that the book of Job “has ever been the great text-book of godly men in a state of persecution and affliction.”¹ In this chapter, I will show that Clarke’s description largely matches up with how Job was read and employed for devotional and polemical purposes by many of the Wycliffite (or lollard) dissenters who lived in 14th- and 15th-century England.² However, when Wycliffites turned to Job, they found in it not only comfort amidst the persecution they were experiencing from the institutional church, but also a diagnosis of the *causes* of that persecution. A detailed analysis of Wycliffite citations of this biblical book reveals that, like many other scriptural texts, Job spoke to Wycliffite authors of the conflict between, on the one hand, human pride and hypocrisy and, on the other hand, faithfulness to the law of God. In the book of Job, Wycliffite scholars found forewarnings about false prophets, greedy clerics, sophisticated theologians, and secular lords who had lost sight of their responsibilities. To a lesser extent, they also discerned in Job himself an example of righteous obedience to God and proper keeping of God’s commandments. In many ways, Wycliffite exegesis of Job is of a piece with Wycliffite interpretations of the Bible as a whole.

1 I am indebted to my research assistant Lindsey Mercer for much help in collecting and analyzing Wycliffite citations of Job, as well as to the audience at a session of the International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan, in May 2011, for helpful discussion. Adam Clarke, *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, 6 vols. (London, 1831), s.v. Job 17:9.

2 The field of lollard or Wycliffite studies has yet to settle on a universally accepted nomenclature for the women and men who fell afoul of church authorities in late medieval England. Here I use “Wycliffite” to denote those individuals, ideas, or communities that can be traced back to the life and thought of the Oxford scholar John Wyclif. “Lollard” is a far more capacious word, a term of abuse used both by dissenters against their clerical antagonists and by clerics against dissenters, whether Wycliffite or otherwise; as a consequence, I use it much more sparingly. I rehearse the terminological debate in much greater detail in my book *A Companion to Lollardy* (Leiden, 2016), Chapter 1.

14.2 Job in the Wycliffite Bible

Before turning to the citations of Job extant in Wycliffite texts, though, a few words about the place of Job in the Wycliffite canon are in order. It is well known that Wycliffites produced and disseminated several versions of a translation of the entire Bible into Middle English.³ For centuries, and as part of an effort to cast the Oxford scholar John Wyclif (*ca.* 1320–1384) in the role of a proto-Protestant, the translation was taken to be the work of Wyclif himself.⁴ More recent scholarship has taken the position that while Wyclif likely initiated and oversaw the translation process, little of the translation itself is his. Whoever the translators were—evidence points to Wyclif’s fellow scholars and students such as Nicholas Hereford—the scholarly consensus since the middle of the 19th century has held that they carried out their work in two major phases. In the first, “Earlier” version, the translators rendered the Latin of the Vulgate Bible quite literally, whereas in the second, “Later” version, the translation flows more smoothly and fluently. The late Mary Dove, whose pioneering research on the Wycliffite Bible has set a new standard, argued about these two versions that

[T]he Earlier Version was never intended to be copied as a translation in its own right, but... the translators producing the Later Version lost control of what happened to the Earlier Version in the 1380s. The Wycliffites who arranged to have the Bible copied in the Earlier Version almost certainly knew that stylistic and textual work on the translation were still in progress, but they chose to go ahead without waiting for the Later Version to be completed.⁵

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- 3 This claim, foundational to much of the past century’s work on Wyclif, Wycliffites, and lollardy, has recently been challenged by H.A. Kelly, who, echoing the arguments of the late 19th-century Victorian Catholic writer F.A. Gasquet, maintains that Wycliffite translatorship of the “Middle English Bible” is far from certain. There is not space here to rehearse Kelly’s arguments fully, but his claims will no doubt merit further attention in the years to come. Kelly, “Literal versus Literal: The Two Versions of the Middle English Bible (fka Wycliffite Bible),” presentation at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 13 May 2011. Gasquet’s arguments are in “The Pre-Reformation English Bible,” in *The Old English Bible and Other Essays* (London, 1897), Chapters 4 and 5.
- 4 On the construction of Wyclif as a forerunner of the Reformation, see James J. Crompton, “John Wyclif: A Study in Mythology,” *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* 42 (1966–67): 6–34.
- 5 Mary Dove, *The First English Bible* (Cambridge, 2007), 3. Much of the present section of this chapter is indebted to Dove’s account.

Nevertheless, Dove has proposed, it is overly simplistic to assume either that the Earlier and Later Versions represent the only discrete stages in the translation project, or that the two stages were completely distinct from one another. To judge from the many corrections in the surviving manuscripts of both versions, the translators engaged in a continuous process of revision throughout the production of their vernacular Bible. Some manuscripts of the Later Version, such as Oxford, Bodley 277, contain emendations that suggest that the translators preferred and returned to the text of the Earlier Version at several points.

Much deserves to be said about the theories that undergirded Wycliffite translation practice, though there is space for only a few points here.⁶ It is worth remembering that one of the translators laid out his method in the lengthy Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible, which appears in its entirety in five of the surviving manuscripts of the Later Version. In the Prologue's concluding chapter, the translator argues for the legitimacy and the necessity of an English translation of the Bible, describes some of the most common linguistic problems involved in rendering the Latin text into English, and mentions his sources and collaborators:

First, this simple creature hadde myche travaile, with diuerse felawis and helperis, to gedere manie elde biblis, and othere doctouris and comune glosis, and to make oo Latyn bible sumdel trewe; and thanne to studie it of the newe, the text with the glose, and othere doctouris as he miȝte gete, and speciali Lire on the elde testament... the thridde tyme to counseile with elde gramariens and elde dyuynis... the iiij. tyme to translate as cleerli as he coude to the sentence, and to have manie gode felawis and kunnyng at the correctyng of the translacioun.⁷

6 On Wycliffite hermeneutics, see Dove, *First English Bible*, Chapter 5, and Kantik Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge, 2002).

7 *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions, made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and His Followers*, eds. J. Forshall and F. Madden, 4 vols (Oxford, 1850), 1:57. (This edition will be hereafter cited as "WB" and will, in the Later Version, be the source for all biblical quotations in this chapter, unless otherwise indicated. In this and all quotations of medieval texts, archaic punctuation and capitalization have been silently replaced with their modern equivalents; the ampersand has also been silently expanded. For readers unfamiliar with Middle English, the character þ [thorn] represents the modern English *th*, while the character ȝ [yogh] represents modern English *y*, *gh*, or *th*. The online *Middle English Dictionary*, at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>, serves as an accessible reference for hard-to-decipher words.)

In addition to laying out a detailed account of the translators' methods, the Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible points to the existence of several other reference works prepared by the translators: a general prologue to the prophetic books (though its content focuses almost exclusively on Isaiah), glosses or commentaries on the gospels, and glosses on the prophets. The Bible prologue also summarizes the books of the Old Testament, including the book of Job; furthermore, it mentions a commentary on Job meant to accompany the text of the book: "I haue declarid in party in þe glos hou þe harde sentensis of Job schulden be vndirstonden." About the theological significance of this book of the Bible, the Prologue author writes: "This process of Job schulde stire men to be iust of luyng, and to be pacient in aduersitees, as Joob was, and to be stedfast in cristen feith, and answeere wijselly and meekly to eretikus and aduersaries of oure faith."⁸

In both major versions of the Wycliffite translation of the Bible, Job appears in the place assigned to it in the so-called "Paris Bible" of the late 12th century: after the historical books (Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther) and before Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, the Song of Songs, and the major and minor prophets. Of the 253 surviving whole or partial manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible, Job appears in 30, including seven manuscripts of the Earlier Version and 23 of the Later Version.⁹ Job appears in an abridged or summary version in Cambridge, University Library Ee.1.10, and Oxford, Trinity College 93; excerpts can also be found in the many other manuscripts that preserve for the Old Testament only lections to be used for liturgical use.¹⁰ Of the manuscripts

8 Both passages in WB, 1:37.

9 The Earlier Version manuscripts are Cambridge, University Library Additional 668; Dublin, Trinity College 66; Longleat 3; Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 959; Oxford, Christ Church 145; Oxford, Corpus Christi College 4; and Wolfenbüttele, Herzog-August-Bibl., Guelf. Aug. A.2. Later Version manuscripts are Cambridge, Corpus Christi Parker 147; Cambridge, Emmanuel College 21; Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys 1603; Cambridge, University Library 6680, Dd.1.27, Mm.2.15; Hereford, Cathedral Library O.VII.1; London, British Library Cotton Claudius E.II, Harley 2249, Lansdowne 454, Royal 1.C.VIII, Royal 1.C.IX; London, Lambeth Palace 25 and 1033; Sion College ARC L.40.2/E.1; Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 277 and 296 and Bodl. Fairfax 2; Oxford, Lincoln College Latin 19; Oxford, New College 66; Oxford, The Queen's College 388; Oxford, St. John's College 7; and Princeton, Schiede 12. For further bibliographical details, see the index in Dove, *First English Bible*.

10 The summary in Trinity College 93 provides a detailed, chapter-by-chapter account of the book's events. While it does not make the rhetorical or polemical moves of the other texts discussed in this chapter, there is nothing in the Trinity summary that departs significantly from most Wycliffite writers' understanding of Job. See Robert Reilly, "A Middle English Summary of the Bible: An Edition of Trinity College (Oxon) MS 93," Ph.D. diss.,

containing the full text of Job, three also contain prologues to this particular book. Two are English translations of prologues of Jerome's, while the third, Oxford, Queen's College 388, is a short vernacular prologue unique to the Wycliffite Bible. This prologue, however, contains no specifically Wycliffite material; it is mostly a précis of the biblical text that follows, together with an exhortatory reminder that Job should serve as an example to people living today, because "no man is tempted more than he mai withstonde, if he be iust and pacient, with preier of the help of God."¹¹ Two other manuscripts, London, British Library Cotton Claudius E.II and Royal 1.C.IX, contain extensive marginal glosses throughout the book of Job drawn from the prominent medieval exegete Nicholas of Lyra.¹²

14.3 Wycliffite Citations of Job

The remainder of this essay consists of an accounting and analysis of the citations of the book of Job that appear in the corpus of the extant English Wycliffite writings that have been published in modern critical editions. It should be obvious that the sample of Wycliffite texts to be considered here is limited in several important ways. First, though the majority of extant Wycliffite writings are in the vernacular language, a few of them are written in Latin; these latter texts include all of the surviving works of Wyclif himself.¹³ Second, not all Wycliffite texts survived the persecution that Wycliffites and their later descendants endured in the Middle Ages and then again survived the vicissitudes of the successive English reformations. Third, not all surviving English Wycliffite writings have yet benefited from the attention of textual

University of Washington, 1966. I am grateful to Fiona Somerset for supplying me with a copy of Dr. Reilly's dissertation.

11 Oxford, The Queen's College 388, fol. 187v; see WB, 2:670.

12 Dove, *First English Bible*, 163.

13 Germane here would especially be Wyclif's as yet unedited *Postilla* on the whole Bible. The subject of this chapter, however, is Wycliffite writing, not the works of Wyclif himself. The classic studies on the *Postilla* remain Beryl Smalley, "John Wyclif's *Postilla super totam bibliam*," *Bodleian Library Record* 4 (1953): 186–205, and "John Wyclif's *Postilla* on the Old Testament and his *Principium*," in *Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus* (Oxford Historical Society, n.s. 16, 1964), 253–96. Apart from Wyclif's own philosophical and theological writings, very few Wycliffite works in Latin have been edited. For discussion of one such text, *Opus Arduum*, see Anne Hudson, "A Neglected Wycliffite Text," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 29 (1978): 257–79, repr. in *Lollards and Their Books* (London, 1985), 43–65.

scholarship; many, in fact, continue to survive only in manuscript. Finally, not every text published as an English Wycliffite writing is certain to have been produced by Wycliffites. Just as 19th- and 20th-century editors incorrectly ascribed the Bible translation and many other Wycliffite writings to the pen of Wyclif himself, so also were some writings ascribed to Wycliffite authors likely produced by non-Wycliffites.

While these limitations are significant ones, English texts that can with certainty or near-certainty be attributed to Wycliffite authorship and that have been published in modern critical editions comprise a representative cross-section of the extant output of Wycliffites and their supporters. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that these texts disproportionately tend to portray Wycliffism at its most polemical and anti-institutional, somewhat to the neglect of the spiritual and devotional aspects of the movement that have fruitfully been highlighted in recent work on Wycliffite spirituality.¹⁴

The writings consulted in the development of this study are the long cycle of 294 vernacular sermons published as the *English Wycliffite Sermons*;¹⁵ a second set of sermons published under the title *Lollard Sermons*;¹⁶ the General Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible; the vernacular sermon of Wycliffite preacher William Taylor in London on 21 November 1406; the account of the Wycliffite evangelist William Thorpe of his examination before Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel;¹⁷ the polemical tracts published by Victorian editors F.D. Matthew and Thomas Arnold in their collections of vernacular writings supposedly by Wyclif;¹⁸ the prose tracts *The Lanterne of Liȝt*, the *Apology for Lollard Doctrines*, the *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, *Wycklyffes Wycket*, and “Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge”;¹⁹ the Middle English translation of the

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- 14 For discussion of the more positive aspects of Wycliffite Christianity, see Fiona Somerset, “Wycliffite Spirituality,” in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchinson (Turnhout, 2005), 375–86; and J. Patrick Hornbeck II, Stephen E. Lahey, and Fiona Somerset, eds. and trans., *Wycliffite Spirituality* (Mahwah, N.J., 2013).
- 15 Anne Hudson and Pamela Gradon, eds., *English Wycliffite Sermons*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1983–1996).
- 16 Gloria Cigman, (ed.), *Lollard Sermons* (Early English Text Society o.s. 294, Oxford, 1989).
- 17 Both in Anne Hudson, (ed.), *Two Wycliffite Texts* (Early English Text Society o.s. 301, Oxford, 1993).
- 18 F.D. Matthew, (ed.), *The English Works of Wyclif*, 2nd ed. (Early English Text Society o.s. 74, London, 1880); Thomas Arnold, (ed.), *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1868–1871).
- 19 L.M. Swinburn, (ed.), *The Lanterne of Liȝt* (Early English Text Society o.s. 151, London, 1917); J.H. Todd, (ed.), *An Apology for Lollard Doctrines Attributed to Wicliffe* (Camden Society 1st ser. 20, London, 1842); Anne Hudson, (ed.), *The Works of a Lollard Preacher*

Wycliffite preachers' encyclopedia, the *Rosarium*;²⁰ two vernacular manifestoes of Wycliffite beliefs, the "Twelve Conclusions" and the *Thirty-Seven Conclusions*;²¹ the tracts that comprise the "Jack Upland" cycle of antifraternal complaint;²² the "Dialogue between Jon and Richard";²³ and the religious writings of the so-called "Lollard knight" Sir John Clanvowe.²⁴ Of these texts, approximately half contain references to the book of Job; those that do not, namely Taylor's sermon, Thorpe's account of his trial, *Wycklyffe's Wycket*, the "Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge," the "Twelve Conclusions," the Upland texts, and Clanvowe's writings, receive no further attention here.

The following table displays the distribution of Wycliffite citations of Job over the 42 chapters of that book of the Hebrew Bible.

TABLE 14.1 *Distribution of Wycliffite citations in the Book of Job*

Chapter(s) of Job	Events in Job	Wycliffite citations
1	Prologue; conversation between God and Satan; first calamities befall Job	0
2	Conversation between God and Satan; additional calamities	3
3	Discourse of Job	3
4–5	Response of Eliphaz	0
6–7	Answer of Job to Eliphaz	0
8	Speech of Bildad	1
9	Answer of Job to Bildad	4
10	Answer of Job, continued	1
11	Speech of Zophar	0

(Early English Text Society o.s. 317, Oxford, 2001); T.P. Pantin, (ed.), *Wycklyffe's Wycket* (Oxford, 1828); and Clifford Davidson, (ed.), *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1993).

20 Christina von Nolcken, (ed.), *The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologie* (Heidelberg, 1979).

21 "Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards," in *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, (ed.) Anne Hudson (Cambridge, 1978); Josiah Forshall, (ed.), *Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions in the Church* (London, 1851).

22 P.L. Heyworth, (ed.), *Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply, and Upland's Rejoinder* (London, 1968).

23 "Dialogue between Jon and Richard," in *Four Wycliffite Dialogues*, (ed.) Fiona Somerset (Early English Text Society o.s. 333, Oxford, 2009).

24 John Clanvowe, *The Works of Sir John Clanvowe*, (ed.) V.J. Scattergood (Cambridge, 1975).

TABLE 14.1 *Distribution of Wycliffite citations in the Book of Job (Cont.)*

Chapter(s) of Job	Events in Job	Wycliffite citations
12	Second discourse of Job	1
13	Second discourse of Job, continued	2
14	Second discourse of Job, continued	2
15	Response of Eliphaz	1
16–17	Answer of Job to Eliphaz	0
18	Speech of Bildad	0
19	Answer of Job to Bildad	5
20	Speech of Zophar	2
21	Third discourse of Job	3
22	Response of Eliphaz	0
23	Answer of Job to Eliphaz	0
24	Answer of Job to Eliphaz, continued	1
25	Speech of Bildad	0
26–27	Answer of Job to Bildad	0
28	Answer of Job to Bildad, continued	2
29	Answer of Job to Bildad, continued	3
30	Answer of Job to Bildad, continued	0
31	Answer of Job to Bildad, continued	3
32	Speech of Elihu	1
33	Speech of Elihu, continued	0
34	Speech of Elihu, continued	3
35–37	Speech of Elihu, continued	0
38–39	Speech of God	2
40	Speech of God, continued	1
41	Speech of God, continued	6
42	Response of Job to God; epilogue	1
References to Job not linked to a specific passage		2

The table indicates that of the 42 chapters of Job, only 22 are cited by our Wycliffite authors. Of the 53 individual citations of Job, slightly fewer than half (26) are quotations of the words of Job himself. God is quoted nine times, Elihu four, Zophar twice, and Bildad and Eliphaz once each. The remaining ten citations describe events that take place in the book of Job, quote Christian writers on Job, or provide theological analysis of the text and its events.

A *Job's and His Wife's Responses to Calamity*

The earliest verses in the book of Job to be quoted by our Wycliffite authors are 2:8 and 2:9, where after having been smitten with severe boils, Job sits among ashes (the Wycliffite Bible renders it “in the dunghil”) and is encouraged by his wife to denounce God and put an end to his suffering. Job refuses to do so, and shortly, his friends Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar arrive to offer him companionship and comfort.

Two Wycliffite texts, citing Job's presence on the dunghill as evidence of his humility before God, compare the humble Job with the prideful clerics who build great churches. “On the Leaven of Pharisees,” a polemical tract printed in Matthew's collection, puts it this way:

And ȝif þei seyn þat grete chirchis ben worschiful to god and lykyng to þe peple to serue god inne, axe hem what charite it is to laten parische chirchis fallen doun for defaute... and to maken newe chirchis as castelis wiþ outen nede; and wheþer crist preied most in þe nyȝt in hillis, as þe gospel seiþ, and tauȝte mychel þe peple in desert and in þe wilde felde, and seide þat þe heȝte temple schulde be distroied for þe synne of prestis þat weren þer-inne. And seyn þat lucifer and adam serueden not god in heuene ne paradis as þei schulden, but iob seruede wel god in þe donge hille.²⁵

Here, the dunghill where Job sits, nursing his boils, becomes a place like the hills, desert, and fields where Christ preached. Just as Christ predicted the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, so also does this Wycliffite author critique the church of his own day for constructing ostentatious new churches when everyday parish churches are about to collapse for lack of maintenance. A nearly identical sentiment is echoed by the author of the text “The Fifty Heresies and Errors of Friars,” printed in Arnold's collection, who comments that “Job served God ful wel on þo dunghill, and so did Adam oute of Paradise, and Crist beste, when he preyed in hilles and desertis, and Baptist eke.” This author especially criticizes members of the fraternal orders for building for themselves “mony grete chirchis and costily waste houses, and cloystris as hit were castels,” when Job, Adam, Christ, and John the Baptist needed no such places to carry out their ministry.²⁶

A third text concentrates not so much on Job's sorry state atop the heap of ashes or dung as on Job's wife's response to his situation. The long sermon *Of*

25 “On the Leaven of Pharisees,” in Matthew, (ed.), *English Works*, 15.

26 “The Fifty Heresies and Errors of Friars,” in Arnold, (ed.), *Select English Works*, 380.

Mynystri in þe Chirche, part of the cycle of *English Wycliffite Sermons*, argues in part that the devil, who is “kyng aboue alle children of pruyde,” has ensnared men first by giving them benefices and then making them subject to him.²⁷ The preacher comments on the devil’s scheme: “And þe furste part is not groundud bot [i.e., except] as Jobes wif bad hym blesse God.”²⁸ By “the first part,” the preacher seems to be referring to the devil’s plot to bribe men with benefices; he seems to be implying that this is just as unrighteous a strategy as was Job’s wife’s plea that he should “bless God” by denouncing God and thus ensuring himself a speedy death. The preacher’s use of the adjective “grounded” here reveals his debt to what Anne Hudson and others have proposed to describe as a distinctively Wycliffite “sect vocabulary.” For Wycliffites, the paired terms *grounded/ungrounded* normally refer to whether a particular doctrine or practice is supported by the Bible; here, the devil’s plot to entrap clergymen by means of granting them benefices is as abhorrent as Job’s wife’s exhortation for him to commit blasphemy.²⁹

B *Job’s Opening Discourse*

Two Wycliffite texts cite the sorrowful speech with which Job greets his visiting friends. Job curses the day on which he was born, asking that “Thilke dai be turnede in to derknessis; God seke not it aboue, and be it not in mynde, nether be it lizned with lizt” (3:4). He asks why he was allowed to be born, to be nursed by his mother, and to survive to see his present destruction, and he concludes that “the drede, which Y dredde, cam to me; and that, that Y schamede, bifelde” (3:24–25). The pain, anxiety, and dread that Job experiences in these passages is refracted by our Wycliffite authors into lengthy discussions of the evils of the church in their day.

The tract known as the *Apology for Lollard Doctrines* cites Job’s speech in the course of its discussion of how people might be said to be cursed. The text distinguishes three forms of cursing: first, when a person curses himself by committing sin, “and bi his wickid dede goþ out of comyn of holi men, and

27 On this appellation for the devil, see my discussion below of Wycliffite commentaries on the speech of God in Job 38–41.

28 *English Wycliffite Sermons*, II.MC.875–76. This and other passages in the long English sermon cycle will be cited by volume, sermon number or name, and line number(s).

29 Anne Hudson, “A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?” in *So Meny People, Longages, and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, (eds.) M. Benskin and M.L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981), 15–30, repr. in *Lollards and Their Books*, 164–80; on this topic see also Matti Peikola, *Congregation of the Elect: Patterns of Self-Fashioning in English Lollard Writings* (Turku, Finland, 2000), and Jill C. Havens, “Shading the Grey Area: Determining Heresy in Middle English Texts,” in *Text and Controversy*, 337–52.

vndisposiþ him to tak part of merits of þe kirk." Second, a person may be said to be cursed when God wills that he be punished for sin, or when we desire that evil consequences befall someone who has sinned: "þus is man iustli cursed and worþili, wan men curse him bi Godds biddyng, and þan þei do it medefully [justly, rightly]." Finally, a person may be said to be cursed if he has been unjustly condemned by another; the author's example of this form of cursing is when the institutional church censures a person who is, in fact, righteous.³⁰ Though the biblical text indicates that Job has done no wrong, the author of the *Apology* treats Job's cursing as an example of the second kind of cursing. This may be because the object of the cursing is not Job himself, but rather his "day," i.e., the world that has unjustly wronged him.

The vernacular *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, a tract on the eucharist and church authority that was likely originally delivered as a sermon or lecture, also quotes Job's words of despair about his life. Its author does so, however, in an eschatological context. Concluding his discourse with an exhortation for his listeners to fulfill Christ's command to perform works of mercy, he describes what will befall those who fail to do so on the Day of Judgment:

þan þei mai seie þe wordis of Iob wiþ siking ful sore: "þat dai mote perische þat I was born oon, and þat careful nyzt þat I was conceiued inne! þat ne I had be ded in my modris wombe! Wherto, my modur, settist me on þi kneis, and wische me, and rocked me, and fed me on thi brest?"... For requiem þat prestis synggen, ne noon oþur þing schal help þes wrecchis in þat grete woo, þat dien in dedli synne.³¹

Here, Job's words of desolation at the suffering he is experiencing on earth are given soteriological overtones. The cries of those who failed to be obedient to Christ's commands will be the same as Job's, except that these latter-day sinners will have no hope that what they had lost will be restored to them. Indeed, the author writes, neither funeral masses ("requiem") nor any other intervention will be able to save such people from eternal condemnation.³²

³⁰ *Apology for Lollard Doctrines*, 25–26.

³¹ *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, lines 3861–68.

³² It is interesting to note that a passage such as this casts even further into doubt the traditional view that Wycliffites adopted a doctrine of predestination along the lines of Calvin's later teaching; it is clear that the author here envisions damnation specifically as a punishment for sin, just as elsewhere he envisions salvation as the consequence of living according to God's commands. For further discussion of Wycliffite soteriology, see Ian Christopher Levy, "Grace and Freedom in the Soteriology of John Wyclif," *Traditio* 60

Similarly eschatological language is at play in the *Tractatus* author's other citation of this passage from Job. Earlier in the tract, he quotes the synoptic Jesus' warning that after his death false prophets will arise to deceive his followers. He notes that Jesus' prophecy is being fulfilled in his own day, for there is no one "þat stondeþ stabulli in Cristis feiþ and lawe wiþouten any wauuryng or vnstabilenes."³³ Along with Jesus' words, the author also cites Paul's fear, expressed in 2 Corinthians, that just as the serpent deceived Eve, Paul's converts' minds would be "corrupt, and fallen doun fro the symplenesse that is in Crist" (11:3). The *Tractatus* author comments, "And so I mai seie to seint Poule þat, if he were as he was sum tyme, he myzt seie wiþ Iob, 'þe drede þat I dredde is befallen on me!'"³⁴ Like other church reformers in late medieval England, Wycliffite authors often described their clerical antagonists in terms of biblical warnings such as these about false prophecy; in many cases, as in the conclusion to William Langland's poem *Piers Plowman*, the arrival of pseudo-prophets was thought to foretell the impending end of the world.³⁵

C *Job's First Exchange with Bildad*

The next several chapters of the book of Job depict Job's friend Eliphaz urging him to confess his sins to God and Job responding by saying that he has done no wrong and, thus, has nothing to confess. No Wycliffite text in our sample cites these chapters, but four Wycliffite authors refer a total of six times to the following pair of speeches, which comprise a similar exhortation from Job's second friend Bildad as well as a similar response from Job.

In addition to producing a range of sermons, tracts, and other texts expounding their theology, Wycliffite authors also prepared two encyclopedias, in Latin, to be used by the preachers who were to spread their message throughout the English countryside. The longer of these two encyclopedias, the *Floretum*, was revised and made more compact in the smaller *Rosarium*, which was in turn translated into Middle English. Under its entry for *Ypocrisy*, the vernacular *Rosarium* quotes the speech of Bildad in Job 8: "þe hope of ane ypocrite schal periche." The quotation serves to buttress a discussion of five reasons that a person should avoid hypocrisy, the fourth of which is that "þe louyng

(2005): 279–337; and J. Patrick Hornbeck II, *What Is a Lollard? Dissent and Belief in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2010), Chapter 2.

33 *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, lines 719–20.

34 *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, lines 720–22.

35 The classic study of this phenomenon, from the introduction of which I have borrowed the example of Langland's poem, remains Penn R. Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton, N.J., 1987).

and þe ioy of ypocritis bene schorte."³⁶ We shall later see that the compiler of the *Rosarium* also cited two other chapters of the book of Job in developing his entry on hypocrisy.

This entry in the *Rosarium* indicates that at least one Wycliffite author cited the book of Job in order to warn his readers against the dangers of hypocrisy. Other Wycliffites similarly looked to Job's response to Bildad for evidence of the dangers of sin. In this regard, three texts cite Job's question in 9:4, "[God] is wiys in herte, and strong in myȝt; who aȝenstood hym, and hadde pees?" The preacher of one English Wycliffite sermon applies this question to the case of churchmen who exercise secular lordship. He argues that wars and even crusades are examples of what happens when lordship is improperly divided among people:

[F]or ȝif þe empire were hool, and lordshipus of oþure rewmys, so þat þei were not cursedly partede among clerkis, þanne wolde God meue seclerus to lyue in pees, as he haþ bedon hem. But siþ God seiþ by his law, þat hise preestis shulde not þus be lordis, þe pope and his holden þis lordschipe aȝenus þe law and wyll of God, and more oponly myȝte no feend aȝenstonde God in his ordenanunce. But Iob axeþ, whoeuere aȝenstod God and hadde pees in hymself?³⁷

This preacher thus suggests that the lack of peace in Christendom is the result not solely of invaders from without but also of greedy churchmen within. A similar logic marks the polemical tract "Of Dominion," printed in Matthew's collection, whose author argues that when clergymen take on the powers that rightfully belong to lords, then the goods of the realm, through church taxes, "ben yuel dispended in hondis of þes clerkis and ȝeuen vnto false men, boþ vnto alienes and men of þis lond."³⁸ Clerics as a result are unable to serve God as they have been commanded to, for, as the author notes, "job seiþ in his book, and resoun approueþ, þat no man reuersiþ god but ȝif he haue vnpees."³⁹

The author of another collection of Wycliffite sermons, those published by Gloria Cigman under the title *Lollard Sermons*, twice quotes Job's response to Bildad in the course of discussing the temporal and eternal consequences of sin. This preacher cites the passage in Mark 9 where a father brings a child possessed by a silent spirit to Jesus in order to illustrate how the devil is

36 *Rosarium*, 102.

37 *English Wycliffite Sermons*, II.71.68–75.

38 "Of Dominion," in Matthew, (ed.), *English Works*, 285.

39 "Of Dominion," 286.

active in encouraging people to commit sin. In the child's seizures, the preacher discerns the pride that caused the devil to be thrown down into hell; in the child's frothing mouth, the preacher discerns gluttony; in the grinding of his teeth, wrath and envy; in his becoming rigid, sloth; in his falling into fire, lust; and in his falling into water, covetousness, "which slakiþ neuer manys þrist."⁴⁰ Through such means, the preacher continues, sin continually assaults people and seeks to destroy their peace. To this effect, he quotes both Isaiah 48:22 or 57:21, "þere is no pees to wicked men," and Job 9:4, "Who wiþstondiþ God and he had pees?"⁴¹ In a different sermon in the same collection, the preacher warns that the consequences of sin will be dreadful indeed: at the Day of Judgment, when the angels see what God has prepared for sinners, "þe pelers of heuene schul quake togederis, and drede at þe mouynge of hem."⁴² Finally, in a third sermon, the preacher spells out even more clearly the pains of hell that await sinful people: the fire that will never be quenched, the smoke that will cause people to weep endlessly, the deep cold, the biting worm of conscience, the great darkness, the "contynuel, horrible, and foule stynke," and the fear and trembling that all in hell will constantly experience. Describing this last punishment, the preacher quotes, in Latin, Psalm 54:6 and Job 10:22, interpreting the latter verse in these terms: "Where is shadow of deþe and non ordur, but euerlasting horroure and hydousnes dwelliþ þerinne."⁴³

D *Job's Second Speech*

The next set of Wycliffite citations of the book of Job refers to the second major speech that Job gives to his friends. Here, Job rues the state to which he has been reduced, reiterating his belief that God has punished him unjustly and asking his friends not to intervene in the dispute between him and God. A verse of Job's speech in which Job stresses the sovereignty of God over creation, "If he distrieth, no man is that bildith; if he schittith in a man, noon is that openith" (12:14), appears in the prologue of the long Wycliffite tract *The Lanterne of Ligt*, which contains perhaps the latest surviving exposition of the

40 *Lollard Sermons*, 12/385–86, 160. Passages from this collection of sermons are cited by sermon number or name, line number(s), and page(s).

41 *Lollard Sermons*, 12/288, 390, 160.

42 *Lollard Sermons*, 2/602–4, 27.

43 *Lollard Sermons*, DM/897–98, 915–16, 232–33. Several lines earlier in the same sermon the preacher also quotes Job to establish that the punishments of hell consist not only of heat but of the painful alternation between great heat and great cold: "Oute of þis fire into þis colde, and oute of þis colde into þis fire aþeyn þei shullen be possid wiþ foule feendis, hider and þider wiþoute cesyng, of which spekiþ Job in his boke: ... 'þei shullen go from watris of snow to grettist hete'" (DM/870–74, 231–32).

Wycliffites' theology and ecclesiology. The writer cites Job's statement in the course of setting up his discussion of the many contrasts between Christ, who "haþ þe keie of Dauib þe whiche opineþ and noon oþir closiþ, closiþ and þanne noon oþir opineþ" and in virtue of whom alone people are saved, on the one hand, and Antichrist, who pretends to have Christ's powers yet leads people astray, on the other.⁴⁴

Just as the *Lanterne* accuses Antichrist of falsifying both the message and the powers of Christ, so also do two other texts interpret verses from Job 13 as referring to distinctions between hypocrites and true Christians. The vernacular *Rosarium*, which we have already encountered, quotes Job's statement "And he schal be my sauour; for whi ech ypocrite schal not come in his siȝt" (13:16) as evidence for its fifth reason that people should avoid hypocrisy, namely, that hypocrites will be unable to enter the presence of God and will thus spend eternity in damnation.⁴⁵ The *Apology for Lollard Doctrines*, likewise, employs a verse from Job 13 to condemn the practice of using "charmis," by which its author seems to mean oracles, dreams, spells, or other occult practices. The author quotes verses from several books of the Hebrew Bible, as well as the New Testament letter 1 Corinthians, the writings of Augustine, and canon law to establish that the use of such charms has been forbidden by the church, in order that faithful Christians might not even be tempted to worship idols. If a person falls into sickness or is so aggrieved by the action of a neighbor, then rather than using charms, that person should ask the question that Job asks of God: "How many wickidnes haue I and synnis, schewe me my felownies and my defaultis, þat I wit wat me lackiþ, and þat I mend my sarow, and haue mend þe þingis þat I haue misdou."⁴⁶

Two verses in Job 14, in which Job dwells upon the ephemerality of human life, provide biblical ammunition for the preacher of the *Lollard Sermons* to warn his listeners against trusting too much in the things of the flesh. In his sermon for Quinquagesima Sunday, the preacher recalls the episode in Luke 18 when Christ meets a blind man sitting by the road into the city of Jericho. The preacher allegorizes Jericho as the moon, a popular medieval etymology for the city's name, and comments:

Jericho is as much for to seie as þe mone, bi whiche is vndirstonde oure fleschli kynde whiche is vnstabil and neuer dwelleþ any while in þe same sstate, as Job seiþ, but wexeþ and wayneþ as þe moone dooþ: nouȝ sike,

⁴⁴ *The Lanterne of Liȝt*, 3.

⁴⁵ See discussion of the previous line of the *Rosarium* at xxx above.

⁴⁶ *Apology for Lollard Doctrines*, 94.

nouȝ hol; now hoot, now cold; now hungri, now ful; now pore, now riche,
and so forþ of many oþer passions of kynde to which kynde oure Lord
Jesus is nyȝ.⁴⁷

Likewise, in his sermon for the fourth Sunday of Advent, when liturgical readings in the medieval English church contained references to John the Baptist, the preacher uses John's short career as herald of the coming of Christ as an illustration of transitory human existence. "John wente tofore and prechede Cristis comynge, þat aftur vanischede away bi kynde of flesche, as wynd dop or shadue, as Joob seiþ... 'Man flieþ as þe schadue, and in oo staat he abideþ neuer longe.'"⁴⁸ Like other passages that quote this section of Job, these citations focus on the contrast between God's eternal and irresistible power and human beings' fleeting and unstable existence. They reject the devices to which human beings might turn to gain power not theirs, such as (in the case of the *Apology for Lollard Doctrines*) superstitious practices used to foretell the future or (in the case of the *Lollard Sermons*) the abuse of power by secular lords. In a theme we will be returning to at some length, the preacher identifies the deafness of lords, who fail to address injustices committed in their jurisdiction unless they are bribed to do so, as one of the three forms of deafness into which the devil leads people.⁴⁹

E *Job, Bildad, and Zophar: Visions of Salvation and Damnation*

As the narrative of the book progresses, Job's friends urge him in ever stronger terms to repent for his sins. Job, on the other hand, grows angrier with his friends, demanding that they consider whether their criticisms of him are themselves sinful and announcing his faith that he will one day see God. Their speeches provide relatively little fodder for commentary on the part of our Wycliffite authors, though a scattering of Wycliffite references to these chapters (16–20) reveals the development of the eschatological themes we have been encountering in previous passages.

In Chapter 19, in the course of describing the revulsion that his physical infirmities now inspire in people, Job comments that "my wijf wlatide my breeth; and Y preiede the sons of my wombe" (v. 17). The author of the *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii* refers in four places to Job's fetid breath as a metaphor for the corruption of the true breath, the word of God, that comes from the mouth of Christ. The author establishes this metaphor by reference to Gregory's

47 *Lollard Sermons*, 10/209–15, 111.

48 *Lollard Sermons*, 4/194–99, 50.

49 *Lollard Sermons*, 13/275–80, 172.

Moralia in Job: “And þis word seint Gregor upon þe same understondeþ of Cris, and of þo þat schul be Cristis chirche and so his wiif. Cristis breþe is his law þat comeþ out of his mouthe, þe which mouþe most specialli and passingli is his manheed, bi þe wiche he spak his law.”⁵⁰ While Christ’s true breath animates the actions of his apostles and “truze prestis” and represents the substance of the gospel, it is no longer welcome to Christ’s spouse, the church. It is especially unwelcome to the clergy, who are now more enamored than ever with the goods of the world. Christ’s breath “was ful swete and ful sauere to hir into þe tyme þat sche wax so frike and lusti þour grete plente of prouendur þat prekid hir; and namely in þat partie of þis spouse þat is called þe clerge, þat shuld haue be most sibbe and chast, þis spouse specialli in þis parte began to loþe þe breþe of hir uerri spouse Crist.”⁵¹ Later, the text alleges that the clergy are not only disgusted by the breath of Christ, but in fact “betith Crist abouzte þe mouthe” in order to stop his breath from reaching them.⁵² As a result, the author concludes that the clergy have taken on the role of the whore of the Apocalypse, who despises the breath of her husband and commits great acts of adultery against him. The form of spiritual adultery most vocally condemned by the text is the clergy’s acquisition of temporal possessions.⁵³

The preacher of the *Lollard Sermons* finds a more hopeful note in Job’s despairing speech and quotes, with some interpolation, his saying about his hope of resurrection. “In þe last day I shal arise of þe erþe, and eft I shal be cloþid wiþ my skyn, and in my fleische I shal se God, my sauioere, whiche shal be þe grettist joy in þe bliss of heaven.”⁵⁴ This citation occurs near the end of the preacher’s long funeral sermon, the “Sermon of Dead Men,” and is used to illustrate his account of the joys to be found in heaven. These joys, the preacher goes on to announce, will be the reward that God grants to God’s true servants; they will include the pleasant dwellings of the heavenly city, the physical and spiritual joy that the saved will experience in themselves, the delight they will find in one another’s company, and above all, the beatific vision of God.

If this preacher found in Job a foretaste of heavenly bliss, he and several of his fellow Wycliffite authors also discerned in the same section of the book of Job a series of warnings about the possibility of damnation. The *Rosarium*, for instance, quotes Job 20:5, “þe louyng of wicked men is schorte, and þe ioy of ypocritez as it war a pointe,” to establish that another reason to avoid the sin

50 *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, lines 862–66.

51 *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, lines 900–4.

52 *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, lines 1044–45.

53 *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, lines 1219–29.

54 *Lollard Sermons*, DM/982–86, 235.

of hypocrisy is that whatever delight people may take from hypocritical deeds will be short-lived at best.⁵⁵ The notion that delight in sin can in a moment be transformed into eternal woe recurs repeatedly in Wycliffite commentaries on Job 21, where the Wycliffite Bible renders verse 13 as “Thei leden in goodis her daies; and in a point thei goen down to hellis.” The *Lollard Sermons*, the *Lanterne of Liȝt*, and a Wycliffite commentary on the Ave Maria all cite this verse as evidence of the speediness with which damnation can overtake the wicked. For instance, in the same funeral sermon that I have just cited, the preacher warns that sinful people who refuse speedily to repent are like sleeping fish who lie in the water with only their tails moving. Quoting Ecclesiastes as well as Job, the preacher notes that the devil is quick to notice such folk and snatches away their souls before they are able to do penance:

“Riȝt as fishes ben taken wiȝ þe hoke, and briddis wiȝ þe snare, so ben such men taken in yuel tyme”—þat is, in dedly synne, for which synne þei shullen be dampnyd. Of which men spekiȝ also þe holy man, Job, þere he seiȝe þus: ... “þei leden in lustis and in likingis her dayes, and in a poynte þei fallen doune to hell.”⁵⁶

Likewise, for the author of the Ave Maria commentary, noblewomen who pay excessive attention to their appearance or their clothes are easy prey for the devil, who first uses them to entice men to commit sin and then drags them down to hell themselves: “þei leden, seiȝe god, here daies in lustful goodis and myȝþis of þis world and in a point of tyme fallen down in-to helle.”⁵⁷ Finally, in his discussion of the ways in which people break the ninth commandment (against covetousness), the author of *The Lanterne of Liȝt* forewarns that damnation will be the lot of nobles who, in order to gain more for themselves, oppress the poor. According to this author, God punishes sin not only in hell but also in the present life; what sinful people perceive to be the successes of their enemies may in fact be divine judgment against them, judgment that will become all the more severe when they die and suffer eternally in hell. Once again quoting Job, the *Lanterne*-author comments that these people “leden her daies

55 *Rosarium*, 102. This passage is also quoted by the preacher of the *Lollard Sermons*, who warns that the joy of prideful men will be short. Following the Vulgate and the Wycliffite Bible, the author renders Job 20:6–7 thus: “If his pride stieȝ vp into heuene, and his heued toucheȝe cloudes, in þe ende as a dunge hil he schal be destroyed” (*Lollard Sermons*, 11a/335–36, 140).

56 *Lollard Sermons*, DM/235–41, 214.

57 “The Ave Maria,” in Matthew, (ed.), *English Works*, 205.

in goodis, þat is to seie in helpe and welpe and in worldly worschip, and sodenli in a point þei discenden or gon down to hellis.”⁵⁸

It is interesting to note that all of these Wycliffite commentators write within the framework of what I have elsewhere called a works-oriented soteriology. While these texts do not propose that human beings can earn salvation solely on the basis of their actions, and without the assistance of God’s grace, they do strongly link salvation and damnation to the moral quality of a person’s actions on earth.⁵⁹ Several texts, especially *The Lanterne of Ligt*, also frame their discussions with reference to the decalogue. Recent research into the most common themes of Wycliffite spiritual and devotional writing has revealed that the ten commandments figured prominently in the Wycliffite imagination, and thus it is no surprise to see them appearing here as well.

F *Job’s Last Major Speech: Orthodox Theology and Social Ethics*

The long speech by Job that dominates Chapters 26 to 31 of the book provides our Wycliffite authors with ample textual material for their denunciations of social relations and theologies that have gone awry. The majority of Wycliffite citations of this section of Job focus on the evil deeds of priests, popes, and lords who have failed to uphold the commandments of God and to fulfill the responsibilities assigned to them.

Take, for instance, this passage from the polemical tract “The Grete Sentence of Curs”:

...þe kyng and oþere lordis, wiþ comyn justicis, semen comyn mysdoeris; for þei suffren wicked tyrauntis oppresse pore men bi extorsions and oþere wrongis, whanne þei may liztly amende it, and ben so sore charged of God to helpe pore men, and be to hem as goodfadir and modir, and eie to blynde men, and on hand and foot to þe crokid, as Job was, as holy writt telliþ.⁶⁰

The verses from Job quoted here appear in the section of the book where Job is in the process of justifying his conduct to his friends. He professes that he was honest, just, a servant of the poor, and, as this quotation has it, an eye to the blind and a foot to the lame. The author of “Gret Sentence” uses these words of Job’s to compare his righteous conduct with the oppression that poor people

58 *Lanterne*, 119.

59 See Hornbeck, *What Is a Lollard?* Chapter 2; and J. Patrick Hornbeck 11, “Lollard Sermons? Soteriology and Late-Medieval Dissent,” *Notes and Queries* 53 (2006): 26–30.

60 “The Gret Sentence of Curs,” in Arnold, (ed.), *Select English Works*, 332.

are experiencing in the present day. He argues that “tirauntis of þe chirche” wrong the members of their flock by imposing on them unnecessary excommunications and interdicts; by keeping major church benefices vacant in order to keep the proceeds of those benefices for themselves; and by selling the sacraments. They also pursue those who challenge these practices, a likely reference to the Wycliffite author’s own confreres: “And what trewe prest or pore man spekiþ openly aȝenst þis cursed marchaundise, he shal be summoned, suspended fro prechyng and treuþe-seyng, or cursed, prisoned, or exiled.”⁶¹ The author also applies these complaints to the king, lords, dishonest lawyers, and evil-minded justices of the peace.

Two other Wycliffite tracts quote Job’s speech in his own defense. The long version of the Wycliffite *Thirty-Seven Conclusions* aims its polemical fire not as much at priests as at secular lords, whom it charges with neglecting their duty to be clothed with righteousness, rather than with fine and costly garments.⁶² The text “Of Servants and Lords” likewise urges lords to imitate the example of Job and to clothe themselves with the virtues commanded by God:

Also so kyngis and lordis schulden be clopid wiþ riȝtwisnesse and riȝtful dom as wiþ a diademe, and be eiȝe to a blynd man and foot to þe crokid or haltynge, and be fadir of pore men, and wiþ most diligence sike þe cause þat þei knowe not, and defoule and distroie þe power of a wicked man.... and whanne þei sitten as kyngis and compaynes stonden aboute þei schulden be confortours of mornynge men and men ful of myschefy, and delyuere pore men crynge, and fadirles children and moderles þat han noon help.... þes goodnessis and many moo vsed þe holy kyng iob, and ben in holy writt for ensaumple of kyngis and lordis.⁶³

Two other texts that draw on this section of the book of Job do so in conversation with Gregory the Great’s *Moralia in Job*, a commentary on Job that remained highly influential throughout the Middle Ages. The *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii* quotes at length Gregory’s paraphrase of Job 28, where Gregory argues that the silver, gold, and other precious materials that Job describes there signify the wealth of knowledge of divine things to be found in scripture. The Wycliffite author adds, “Lo, of þis processe of Gregor upon þe heuenli wordis of Iob þou maist se þat holi scripture is grounde of alle trewe logic, and houȝ perlouȝ it is to uarie from scripturre in any point and specialli

61 “Gret Sentence,” 331, 332.

62 *Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions*, 102.

63 “Of Servants and Lords,” in Matthew, (ed.), *English Works*, 231.

of þe sacrid oost."⁶⁴ His purpose is to argue, with Gregory, that theological arguments must be based in scripture, rightly interpreted. As we have already seen in another instance above, this author's use of the term *grounde* illustrates the distinctive Wycliffite use of that word and its cognates to denote ideas, beliefs, and doctrines which accord with scripture.

The *Lanterne of Lizt* also cites Gregory's *Moralia* in connection with Job 28. This quotation appears in the context of a long discussion of the ways in which priests and knights are to blame for the existence of sin. Whereas priests should be spiritual doctors, reconciling people to God through their preaching and God's law, instead they are blinded by their pride, covetousness, and lust. "Iob axiþ þis questioun, where wisdam mai be founden. Anoon he answeriþ wiþ þe spirit of God, not in þe lond of lusti lyuars. And vpon þis seiþ Gregor in hise morals, þese words of greet sorrow to hem þat ben gilty.... [W]ho þat is fedde wiþ lustis of þis present lijf, wiþouten ony doute, þat man is departed fro þe vndirstanding of euerlasting wisdam."⁶⁵ The author of the *Lanterne*, like many of the other Wycliffite authors we have encountered, here links wisdom to righteous living and especially to the avoidance of worldly lusts.

The trope of clerical lust recurs in two Wycliffite commentaries on Job 31:1, where toward the end of his final speech Job considers hypothetically what would befall him were he to break an agreement with himself not to think (lustfully) about a maiden. The polemical text "Of Confession," printed in Matthew's collection, uses this text as a starting point for its criticism of the practice of women going to confession in private. Its author asks, "Lord, wheþir god, þat seiþ bi Iob þat a man shuld make couenaunt wiþ hise wittis to þenke not on a virgyne, ordeyned sich a lawe to men, þat prestis and wymmen sulde turne her faces to-gider, and speke of lustful þoutes and dedis, which myzt do harme to hem boþe?"⁶⁶ If a priest and a woman are alone with one another, and if her confession turns to talk of sexual sin, then it is almost inevitable, this text suggests, that they will commit further sin with one another. This pessimistic assessment of the human capacity to withstand sexual temptation is echoed almost verbatim in the Wycliffite "Dialogue between Jon and Richard" and, indeed, is of a piece with most Wycliffite texts that address the topic of sexual conduct.⁶⁷ Many such writings value intercourse within marriage primarily as

64 *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, lines 652–55.

65 *Lanterne*, 67.

66 "Of Confession," in Matthew, (ed.), *English Works*, 330.

67 "Dialogue between Jon and Richard," 18.

a prophylactic for unbridled lust.⁶⁸ Note, too, that the Wycliffite author alters somewhat the tenor of the passage in Job: in the biblical text Job muses that *if* he had done such a thing, then his wife would have the right to pursue another man, whereas in the Wycliffite text Job is interpreted as having set forth as a rule that no man should think about a virgin.

A second text, "Faith, Hope, and Charity," also printed in Matthew's collection, treats this passage from Job similarly. Its last chapter names the 16 properties of love or charity, as enumerated in Paul's hymn to charity in 1 Corinthians 13. The author illustrates several of his 16 points with biblical and theological examples, and in describing the ninth point (that charity thinks no evil), he writes this: "þe neynt propirte of charite is deppere þan þes oþere, þat it þenkþ not uel, for siche þouȝt turneþ to uel; as iob maad couenaut to þenke not on a virgynne."⁶⁹ Here, as in the tract "Of Confession," improper thought leads to improper action, and Job acted virtuously in pledging not to think about a virgin because avoiding lustful thoughts was for him the key step in avoiding the sin of lust itself.

G *Pride, Hypocrisy, and the Antichrist: The Speeches of Elihu and God*

After Job's last extended discourse, the closing chapters of the book of Job are dominated by two long speeches and a brief epilogue. Job's fourth friend, Elihu, pleads with him to accept God's sovereignty over the universe and thus to abandon any attempt to sway God's mind or God's judgment. Elihu's speech provides a narrative link between Job's final argument and the eventual appearance of God, who chastises Job for presuming to challenge God's authority as creator and governor of the world. With Elihu's disapproval and God's outright denunciation of Job's self-importance figuring prominently in these two final speeches, it is unsurprising that Wycliffite commentators focused on the sins of pride and hypocrisy in their exegesis of Chapters 32 to 42 of Job. They also discerned in a section of God's speech a reference to the Antichrist, whom many Wycliffite writers took to be the source of the persecution that they and their co-religionists were experiencing.⁷⁰ In total, 11 citations of these chapters

68 On this point, see J. Patrick Hornbeck II, "Theologies of Sexuality in English 'Lollardy,'" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (2009): 19–44.

69 "Faith, Hope, and Charity," in Matthew, (ed.), *English Works*, 354.

70 Wycliffite writers personified evil in the forms of "the fiend," "the devil," and "Antichrist," terms which often appear interchangeably. As Curtis V. Bostick has argued, for many Wycliffites as well as for early Christian thinkers such as Tyconius, "Antichrist" denoted "the aggregated body of evil within the church, not a single historical figure" (*The Antichrist and the Lollards: Apocalypticism in Late Medieval and Reformation England* [Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 70, Leiden, 1998], 20).

occur in four texts or sets of texts; the bulk of them appear in the long cycle of English Wycliffite sermons or the shorter cycle of *Lollard Sermons*.

Two texts cite the speech of Elihu. The Wycliffite sermon for the feast of All Saints quotes part of Elihu's opening remarks, where he declares his exasperation at having waited so long to respond to the speeches of Job and his friends. Elihu declares, "For Y am ful of wordis, and the spirit of my wombe, that is, mynde, constreyneth me" (32:18–19). The Wycliffite preacher takes Elihu's declaration as a sign of Elihu's own pride, even as in the biblical text Elihu is preparing to critique the pride of Job. Expounding upon Christ's saying, "Blessed ben pore men in spirit," the preacher urges that knowledge and the virtues begin in poverty, which he takes to be the antithesis of pride:

And so schulde men note þe furste prowde nowmbre, and aȝen eche part of hyt growndon hem in mekenesse. Somme men ben prowde for holynesse þat þei feynon, and þes men ben ypocritics most perilous of alle oþre; somme men ben prowde for konnyng þat þei han, as þe laste freend of Iob seyde hys bely was ful as a tonne fullud wiþ most þat wantude auentyng.⁷¹

Pride, whether in one's knowledge or one's holiness, is clearly a mark of evil-doing for this Wycliffite author. As we have already seen, for many Wycliffites pride and hypocrisy were close cousins, and so it should not be unexpected that the other Wycliffite references to the speech of Elihu, all three of which appear in the *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, concern the sin of hypocrisy. Job 34:30 warns that God may make a hypocritical man (other translations have a "godless" or "ungodly" man) rule over the people as a punishment for their sins, and the author of the *Tractatus* takes this passage to refer to what he believes to be the rising influence of Antichrist in contemporary England. First, the *Tractatus* links this passage in Job with the reign of Saul over the Israelites; because the Israelites had sinned in continually asking God to give them a king, God gave them an evil king. Second, the *Tractatus* connects this saying from Job with the book of the prophet Zechariah, which likewise foretells the coming of an evil ruler: "For God seiþ here þat 'he schal arere up in erþe a fonned hirde and an idol,' and in doing and in suffring he schal harme Goddis flok as þe prophetis wordis sownen."⁷² In the Wycliffite author's hands, the idol of which the prophet is warning turns out to be false ideas about the powers of the papacy. Instead of interpreting the phrase "on this stoon Y schal bilde my

71 *English Wycliffite Sermons*, II.122.42–48.

72 *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, lines 2394–97.

chirche" to refer to Christ himself, which the Wycliffite author believes the passage truly signifies, the church, deceived by Antichrist, has used this passage as the basis of monarchical papal authority.⁷³ Third, in the text's final reference to this passage from Job, the *Tractatus* promises that the sufferings brought upon God's people by the rule of a hypocrite will be redeemed when the hypocrite gets his just desserts: "But I do seche an to vndurstond þat, as he is hizest among þe peple, so he schal be depeest in peine, as Austen seiþ."⁷⁴

These passages from the *Tractatus* seem to suggest that their author is both convinced that Antichrist has infiltrated the church and confident that God will, someday, be victorious. The authors of *The Lanterne of Light*, the *English Wycliffite Sermons*, and the *Lollard Sermons* all seem to endorse a similar account of the relationship between the church, Antichrist, and God's justice. The *Lanterne*, for instance, describes five lines of attack that Antichrist will launch against the church: constitutions (a thinly veiled reference to the ecclesiastical constitutions limiting the scope of vernacular writing and preaching issued by Archbishop Arundel in 1407/1409), tribulation, inquisition, persecution, and execution.⁷⁵ Under "persecution," the author writes that "Anticrist sittip and sottip in pees of þis world, with riche men in her deenes, but þe pore, meke, simple, and loweli, hem he aspiseþ and pursueþ, hem he ouer-lepiþ and ouer-renneþ, raveisching hem boþe bodili and goostli, for God seid vnto Job. xl: *Habet fudiciam quod influat Iordanis in os eius*, Anticrist haþ a triste and a trowing, þat Iordan mai flowe in to his mouþe."⁷⁶ Nevertheless, Antichrist's rule is not destined to last forever, since as the author of the *Lanterne* states elsewhere, "God tauzt more pleynli þis loore to Ioob and seide, Job xl ca.: *Ecce spes eius frustrabitur eum et videntibus cuntis precipitabitur*, Loo, seiþ God, þat hope þat anticrist haþ in richnessis and in worldly fauour schal bring him to nouzt."⁷⁷

The final Wycliffite citations of the book of Job that I will be discussing here all refer to the last words of God's speech to Job. In describing the great monster Leviathan, the crocodile that God has made to rule the waters, God announces: "No power is on erthe, that schal be comparisound to hym; which is made, that he schulde drede noon. He seeth al hiz thing; he is kyng over all the

73 On Wycliffite views of the papacy more broadly, see Hornbeck, *What Is a Lollard?* Chapter 6.

74 *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii*, lines 3021–23.

75 On Arundel's *Constitutions*, the classic study remains Nicholas Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 822–64.

76 *Lanterne*, 19.

77 *Lanterne*, 17.

sons of pride" (41:25–26). The preachers of the *English Wycliffite Sermons* and the *Lollard Sermons* take this passage to refer to the devil: one epistle sermon from the long cycle announces that "þer is no power vpon erþe so myche as is þis," and the *Lollard Sermon* for Septuagesima Sunday indicates that "þer is no power vpon erþe þat mai bee likned to his."⁷⁸ Both sermons declare that the power of the devil is greater than the power of any other being, including "the world" with all its opportunities for sin, human flesh with its propensity to fall into temptation, and earthly powers and potentates. Wycliffite commentators also focus on the power of the devil over those who are proud: "þe fend þat is kyng aboue alle children of pruyde haþ tauȝt his viker by a prowde noumbre to bygyle men lyuyng here," declares the long sermon *Of Mynstris in þe Chirche*.⁷⁹ A sermon for the feast of a martyr connects the pride of the devil with the pride of those who modify God's law in order to suit their own desires: "þe toþur kyng wiȝt twenty þousynde, is comunly seyde þe feend, for Ioob seiþ þat he is kyng vpon alle children of pruyde; but more perilous pride haþt no man þat take fro Goddis lawe þat he haþ ordeynid þerinne, or to adde to þing þat myȝt be þerfro."⁸⁰ Once again, as in some of the earliest citations of Job that we have examined, the prime concern of many Wycliffite authors is that preaching, teaching, and the reading of the Bible be "grounded" in a correct understanding of scripture as God's law.

14.4 Conclusion

Before asking whether these Wycliffite citations of Job reveal that there was a standard Wycliffite interpretation of this book of the Hebrew Bible, it is worth noting briefly what we have *not* encountered. While some Wycliffite authors looked to Job as a source of consolation and hope for people undergoing a time of persecution, many more used the book as a tool with which to critique the individuals and groups they identified as responsible for sin in their communities. These ranged from the builders of ostentatious churches, to the practitioners of "charms" and other superstitions, to greedy clerics, lustful wives, and the papacy. At the same time, while Job proved useful for these and other rhetorical purposes, it is important also to remember that not every major Wycliffite writer cited Job, and those who did cited this biblical book with greater or lesser frequency. Of the texts we have been discussing, the *Lollard*

78 *English Wycliffite Sermons*, I.e51.50; *Lollard Sermons*, 8/378–79, 91.

79 *English Wycliffite Sermons*, II.MC.872–74.

80 *English Wycliffite Sermons*, II.62.96–100.

Sermons cite Job most often (12 individual quotations), with the *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii* (11), the *English Wycliffite Sermons* (8), and *The Lanterne of Liȝt* (5) as runners-up. The majority of short polemical tracts published in the collections of Arnold and Matthew cite Job only once each. Taking the relative lengths of these texts into account, the *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii* and *The Lanterne of Liȝt* are the texts that rely on Job most extensively. These two texts are also the ones that most consistently employ Job first to depict the current domination of the church by Antichrist and then to prophesy the overthrow of Antichrist by God.

Is it fair to conclude that the majority of Wycliffite writers read the book of Job in this way? Unfortunately, the evidence is not conclusive, since some Wycliffite texts cite Job only once and others do not mention the book at all. Several key themes, though, do emerge from Wycliffite exegesis of Job. First, many Wycliffite authors cite Job in the course of describing and warning their audiences against the sins of pride and hypocrisy. It is prideful for clerics to build “grete chirchis” when Job served God just as effectively, if not more effectively, sitting on the dunghill (“On the Leaven of Pharisees” on Job 2). Prideful men, attempting to withstand God, do not experience God’s peace and instead incur for themselves the horrible punishments that God has ordained for the sinful (*Lollard Sermons* on Job 9). Priests should be humble spiritual doctors, basing their teaching on God’s law, and not prideful, covetous, or lustful (*The Lanterne of Liȝt* on Job 28). The prideful contravene Christ’s injunction to be poor in spirit (*English Wycliffite Sermons* on Job 32). Proud and hypocritical men may hold power for awhile, but ultimately, their downfall has already been decreed by God (*Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii* on Job 34).

A second theme is the obverse of the first: if true Christians are to avoid pride, then they must embrace God’s law. Doing so requires that they keep the commandments, receiving and not rejecting the breath of Christ that the author of the *Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii* discerns in the words of Job 19. True Christians should also avoid, among other things, the “charmis” and superstitions condemned by the author of the *Apology for Lollard Doctrines* and base their actions and speeches on scripture, rather than relying on their powers of logic and sophisticated speech (*Tractatus de oblatione iugis sacrificii* on Job 28).

For many Wycliffite authors, these two themes—the dangers of pride and the benefits of God’s law—appear in eschatological perspective. Among the most quoted verses of Job is 21:13, “Thei leden in goodis her daies; and in a point thei goen down to hellis,” which a number of Wycliffite authors interpret as a forewarning of the swift damnation that will befall the wicked. Whereas those who avoid pride and hypocrisy will come to salvation (*Rosarium* on

Job 13), those who commit these sins will face speedy judgment and the sharp pains of hell. Even Antichrist will share in this fate: no matter how much persecution, tribulation, “constitutions,” and other measures he may inflict upon the church, nevertheless, as the *Lanterne of Liȝt* puts it, he will eventually be brought to nothing (*Lanterne of Liȝt* on Job 34).

The commonalities among Wycliffite texts’ interpretations of Job align themselves with distinctive elements of the larger theological agenda of Wycliffism. A substantial number of extant Wycliffite texts emphasize obedience to God’s commandments above any other kind of spiritual or devotional practice, and many Wycliffite writings, like the texts we have been surveying here, position their claims within the framework of the eschatological conflict between God and Antichrist, Christ and the devil, the true church and the false church. Likewise, the specific sins against which our writers inveigh by quoting the book of Job are frequent targets in other Wycliffite texts as well: clergy who break their vows of celibacy, prelates who greedily value the sumptuousness of their churches more than faithfulness to the gospel, superstitious clergy and laypeople who seek counsel and assistance in sources outside of scripture. In our texts, these critiques are often phrased in a characteristically Wycliffite idiom: prelates are “ungrounded,” the gospel is “Christ’s law,” faithful priests are “true” priests whereas their opponents are “false,” and so forth. Of course, criticism of the clergy and calls to avoid sin were commonplace in late medieval England. But even if many of the things that our Wycliffite writers had to say about the book of Job were not unique, they said them in a way that testifies further to the methodological, exegetical, and linguistic coherence of vernacular Wycliffite writing.

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